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John Rylands Library.
Manchester : University Press, 1909.

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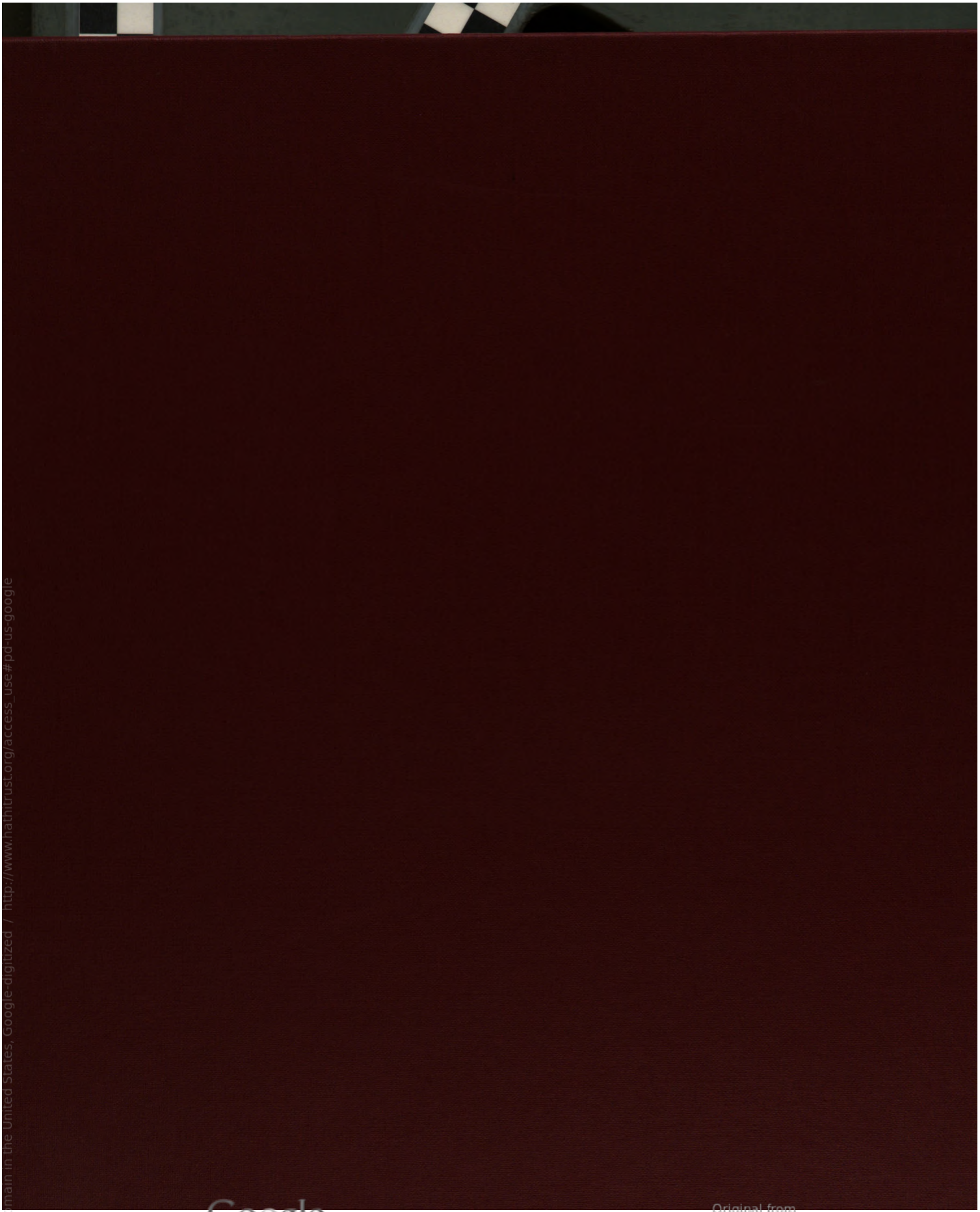

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OF

THE DEMOTIC PAPYRI

VOLUME III

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CATALOGUE

OF

THE DEMOTIC PAPYRI

IN THE

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MANCHESTER

WITH FACSIMILES AND COMPLETE TRANSLATIONS

BY

F. Ll. GRIFFITH, M.A.
READER IN EGYPTOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

VOLUME III

KEY-LIST, TRANSLATIONS, COMMENTARIES
AND INDICES

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GENERAL PREFATORY NOTE

THE present catalogue is the first of a series of descriptive catalogues or guides to the collection of Oriental and Western manuscripts in the John Rylands Library.

These manuscripts, numbering at the present time about 7,000, constitute one of the principal attractions of the library, and are well known to a large number of scholars all over the world, who have always had ready access to them. There must be, however, many other scholars who are still unaware of the range and importance of the collection, and for that reason it seems desirable to indicate, in a few words, something of its scope and character, by way of introduction to the series.

The nucleus of this department consisted of the manuscripts contained in the Althorp Library, which was purchased by Mrs. Rylands in 1892 from Earl Spencer, to form part of the equipment of the present building, which was at that time in course of erection. These were added to from time to time by the acquisition of other groups as well as of individual manuscripts. But the present magnificence and special character of the collection were given to it by the purchase, in 1901, of the manuscripts of the Earl of Crawford, consisting of nearly six thousand rolls, tablets, and codices. Its importance, at the present time, cannot easily be over-estimated, illustrating as it does the history of writing and illumination in the principal languages and characters, and at the same time offering to students, in many departments of literary research, original sources of great interest and value.

Beginning with the Eastern section, it must be said at once that the wealth of Oriental manuscripts, of all ages, and in a variety of languages, can only be indicated here in the briefest manner. Armenian, Ethiopic, Sanskrit, Pali, Panjabi, Hindustani, Marathi, Parsi, Burmese, Canarese, Singhalese, Tamil, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Javanese, Achinese, Mongolian, Balinese, Tibetan, Bugi, Kawi, Madurese, Makassar, and Mexican manuscripts are all represented. Examples are also included of those curious and rare productions, the 'medicine books' of the Battas, inscribed on the bark of the alim-tree, or on bamboo poles. Of more general interest is the extensive section of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish manuscripts, numbering nearly two thousand volumes. The copies of the Koran, dating from the eighth and ninth centuries, are, in many cases, of extraordinary beauty and value.

Of papyrus rolls and fragments there are specimens of the 'Book of the Dead' in Egyptian Hieroglyphic and Hieratic. The Demotic papyri form probably the most important collection of documents in this script at present extant. There are a number of Greek papyri, as well as a quantity of Arabic, the result of the examination of which is awaited with keen interest.

In Coptic, the papyri and the codices range from the sixth to the eighteenth or nineteenth century. In Samaritan there is an interesting, though not large, group of Biblical and liturgical texts, including an important vellum codex of the 'Pentateuch,' written in A.D. 1211. In Syriac there is a vellum copy of the 'Gospels' of the sixth century, and what is probably the earliest known complete Syriac 'New Testament,' written about A.D. 1000. The Hebrew manuscripts comprise many 'Rolls of the Law,'

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and several illuminated codices of the 'Haggadah.' Among the Greek manuscripts there are several beautiful Gospel books, but by far the most important volume of the group is a fragment of a vellum codex of the 'Odyssey' in a handwriting possibly of the third century.

Of the Latin manuscripts, whether produced in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Flanders, or England, there are some hundreds, including several known to have issued from famous writing schools of the Middle Ages. The English, French, and Italian manuscripts, though not numerous, will fittingly bear comparison with the Latin.

If the manuscripts themselves excite interest and admiration, not less striking are many of the jewelled bindings in metal and ivory, dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which impart to them a character and a value of a very special kind.

Mrs. Rylands's interest in the collection did not end with the acquisition of the volumes. She felt that while it was the primary duty of a library to preserve its books and manuscripts, yet the importance of such an institution rests not upon the mere custodianship nor upon the number of works assembled upon its shelves, but upon the use to which they are put. To this end it was essential that the extent and richness of the collection should be made known, and with this object Mrs. Rylands generously undertook to defray the cost of cataloguing it on a thoroughly adequate scale.

Work upon several groups of the manuscripts had been commenced already, whilst they were still in the possession of Lord Crawford, who had arranged with a number of recognized scholars to deal with the manuscripts in their own special line of research.

Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., Reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford, and sometime Lecturer in Egyptology in the University of Manchester, undertook the Demotic Papyri, and after about ten years of persistent work, has produced the present catalogue. Mr. W. E. Crum, M.A., has completed his work on the Coptic manuscripts, and the volume will appear almost simultaneously. Drs. Grenfell and Hunt are busily engaged upon the Greek Papyri, and hope to have the first volume of their catalogue ready early this year. Mr. H. W. Hogg, M.A., B.Lit., Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Manchester, has undertaken the Arabic manuscripts, a large group of upwards of a thousand volumes. Dr. Montague Rhodes James, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, is dealing with the Western section. Dr. A. E. Cowley, Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford, is engaged upon the Samaritan group. Mr. R. A. Nicholson, M.A., Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Cambridge, has undertaken to catalogue the Persian collection; and Dr. D. S. Margoliouth, Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, has undertaken to describe the Arabic papyri.

Almost the entire cost of producing the three volumes of the present catalogue was defrayed by Mrs. Rylands herself, who, from its inception, displayed a constant interest in the progress of the work. It is greatly to be regretted that she did not live to see any portion of this part of her scheme carried through. The cost of completing and issuing the volumes has been met out of the estate of the deceased lady, by direction of the executors of the will.

MANCHESTER,
20 *February*, 1909.

HENRY GUPPY,
Librarian.

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PREFACE

THE collection of demotic papyri here catalogued and published was acquired from different sources by Lord Crawford while travelling in Egypt in the winter of 1898–9. In 1901 the entire collection of valuable MSS. at Haigh Hall was purchased by the late Mrs. John Rylands, who some years afterwards deposited the Egyptian papyri in the John Rylands Library, and at her lamented death in the beginning of the present year they became the property of that institution. The collection is unusually rich in texts of pre-Ptolemaic age, so that in this respect the Catalogue more than doubles the available material in publications. All the documents contained in it have a legal purpose or connexion, and with the exception of No. IX, the Petition of Peteêsi, are brief and of a formal character. The Petition itself, however, is unique in kind, and has not even a distant rival for value and interest amongst the known monuments of early demotic. Lord Crawford was well aware of the scientific importance of the collection, and projected a scheme for its full publication in a Catalogue by the author of the present work. Thanks to Mrs. Rylands's liberality the scheme has at length been completely realized.

The most important part of the Editor's task lay in the hand-copying and decipherment of the earlier group of texts. In deciphering them he was greatly assisted by friendly and generous gifts of photographs of early demotic papyri, both published and unpublished, from Professor Breasted of Chicago, Professor Schiaparelli of Turin, and Professor Golénischeff of St. Petersburg. Certain dockets and other texts in Greek attached to the later documents were kindly deciphered by Professor Grenfell and Dr. A. S. Hunt, and several valuable comments here printed are due to those distinguished scholars: while to Sir Herbert Thompson, his fellow worker in demotic, and to Mr. A. H. Gardiner, Laycock student at Worcester College, Oxford, the Editor desires to express his thanks for valuable contributions in the way both of photographs and of criticism; likewise to Dr. Kenyon for early communication of the text of Ptolemaic papyri in vol. III of his Catalogue, and for sundry collations. As to the Librarian and the staff of the John Rylands Library, who have met every demand with ready help and sympathy, it would be difficult to record the extent of his obligations to them. Some of the largest rolls, written on both sides, are mounted between sheets of plate glass in massive oak frames, and the precious Petition as thus mounted measures fifteen feet in length and weighs two hundredweight. Probably no Librarian but Mr. Guppy has had his patience tried by constant moving and turning over of such unwieldy masses.

The introductions to the Catalogue comprise a brief analysis of all the early demotic material available in publications or in photographs, and an inquiry into the pronunciation of the Egyptian language in its latest pre-Coptic phases, for which the collection affords valuable evidence.

The key-list of the papyri will be found on pp. 307 to 317 of the present volume.

F. Ll. GRIFFITH.

OXFORD, 1 *August*, 1908.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Diod.: Diodorus.
Hdt.: Herodotus.

Tahr.: Tahrak[1].
Psam.: Psammêtik I.
Ahm.: Ahmasi II.
Dar.: Darius.
Ea. Ptol.
La. Ptol.
Ptol. } v. p. 323.
Rom.: Roman.
O.C.: Old (i.e. Pagan) Coptic.
Boh.: Boheiric dialect of Coptic.
Sah.: Sahidic dialect of Coptic.
Akhm.: Akhmimic dialect of Coptic.
Fay.: Fayumic dialect of Coptic.

Berl.: Berlin Museum.
Leyd.: Leyden Museum.
Tur.: Turin Museum.
Vat.: Vatican Museum.

Ä.Z.: Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache.
Rec. de Trav.: Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes.
OLZ.: Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung.
Rev. Ég.: Revue Égyptologique, edited by Revillout.
PSBA.: Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
TSBA.: Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
W.Z.K.M.: Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
M.A.F.: Mémoires de la Mission archéologique Française au Caire.

HIEROGLYPHIC AND HIERATIC TEXTS, ETC.:—

BRUGSCH, *Thes.*: Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum.
BRUGSCH, Wtb.(Suppl.): Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch and Supplement.
Dakhleh stela (I, II): published by Spiegelberg in *Rec. de Trav.* 21/12, 25/194.
DEVÉRIA: Catalogue des MSS. Égyptiens du Musée du Louvre.
Installation of Nitokri: Legrain and Erman in *Ä.Z.* 35/16.
L. *D.*: LEPSIUS, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.
LIEBLEIN: Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques.

Kahun Pap.: Griffith, Kahun Papyri.
MARIETTE, *Mon. Div.*: Monumens Divers.
Pap. Eskhons: Maspero in *M.A.F.* I, Pl. XXV–XXVII.
Pap. Hood: Maspero, Un Manuel de Hiérarchie Égyptienne in Études Égyptiennes, Tome II.
SPIEG. *Corresp.*: Spiegelberg, Correspondances du temps des Rois-Prêtres.
Tab. Eskhons: Maspero, Plaquette Rogers in *Rec. de Trav.* 2/13.
Will of Euerot: Legrain and Erman, *Ä.Z.* 35/13.

DEMOTIC:—

Corpus Louvre: REVILLOUT, Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti, Tome I, Papyrus du Louvre.
Not.: REVILLOUT, Notice des Papyrus démotiques archaïques, 1896.
Textes arch.: Revillout et Boudier, Quelques textes démotiques archaïques.
Chrest. dém.: Revillout, Chrestomathie démotique.
Nouv. Chrest.: Revillout, Nouvelle Chrestomathie démotique.
Dem. Proph.: Demotic Prophesies (Chronique Démotique) in *Rev. Ég.* I.
Dem. Pap. Berl.: Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1902 (text by Spiegelberg).
Dem. pap. Strassb.: Spiegelberg, Die demotischen Papyrus der Strassburger Bibliothek, 1902.
Dem. Les.: Krall, Demotische Lesestücke.
Mumienetiketten: Spiegelberg, Aegyptische u. Griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der Römischen Kaiserzeit.
I (II) Kham.: First (and second) story of Khamuas in *Stories H. P.*
Stories H. P.: Griffith, Stories of the High Priests of Memphis.
Pap. Mag. LL.: Griffith and Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden.
Rhind bil. in Birch, Facsimiles of two papyri; cf. Brugsch, Rhind's zwei bilingue Papyri.
SPIEG. *Pap. Eleph.*: Spiegelberg, Demotische Papyrus von der Insel Elephantine.
Pap. Reinach: Papyrus Grecs et Démotiques, par Théod. Reinach, Spiegelberg et de Ricci.
Can. (I, II) = Canopus decree, I Tanis copy, II Hisn copy.
Ros. = Rosetta decree.

GREEK:—

Rev. Laws: Grenfell, Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus.
Gr. Pap. I: Grenfell, Greek Papyri.
Gr. Pap. II: Grenfell and Hunt, Greek Papyri, second series.
Oxyrh.: Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri.
Fayum Towns: Grenfell and Hunt, Fayum Towns.
Amh. Gr.: Grenfell and Hunt, Amherst Papyri, the Greek Papyri II.
El Hibeh: Grenfell and Hunt, El Hibeh Papyri.
Petrie Pap.: Mahaffy, Petrie Papyri I, II, III.
MAH. SM.: Mahaffy and Smyly, Petrie Papyri.

KENYON (I, II, III): Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum.
B.G.U.: Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.
Paris Pap.: Brunel de Presle et Egger, Pap. Grecs du Musée du Louvre et de la Bibl. Impériale.
Leiden Gr.: Leemans, Papyri Graeci Musei Lugdunensis.
Cas.: Casati Papyrus in *Paris Pap.* No. 5.
DITTENBERGER *OGIS.*: Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Archiv: Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
BOUCHÉ LECLERCQ: Histoire des Lagides.

COPTIC:—

B.K.U.: Berlin, Koptische Urkunden.
Giz. Copt. Mon.: Crum, Coptic Monuments (Cairo Catalogue).
PEYRON: Lexicon Linguae Copticae.
PEYRON Gram.: Grammatica Linguae Copticae.

Rainer Kopt.: Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, II. Koptische Texte ed. Krall.
STEINDORFF: Koptische Grammatik, 2nd ed.
STERN: Koptische Grammatik.
ZOEGA: Catalogus Codicum Copticorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris asservantur.

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[1] Some early papyri are referred to thus: Tahr. 3/C, Psam. 45/2, meaning papyrus of the 3rd year of Tahrako, paragraph C: papyrus of 45th year of Psammetichus I, l. 2. Such papyri can be identified by means of the inventory on pp. 15–32.

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PART I

LEGAL AND HISTORICAL

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INTRODUCTION

LEGAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY TO THE CONQUEST BY ALEXANDER

A. Demotic Writing.

Herodotus, writing in the middle of the fifth century B.C., states that the Egyptians used two kinds of writing (*γράμματα*), the one called *ἱρά*, 'sacred,' the other *δημοτικά*, 'popular' or 'common'[1]. From this passage is taken the term 'demotic,' and the name is convenient and sufficiently descriptive of what is meant. So far as we know at present, demotic documents commence about 650 B.C., and must have ceased generally before the fall of Paganism in the fourth century A.D., although in the temple of Philae Brugsch found pagan graffiti in demotic dated as late as the end of the fifth century.

The earliest inscriptions that we know of in Egypt are in hieroglyphs, i.e. picture-signs, but even under the First Dynasty abbreviations of these are used, and when written with a frayed reed on stone they have already assumed the cursive forms known as hieratic. Writing was extensively used as early as the Sixth Dynasty. Remains of the age of the Twelfth Dynasty preserve every variety of script, from the most elaborate monumental hieroglyphic down to small crabbed cursive hieratic from which every trace of the original pictures has been obliterated; and all these continued in use through the Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom, the handwriting of each long period showing well-marked peculiarities by which it can be readily distinguished. In those days the 'common' writing was what we call hieratic; but later on hieratic earned its name, its less cursive style being reserved for sacred books and the like as a written form of hieroglyphic, while its most cursive forms developed into a distinct writing, i.e. demotic, employed for all ordinary purposes.

When the system of hieroglyphic and hieratic writing was fully developed, towards the end of the Old Kingdom, most words were spelled redundantly. All that was really necessary for the spelling of a word was a 'word-sign' or a group of phonetic signs giving the essential consonants of the word, this word-sign or group being followed by a 'determinative sign' to indicate its significance in a general way, and so avoid ambiguity; e.g. *rmn*, 'arm,' could be spelt with *r* *mn* and . But in practice, phonetic signs representing one or two consonants were added to the word-signs, sometimes to supply grammatical endings, more often simply repeating one or more elements implied

[1] Hdt. ii. 36. Heliodorus (iv. 8), writing in the fourth century A.D., uses the same term. Diodorus Siculus (first century B.C.) designates demotic by the words *τὰ δημώδη* (*γράμματα*) iii. 3 and *γράμματα τὰ κοινοτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν*, as opposed to *τὰ ἱερὰ καλούμενα*, i. 81.

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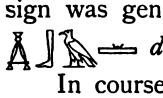
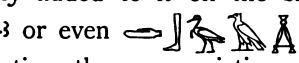
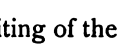
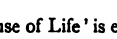
by the word-sign: and if a biliteral phonogram was employed, a redundant alphabetic sign was generally added to it on the same principle: the result was spellings like  *db3-b-3* or even  *d-b3-3-b3-db3* instead of for *db3*.

In course of time the pronunciation and grammatical forms of the words altered in the living language and many terminal consonants were worn off, but the scribes in rendering this later language held as closely as they could to the orthography to which they were trained in copying the older literature. Naturally much confusion ensued with the complicated spelling: in the New Kingdom the notion of accurate spelling was given up, and it became the fashion to weight the word-groups with additional signs, especially in manuscripts as opposed to monumental writing. The additional signs were partly meaningless, but added on the analogy of the meaningless survivals in other word-groups (as when *db3* had become *db* it was written *db3* followed by *w*, *t* or even *w-t*), partly they were tinkering additions required by the pronunciation, but more or less at variance with the rest of the spelling. Determinative signs too were multiplied. It was out of cursive hieratic of this sort, full of obsolete, otiose, and contradictory signs, both phonetic and determinative, that demotic developed. But we find in certain cursive hieratic jottings of the Twentieth Dynasty and onwards, in which brevity and conciseness were specially needed, that the scribe shore away a great deal of useless lumber from individual groups, returning to the original word-sign or retaining the determinative sign or signs alone[1] as an abbreviation. It is thus that the symbols or groups for certain common words are to be derived in demotic, in which script we can trace two opposite tendencies at work—an inveterate habit of redundant spelling combined with the effort to attain brevity. As the origin of many words and their relationship to the old groups was quite forgotten, further confusion crept in, unetymological spellings connecting them with the wrong groups. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the use of alphabetic characters was largely developed in late demotic for spelling sundry adopted words, as well as words of which the etymology had been obscured by phonetic change. But the demotic scribe down to the latest period was not wholly oblivious of the hieroglyphic origins of the signs; as has been implied above, much in demotic writing of all ages is due not to a purely mechanical development from cursive hieratic or demotic ligatures but to a conscious handling of hieroglyphic components.

The trilingual tablet of Canopus, written in 238 B.C., in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, records that the decree of the priests was to be engraved in 'sacred, Egyptian, and Greek characters' (ιεροις γραμμασιν και Αιγυπτιοις και Ελληνικοις). Here the demotic is called simply Egyptian. So also on the Rosetta stone of 196 B.C., it is called the native writing: the decree is to be inscribed 'in sacred, native, and Greek characters' (ιεροις και εγχωριοις και Ελληνικοις γραμμασιν). In the hieroglyphic version the decree of Canopus designates hieroglyphic as the 'writing of the House of Life[2],'  , demotic as 'book-writing,'  , and Greek as 'writing of the Hanebu (?),' .

[1] e.g. for 'take.' SPIEGELBERG, *Ä. Z.*, 37/20.

[2] 'The House of Life' is evidently the name for the college or colleges of ἱερογραμματεῖς.

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The Rosetta Stone gives for these the terms: 'writing of divine words' ( ), 'book-writing,' and 'writing of the Hanebu(?)' respectively. Lastly, the demotic versions of the two decrees furnish the current Egyptian names for the three kinds of writing, viz. *sḫ mḏ-ntr*, *sḫ mz*, *sḫ Wynn*, 'writing of divine words, book-writing, and writing of the Ionians.' No native name for 'hieratic' is known. This cursive form of hieroglyphic might certainly have been considered a kind of book-writing, being used for sacred books in the days when demotic prevailed. On the analogy of the other demotic names we might conjecture that it was called *sḫ mz ntr*, 'writing of divine books'; but more probably it was looked upon as only a variety of hieroglyphic, necessary to writing as opposed to sculpture or engraving and in consequence had no special name. The JOHN RYLANDS collection contains several illustrations of hieratic in its common employment for religious texts; but the present catalogue comprises a particularly interesting example in Pap. No. IX. cols. 21–23, where hieratic is employed in a demotic text as the medium for a literal copy of two hieroglyphic tablets. There are also the early half-hieratic, half-demotic documents, Nos. I and II, dating from before the time of the full development of demotic.

The name 'hieratic' is taken from Clement of Alexandria, within whose recollection (say c. 160 A.D.) all three forms of native writing were still in regular use. Clement states that 'in the Egyptian schools the pupils are taught first that style of Egyptian writing which is called the epistolographic, *τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον . . . τὴν ἐπιστολογραφικὴν καλουμένην*; secondly, the hieratic which the scribes of sacred things employ, *τὴν ἱερατικὴν ᾗ χρῶνταί οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς*; and finally, the hieroglyphic, *τὴν ἱερογλυφικήν*'[1]: which last he proceeds to describe further. This is an interesting passage. The modern student is well-advised to reverse the order of the writings—demotic, hieratic, hieroglyphic—which the Egyptian pupil followed; yet there are instances in which a decipherer has attacked demotic with success in spite of possessing little or no knowledge of the previous stages of the language or writing, and having no 'scribe of the school' to instruct him. For the ordinary Egyptian scribe demotic writing was above all an acquirement of practical value, and it closely represented his own mother tongue. Hieratic, on the other hand, was the vehicle of difficult archaic texts, very different from the spoken language of the time; and hieroglyphic, quite apart from any difficulties inherent in the language itself, in its latest days was often an orgy of fantastic signs and spellings. In agreement with Clement, Diodorus Siculus states that all the Egyptians learn the 'popular' writing, *τὰ δημώδη προσαγορευόμενα*, but the priests alone are acquainted with the 'sacred' writing, learning it as a secret from their fathers[2]. In the older periods the elements of hieroglyphic no doubt were acquired, like our capital or printed letters, long before the pupil advanced to the hieratic handwriting.

B. HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PERIOD.

At the end of the New Kingdom the Ramessides of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties at Thebes gave place to a dynasty from Tanis in the Delta. Thenceforth

[1] Stromata v. 4, p. 657, quoted in BUNSEN, *Egypt's Place*, i. 2nd ed., p. 733.

[2] Diod. iii. 3.

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the native power centred more and more in Lower Egypt. Here the local princes were enriched and strengthened, not only by the cultivation of broad acres but also by growing trade and intercourse with Phoenicians and other civilized foreigners. The most powerful people in the country at this time were Libyan military chiefs with their following of soldiers, probably first introduced as mercenaries under the Ramessides, and allowed to acquire lands and eventually princedoms in the Delta.

The Tanite Dynasty (c. 1100–950 B.C.) was followed by that of Sesonchis (Shishak) from Bubastis (c. 950–750). It began with some brilliancy, but the latter part of its long career was in weakness and divided power, the Twenty-third Dynasty, said to be from Tanis, representing only a subdivision. Meanwhile, a great change had taken place in Ethiopia. That poverty-stricken country had long been a recruiting-ground for the armies and police of Pharaoh, but now it had become a kingdom, ruled probably by half-blood Egyptians of Theban extraction. Certain it is that at the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty (c. 750 B.C.), when Egypt was split up into many princedoms, we find for the first time records of a king of Ethiopia. He bears the Egyptian name P^cankhi, is devoted to the worship of the Theban Ammon, and is apparently quite Egyptianized. A great stela taken from the temple of Gebel Barkal (Napata) represents him as having full authority over Thebes and Upper Egypt, and as powerful enough to capture Memphis and compel the homage of the princes of the Delta. Probably he had not obtained his power in Thebes without fighting for it, but he may well have based a claim on ancient rights and have had a strong priestly party there to support him. These are signs that the Thebaid under the standard of Ammon chafed at the domination of Lower Egypt, and was ready to rise in revolt against it on occasion, perchance with the aid or connivance of Ethiopia.

The greatest opponent of P^cankhi was Tnephachthus (Tefnakhti), prince of Sais and Memphis. He was probably the father of Bocchoris (Bokerrinf), who reigned six years in Lower Egypt, constituting Manetho's Twenty-fourth Dynasty. Bocchoris (c. 721–715) was overthrown by another Ethiopian invasion under Sabacon (c. 715–707), who may have ruled at Thebes and made himself monarch of all Egypt, while Ethiopia itself was under some other king. Sabacon was succeeded by his son Shebitku (Sebichos), and the latter by a cousin (?) Taracus (Tahraku, c. 693–667), who undoubtedly ruled both Egypt and Ethiopia, and was known to the Hebrews as Tirhakah king of Cush, to the Assyrians as Taraku king of Kusi. He intrigued with the Jews and Phoenicians, and must have raised the united kingdoms to a place of higher consideration amongst the nations than Egypt had enjoyed since the time of Shishak. But in the last years of his reign the armies of Assyria reached him. Taracus was no match for these mighty warriors. He saw his capital Memphis swiftly captured, and his palace, his queen, his heir, and his entire family fall into the hands of Esarhaddon. The conqueror divided the rule of Egypt amongst the princes of the old native or Libyan families, leaving only one Assyrian governor at Pelusium to keep that gate of Egypt open for him. Probably these princes were willing to profit by the help of Assyria against the Ethiopian, but their position was difficult. Taracus returned and snatched the reins of government as often as the Assyrian turned homewards. Esarhaddon's

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successor Asshurbanipal drove off Taracus and replaced the governors, at the head of whom was Necôs (Niku) prince of Sais and Memphis, and when Taracus began again to intrigue with the governors, Necôs, with three other suspects, was taken in chains to the Assyrian king, who, however, after this exhibition of his power, sent Necôs back pardoned and honoured. Taracus dying, his cousin or nephew Tanutamane (Ass. Tandamane) succeeded him (c. 667–664), invaded Egypt and captured Memphis. Necôs also died about this time and his son Psammetichus (c. 664–610) counted the beginning of his own reign as founder of the Twenty-sixth (Saite) Dynasty from the death of Taracus, and apparently ignored Necôs' somewhat petty reign. Asshurbanipal now drove back Tandamane out of Egypt and his army even plundered Thebes, but the Ethiopian king may have returned and held the Thebaid still for some years, while Psammetichus ruled in Lower Egypt, nominally as the vassal of the Assyrian king. It is certain from the monuments that Psammetichus was in possession of Thebes in his ninth year[1], and he was then probably quite independent of Assyria. There is no certain evidence that Asshurbanipal exercised any real control over Egypt later than his victory over Tandamane.

The royal city now was Sais. Here the kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty had their palaces and their tombs. But Memphis was probably the true capital. Sais lay on the Canopic branch of the Nile, the most important of all, and in the days when Egypt was divided, the Saite prince could intercept ships on the main route to Memphis. Perhaps this is the reason why Sais and Memphis generally were held together, from the time of Tnephachthus and Bocchoris onwards. The possession of these ensured a greatly preponderating power. It was by the Canopic branch that Greek merchandise came, and the Greek mercenaries too, the 'brazen men of the sea,' of whom Herodotus tells the picturesque tradition. The Phoenicians, on the other hand, probably entered the Nile more often by the Pelusiac mouth.

With the aid of his European mercenaries[2] Psammetichus held his kingdom secure, garrisons being established at the three corners of Egypt: at Daphnae, Marea, and Elephantine. He seems to have aimed at conciliating the Thebaid. Following the custom of his predecessors, the Ammon-worshipping Ethiopians, he dedicated his daughter to the god at Thebes in his ninth year. This act displaced a daughter of Taracus; but the regnant religious queen, whom she was to succeed, the daughter of another Ethiopian king, was in no wise disturbed and graciously adopted the new princess in proper form. Psammetichus likewise seems to have cultivated friendly relations with Ethiopia. The recovery from ruinous wars and civil strife must have been but gradual even in Egypt, and the prosperity and settled condition of the country are not reflected in the legal documents before the twentieth year. Herodotus tells us that Psammetichus turned away the invading host of the Scythians by timely presents[3], and that he warred in the north-east, capturing Azotus after a siege of twenty-five years[4].

[1] In his fourth year, according to the untrustworthy evidence of the Petition of Peteêsi (below, p. 77).

[2] It is hardly necessary to question this. The remains at Daphnae (Tell Defneh), on the Pelusiac branch, prove that Greeks were there at least soon after the reign of Psammetichus I.

[3] Hdt. i. 105.

[4] Ibid. ii. 157.

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Psammetichus I was succeeded by his son Necôs II (c. 610-594), who, profiting by the fall of Assyria, temporarily established his rule in Syria and Phoenicia; but Nebuchadrezzar, from Babylon, soon shattered his hopes of empire. Ethiopia probably continued to be independent of Egypt now and for several centuries to come. According to Herodotus, Necôs began to cut a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, and, abandoning it, built ships on the Red Sea[1].

During the short reign of Psammetichus II (c. 594–589), the son of Necôs, Egypt again shows signs of prosperity in monuments and papyri. According to Herodotus he warred in Ethiopia, and the Petition of Peteêsi represents him as making an expedition to Phoenicia or Syria[2].

Of Apries (Uhabrêʿ, Hophra, c. 589–570) there is little to record but unsuccessful wars, though his monuments are abundant. He was supplanted by Ahmosi (Amasis II) after fifteen years of sole rule and three years of co-regency or conflict with him.

Herodotus tells us that under Amasis (c. 570–526) Egypt was more prosperous than ever before, and his statement finds some corroboration in the plentiful remains of this time. Amasis made alliances or friendships abroad, and the Greeks remembered gratefully his goodwill and the foundation of their important colony of Naucratis: but he wisely refrained from acquiring possessions outside the bounds of Egypt. Cyrus planned to add Egypt to his own empire, and Cambyses on his accession prepared a great expedition for its conquest. He had not yet started when Amasis' long reign of forty-four years terminated, and the blow fell on his son Psammetichus III (c. 526). After reigning six months this unfortunate monarch, who offered but a feeble resistance at Pelusium to the invader, surrendered himself and his kingdom at Memphis.

Cambyses is said by Herodotus to have borne a grudge against Amasis, and to have destroyed his mummy: this may be true, for the cartouche of Amasis has been mutilated on several monuments in Lower Egypt[3]. During Cambyses' reign (c. 525–521) Egypt was cruelly wounded, at least in its self-esteem, but monumental evidence compels us to modify considerably the traditional account of his raging destructiveness.

The death of the Persian conqueror, which took place on his way home from Egypt, was followed by many disorders, out of which rose triumphantly the great Darius (c. 521–486) to solidify the Persian Empire and organize its satrapies. His first Egyptian satrap, Aryandes, issued a silver coinage of the highest degree of refinement; an act, however, which brought ruin upon its author through the jealousy of the king, if we may trust Herodotus. Darius made or completed the waterway from the Nile to the Red Sea, and in his reign or by him was founded a temple in the great oasis El Khargeh, possibly in order to impress the marauding desert tribes. The heavy tribute exacted from Egypt and the large contingents of ships and men to be furnished for the service of the empire can have left few accumulations of wealth to be spent in the extravagance of temple building. His beneficent rule in Egypt is testified by a long series of demotic papyri dated in this reign, contrasting strongly with their complete absence under his successors, when the oppressed people, even if they possessed wealth, would take every care to hide it from

[1] Hdt. ii. 158. [2] Below, p. 92. [3] P. 99, note 1.

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the eyes of the government, and carry out their transfers verbally without recourse to official scribes and courts of law.

At the end of Darius' reign the empire was shaken by the disaster of Marathon, and there was a momentary break in the Persian rule over Egypt. A certain Khebebesh was made king, and reigned about a year at Memphis before Xerxes (486–466) suppressed the revolt. After Darius I Egypt is almost destitute of monuments of the Persian rule. In the reign of Artaxerxes (466–425) another revolt broke out in Lower Egypt, under Inarôs the Libyan and Amyrtaeus. Athens as well as Cyrene aided the Egyptians: the combined forces defeated and slew the satrap Achaemenes, and laid siege to Memphis, but two years afterwards the Persian triumph was again complete. Later in this reign falls the visit of Herodotus, whose account of Egypt, partly derived from the earlier traveller Hecataeus, is very instructive. The country seems then to have been peaceful, if oppressed. Darius II (424–405) showed some favour to Egypt, adding to the temple at El Khargeh which Darius I had begun.

But it was in this reign that the Egyptians revolted successfully, establishing their independence for perhaps sixty years. Manetho and the Demotic Chronicle make a king Amyrtaeus (Amenertais, c. 405–400) of Sais the first of the independent rulers. Of him no monument survives. The following Twenty-ninth Dynasty from Mendes (c. 399–378) has left some monuments with the names of Nepherites, Hacoris, and Psammuthis. The Thirtieth (Sebennyte) Dynasty (c. 378–342) consisted of three kings, Nekhtharhêbe, Zehọ (Teos, Tachos), and Nekhtnebf. The first and last, both known as Nechtnêbis, have left a wonderful series of monuments covering the whole of Egypt. They must have been exceedingly active, and also exceedingly pious. But Ochus, after several attempts to recover the rich satrapy to Persia, finally reconquered Egypt in 343 or 342 B.C., and is said to have spared the people no indignity. If, as is probable, the sale of a house in the Louvre collection, dated in the second year of Darius, is rightly attributed by REVILLOUT to Darius III (c. 336–332), it may indicate a more prosperous and contented condition of the country under that unhappy prince than had been known since the days of his great namesake.

C. THE INCREASE OF WRITTEN CONTRACTS.

The Egyptians loved writing. By the time of the Middle Kingdom, not later than 2000 B.C., they had thoroughly adapted their style to the requirements of swift and clear record of every kind of affair, and thenceforward rapid scribbles as well as painfully engraved hieroglyphs were scattered broadcast. It would be surprising if they had not seized the opportunity presented by writing for the record of legal transactions; and, as a matter of fact, we find traces of written contracts in business-like form from a very early time. It is indeed strange that we do not find them more abundantly. While isolated examples are known of every period from the Old Kingdom onwards, there is no body of legal documents yet discovered, with the one exception of a remarkable series relating to criminal trials dating from the Twentieth Dynasty, until the conquest of Egypt

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by the Ethiopian Sabacon. Then suddenly legal papyri begin to appear in solid groups, interrupted here and there by blank or almost blank intervals[1], but forming a nearly continuous series in demotic, Aramaic (of the Persian period), Greek, Coptic, or Arabic writing, until papyrus finally went out of use in the ninth century A.D.

This striking contrast must indicate some legal or commercial change at the time indicated. We may admit that every century in the existence of a papyrus brings an additional risk of perishing, even when it has escaped the preliminary dangers of damp, white ants, and fire, agents which have destroyed millions for every one that survives. But their greater antiquity alone cannot explain the scarcity of legal documents from the earlier ages, for large numbers of papyri of other classes have survived. Probably several causes contributed to make legal documents suddenly more abundant in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The growth of trade by sea and land in the first millennium B.C. must have originated a new wealthy merchant class, causing property of all kinds to change hands rapidly, while contact with the crafty and business-like Phoenicians and other Semites opened the eyes of the Egyptians to the necessity of precision in their dealings. These influences would be felt most powerfully in Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt receiving them only at second hand. Probably Diodorus is not far from the truth when he tells of Bocchoris, the unfortunate victim of Sabacon whom tradition remembers, in spite of his brief reign, as a lawgiver and judge of extraordinary wisdom, that 'he brought more precision into the matter of contracts[2],' and, again, that 'they say that the laws concerning contracts belong to Bocchoris; these ordain that persons who have contracted a debt without a written agreement, and deny that they owe it, after taking an oath are freed from the debt[3].' Bocchoris was from Sais, and whether his rule was confined to Lower Egypt or not, it was there that he had won his experience. The earliest surviving instance of these later contracts probably dates from the reign of Sabacon, and was found at Thebes. Papyri from Lower Egypt are very rare, owing to the unfavourable climate: otherwise we should doubtless have been able to trace the leading of Lower Egypt in the documents. It is not likely that an Ethiopian was the originator of the law, although it must be allowed that a new system of writing was invented in or for Ethiopia some centuries later.

Even if we reject Diodorus' statement as in itself valueless, we may take the hint that his text here offers, since it accords well with the known facts. Setting aside details, we may admit that about 720 B.C., the inadequacy of the mode of record of legal transactions hitherto customary was recognized in Lower Egypt. Down to that time formal declarations and oaths before witnesses and assemblies, particularly before councils of city

[1] Especially that of the century and a half corresponding to the struggles with Persia, after the death of Darius I down to the reign of Darius III.

[2] Diod. i. cap. 94. 5 *τέταρτον δὲ γενέσθαι νομοθέτην Βόκχοριν τὸν βασιλέα . . . τοῦτον . . . καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων ἐξακριβῶσαι.*

[3] Ibid. cap. 79. 1–3 *τοὺς δὲ περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων νόμους Βοκχόριδος εἶναί φασι· προστάττουσι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀσύγγραφα δανεισαμένους ἂν μὴ φάσκωσιν ὀφείλειν ὀμόσαντας ἀπολύεσθαι τοῦ δανείου.* Diodorus further states that in loans the capital might not be increased beyond double by the accumulation of interest, and that a man's property only and not his person could be taken in satisfaction of a debt. MORET has collected all the information that can be gathered about the king in a dissertation *De Bocchori rege*, Paris, 1903.

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and village elders and officials, were the main instruments of legal contract and transfer[1]; thenceforward the record in writing was to be more prominent and indispensable.

Thus the comparative abundance of legal documents during and after the Twenty-fifth Dynasty is naturally accounted for by (1) the increase in the number of transactions, and (2) the greater necessity of written record.

D. The Early Demotic Papyri.

A question frequently asked by those interested in Egyptology is—'What was the age of the earliest demotic writing?' No direct answer can be returned. Demotic writing, as has been already explained, is the natural growth from cursive hieratic (itself a free rendering of hieroglyphs with a reed pen on papyrus), becoming gradually more and more independent of the hieroglyphic originals, and eventually stereotyping itself in a new set of symbols. In certain legal documents from Thebes dating as early as the Twentieth Dynasty passages can be found very cursively written which show some of the characteristics of demotic. Both the writing and the written language continued to change down to the Twenty-first Dynasty, though the bulk of the surviving texts, being of a religious or formal character, retain the old language and the linear hieroglyphic or stiffer hieratic script. Freely-written papyri of the Twenty-first Dynasty are very rare, and by some accident the succeeding period is scarcely represented in our collections. Ordinary writings on papyrus begin again at the end of the eighth century with the legal documents of the Twenty-fifth or Ethiopian Dynasty, and henceforth all such for convenience have been called demotic in modern classification, though for at least fifty years more sometimes hieratic forms sometimes demotic prevail in the same document. In fact, the Theban papyri until the age of Amasis preserve a style which, while it is scarcely hieratic, is nevertheless on a different path of development from demotic, and only gradually merges in the latter. This style is here denoted by the name 'abnormal hieratic'; the true demotic must have grown and been perfected in Middle and Lower Egypt. The papyrus of the Petition of Peteêsi, in the John Rylands collection, proves that demotic was fully adapted for neat and clear writing of literary texts of great length as early as the reign of Darius I. For convenience we may distinguish the demotic documents which date before the Macedonian Empire as 'early' demotic, though a unique papyrus in the Louvre, dated under Darius III, has nothing in formulae or style of writing to separate it from those of the time of the Alexanders.

From Revillout's Catalogue (*Notice*) dated 1896, and subsequent publications, it appears that almost exactly one hundred 'abnormal hieratic' and 'normal early demotic' papyri are now known, and about forty have been published in more or less adequate facsimiles. The Louvre contains by far the largest collection, comprising quite fifty numbers. Next perhaps come the Turin Museum with eleven, and the John Rylands collection with nine. The British Museum, the Museums of Berlin and Cairo, the Library

[1] On this see Spiegelberg, *Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches*, Strassburg, 1892. Cf. also A. H. Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*; in this law-suit the writings mentioned appear to be official records and pleadings, not contracts.

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of the Strassburg University, and the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, each of these has several; and single examples are found in the Vatican Library, in the Münzkabinette at Vienna, and in the collection of M. Golénischeff at St. Petersburg. Though the number of rolls in the John Rylands collection seems small by the side of the great series in the Louvre, three of them are of unusual size, and a fourth is so large and so closely written that there is probably as much text in the nine papyri of the John Rylands collection as in the whole of the early demotic papyri in the Louvre, including even the attestations on the backs of the documents.

Professor Revillout has placed scholars under a deep debt by his enterprise in publishing early demotic papyri. In his *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti*, Tome I, of which four fasciculis have appeared from 1885 to 1902, are photographic facsimiles in all of twenty-three examples of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and of the Persian rulers Darius I and III from the Louvre, omitting only the names of the witnesses on the backs. In the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. viii (1885), the same writer has published a papyrus of Darius I from the British Museum, and in *Quelques textes démotiques archaïques* (1895) autographed facsimiles by M. Boudier of five 'abnormal hieratic' papyri of Taracus and Psammetichus I in the Louvre, four papyri of Psammetichus I from Turin, and one of the same king from the Vatican Library. The autographed copies are, of course, far inferior to photographs, but are to a great extent intelligible. Brugsch in his *Grammaire démotique* printed good hand-facsimiles of one of the Psammetichus papyri at Turin and of part of another; also of a papyrus of Darius in the Bibliothèque Nationale[1]. The authorities of the Berlin Museum have published their papyri of Darius I (lithographed long since in Band VI of Lepsius' *Denkmäler aus Aegypten*) in their magnificent catalogue entitled *Dèmotische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (1902); and Professor Spiegelberg has edited the four in Strassburg, of Psammetichus III(?) and Darius I, in *Die demotischen Papyrus der Strassburger Bibliothek* (1902).

E. The 'Abnormal Hieratic' Group.

In examining a representative series of the Egyptian 'contracts' it is easy to make a rough classification of them. The formulae progress, varying from period to period and attaining great development before Alexander overthrew the Persian Empire. Contracts of the time of Darius I are very different from those of Macedonian age; they have advanced further in the matter of formulae than those of Amasis, but even these last show many points of contact with the Ptolemaic. On the other hand, when we go back as far as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty there is scarcely a feature of the ultimate stereotype to be detected: beyond the initial date, the introductory form 'saith *A* to *B*,' and the occurrence of witnesses at the end, nothing remains. There is in fact quite as much, if not more, similarity between the Ptolemaic contracts and those of the reign of Amasis as there is between those of the latter and of Taracus. This fact becomes more striking

[1] Caillaud is stated to have published the papyri of the Bibliothèque Nationale; the facsimiles are not to be found in his *Voyage à Meroé*, nor his *Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes*. Probably they are contained in his exceedingly rare work entitled *Recherches sur les Arts et Métiers*, of which no good copy exists, except the one in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

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when we see that the bulk of the contracts of Psammetichus I and some even of Amasis follow the Taracus traditions, being absolutely distinct in writing and formulae from the remainder of the Amasis contracts.

We may, therefore, at once separate the group to which those of Taracus belong, and to which I propose at present to attach the label of the 'abnormal hieratic' group. Palaeographically they are highly specialized, but they lie outside the line of development of demotic: analogous writing of the age of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties is known in papyri from Thebes now at Berlin. Linguistically they are older than the earliest of the 'normal' series, and approach the Theban papyri of the Twenty-first Dynasty. Their formulae are quite different from those of the 'normal' series, and cannot yet be satisfactorily paralleled owing to the entire lack of legal documents of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties in our collections. An oath by Ammon and Pharaoh, unknown in all except the earliest of the 'normal' series, is nearly always included. The witnesses in the 'normal' series merely sign their names, except when they repeat the whole of the document verbatim: in the 'abnormal hieratic' series they use a formula 'bearing witness to all that is written above,' or the like, and give the date, very frequently quoting some substantial parts of the contract itself. The 'abnormal' documents often begin with a regnal date without the king's name; the 'normal' series date each insignificant document with the king's name until the Ptolemaic age. Perhaps the most interesting peculiarity of the 'abnormal' class is that the price in silver paid by a purchaser or borrower is always conspicuously stated in these papyri, while in the 'normal' series, though 'the price in silver' is referred to, the amount, unluckily for Egyptologists, is almost invariably omitted, perhaps for fear of prejudicing future sales by a statement which is not essential to the contract.

The careful statement of the price paid recalls the so-called will of the high priest Euerot in the Twenty-second Dynasty, recorded on a granite stela at Karnak[1]. Euerot had acquired a landed estate, which he wished to pass on undivided from eldest son to eldest son, and in order to ensure this he obtained a decree from the mouth of Amonrasonthêr, the great god of Karnak, ordaining the transmission. The estate had been acquired in parcels from many different owners, and a list is given of these parcels with their measures, the names of the vendors, and the sums paid for them in silver: moreover, an expression occurs in the account of the purchase which is the counterpart of an expression found in the 'abnormal hieratic' sales: 'these 556 aruras of land *nemḥ-na*' (i.e. clear of tenants' rights?), with their wells, trees, flocks, and herds, which he had bought for silver from the small-holders (?) of the land *in contentment of heart* ( ) without any unfairness.' There is no mention of written title-deeds in the decree, but even if the purchases were not formally recorded in writing, which seems unlikely, it is evident that the decree here is based on the formal wording of the sales, and that the formulae and style of the written contracts in 'abnormal hieratic' are closely similar to those which had prevailed under the Twenty-second Dynasty. It is noteworthy also as pointing in the same direction that the values of the lands are recorded on the

[1] Discovered by LEGRAIN and published by him: translated by ERMAN, *Ä. Z.*, 1897, p. 13.

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stela of the endowment of Nemert's tomb at Abydos, likewise in the Twenty-second Dynasty[1].

Practically all the texts in the 'abnormal hieratic' group can be proved to be Theban by internal evidence, in a few cases supplemented by knowledge of their provenance; and there is no evidence to show that any have come from other localities. Indeed, Thebes is almost the only source for the contracts down to the Ptolemaic age. None of the published texts from Thebes earlier than the reign of Amasis II are in the 'normal' writing. On the other hand, all the texts from El Hîbeh in Middle Egypt, reaching back to the twenty-first year of Psammetichus I, are in the 'normal' writing, though in the case of the earliest the script is still practically hieratic. It is thus clear that the 'abnormal hieratic,' whether Theban or not in origin, is descended from hieratic of the Twenty-second Dynasty; that it survived long in the conservative Thebaid, while the normal style was making its way southward probably from Lower Egypt; and that it was only displaced in the Thebaid by the latter in the course of the long reign of Amasis II.

The following is a table of the recorded 'contracts' of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, showing approximately the proportion of 'abnormal' hieratic to 'normal' hieratic and demotic[2]:—

	Abnormal.	*Normal.*	*Unpublished.*
Sabacon	—	—	1
Taracus	4	—	several?
Psammetichus I . . .	6	2 (El Hîbeh)	—
Necôs II	1	—	—
Psammetichus II . .	1	1	—
Apries	—	—	1
Amasis II	2	16[3]	15
Psammetichus III . .	—	1	—

[1] MARIETTE, *Abydos*, ii. Pl. 36, 37.

[2] The numbers of the unpublished texts given here are based on the large work by M. REVILLOUT, entitled, *Notice des papyrus démotiques archaïques et autres textes juridiques ou historiques traduits et commentés à ce double point de vue à partir du règne de Bocchoris jusqu'au règne de Ptolémée Soter, avec une introduction complétant l'histoire des origines du Droit Égyptien, par* EUGÈNE REVILLOUT, Paris, 1896. To the energy of M. REVILLOUT are due not only the bulk of the publications of the papyri, especially the fine series of facsimiles in the *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti*, but also very courageous and often successful pioneering work in translating them. In the above volume he gives full translations without interrogation marks or gaps, and he has repeated these translations in subsequent works. It is necessary to say that the present writer, while deeply indebted to M. REVILLOUT's writings for aid in commencing his own study of these papyri, has found reason to depart almost in every detail from his readings of the earliest documents, and to a less degree also in the case of the later ones. M. REVILLOUT, in his *Notice*, does not indicate except in general terms where facsimiles of the originals are to be found. These are therefore carefully noted here, and references given to the *Notice* to show that M. REVILLOUT's labours have not been overlooked. Once more, his translations have frequently been consulted with advantage.

[3] Except those from El Hîbeh, all are from the second half of the reign. Several of the unpublished papyri are from the first half, and are presumably 'abnormal.' See below, pp. 20, 21.

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F. Inventory of the Documents available in Publications or in Photographs.

In the following pages an attempt is made to analyse the early documents one by one. It is the result of much labour, but must not be taken as by any means final. In some cases whole passages of text remain undeciphered, and words unread or unexplained constantly occur. As to the proper names, the vocalization and even the consonantal skeleton are often uncertain.

TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY

[Sabacon.

According to Revillout, an unpublished papyrus in the Louvre is dated in the tenth year of this king[1].]

Taracus.

(1) Sale of slave. Louvre 3228 A. Devéria, p. 206; *Not.*, p. 230: facsimile in *Textes arch.*[2] Translated below, p. 57.

Year 3, Tôbi 20 (?). Sale of a northern slave for 2 teben 4 kiti of silver of the treasury of Harshafe, by Pasmenamûn and his sister Tbês, to the singer of Amûn Teêsehebse, in order to provide funerary requirements for their father and mother, Steamenkoü and Hetpeêsi. Oath, scribe, and attestations (some long) of six witnesses. Cf. No. 37.

(The 'northern slaves' in these documents may have been partisans of Bocchoris captured by Sabacon and readily purchased by Thebans, who sympathized with the Ethiopian as against Lower Egypt.

The teben contained 10 kiti [of 140–150 grains?]. The 'treasury of Harshafe' evidently provided the standard of fineness, see p. 76.)

(2) Certificate of discharge. Louvre 3228 B. Devéria, p. 206; *Not.*, p. 248: facsimile in *Textes arch.* (lettered 3228 F).

Year 5, Epêp 19 (no royal name). Petekhnûm son of Ienharoü declares to Petubasti (?) son of Petemenopi, his colleague in the disposal of three female slaves and one male slave that belonged to Steamenkoü and Hetpeêsi and in providing the funerary requirements of these two people, his satisfaction with all that they had done. He himself has contributed 1 teben and (?) a slave, for the burial; he has now no claim upon Petubasti for the expenses, and he finds that Petubasti has contributed 7 kiti from his own purse. Oath, scribe, and attestations of four witnesses.

(3) Certificate of discharge. Louvre 3228 C. Devéria, p. 206; *Not.*, p. 248: facsimile in *Textes arch.*

Year 6, Paôni 5. Petekhnûm (with his first wife), in a dispute about 2 teben (part of

[1] Louvre 3228 D. *Not.*, p. 221, cf. Devéria, p. 206. Revillout attributes a papyrus to Bocchoris (Louvre E. 3168, *Not.*, p. 205) apparently without any warrant. It is dated in year 16, and must therefore belong to Taracus or Psammetichus I; the style points decidedly to the former (see below, No. 4).

[2] *Quelques textes démotiques archaïques traduits par* E. Revillout, *avec fac-similés exécutés par* E. Boudier. The facsimiles appear to be tracings or hand copies, and those of the papyri in the Louvre seem well executed. The plates are not numbered.

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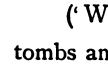
a sum of 6 teben claimed by Petekhnûm and his sister Hetpeêsi on account of a northern slave-artisan sold to him (?) in the seventh year of Shabako), has been ordered by 'the great court of Ne (Thebes) together with the superintendent of writings' to give Petemin a written discharge. Petekhnûm gives the discharge for the 6 teben and causes nine interested persons—including himself, his 'first wife,' and his 'last wife,' but not his sister—to swear before Amûn that the 2 teben had been weighed out while the first wife was in Ne. Scribe and six attestations, mostly long.

(This is probably the latest clear reference to a meeting of the 'great court' which was so prominent in the New Kingdom[1]. The two wives were alive together, but it is probable that the 'first' had been divorced.)

(4) Sale of thread. Louvre E. 3168. DEVÉRIA, p. 186; *Not.*, p. 205: facsimile in *Textes arch.*

Year 16, Pachons 16 (no royal name)[2]. A woman *X* charges a 'water-pourer' *Y* $2\frac{1}{4}$ kiti of silver of the treasury of Harshafe for thread sold to him for weaving, and acknowledges that she has now no power over the latter. No oath; scribe; attestations lost.

('Water-pourers,'  , or 'water-carriers' (?), the Greek χοαχυται, were attached to tombs and cemeteries and were at the same time usually παστοφοροι (shrine-bearers), of gods in the neighbouring temples. What their duties might be in the service of the gods and the dead can be readily imagined: but little is certainly known about them. Those attached to tombs derived their emoluments from lands left for the purpose, and apparently from perquisites and offerings.

There are passages in the above texts, especially in the last, which at present defy interpretation. An examination of the originals and the publication of the other known examples would doubtless result in a much better understanding of the documents. A similar remark could apply to not a few of those which follow.)

TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY

The series of papyri of Taracus ceases before the Assyrian invasions, there being none known later than his sixteenth year. In approaching those of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty a difficulty is met with in the fact that no distinction was made in the dating between different kings of the same name. As there were three called Psammẹṭk it becomes a question to which of them any particular document is to be attributed. The first reigned fifty-four years, the second five and a half years, the third only a few months. Thus all dates above the sixth or, at the utmost, the seventh year must belong to the first king of the name. The known dates on the papyri are:

2, 4, 5, 6.

21, 21, 29, 30, 31 (?), 33–42 (on one papyrus), 45, 47.

It will be observed that while all the dates on the second line are necessarily of Psammetichus I, they follow each other with but moderate gaps between, the greatest

[1] See SPIEGELBERG, *Rechtswesen*, p. 55; A. H. GARDINER, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 33.

[2] See note 1, p. 15. It is separated in the Louvre numbering from the batch of Taracus papyri (3228), but there seems no reason to attribute it to any other king.

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interval being eight years between the second and third. On the other hand, between the two lines there is a gap of no less than fifteen years. Thus 2–6 form quite a separate group, and the presumption is in favour of their belonging to the later Psammetichi. It would seem that Upper Egypt had not recovered from the troubles in which Taracus' reign ended, or otherwise was not in a condition for much business activity of this kind before about the twentieth year of Psammetichus I. To the legal papyri must be added a stela in the Louvre, recording the sale of a house[1]. It is generally described as dated in the third year of Psammetichus, and LIEBLEIN gives the date as 'Year 3 of Uehabrêʿ Psammêṯk (I).' But DE ROUGÉ, whose evidence on the point, as keeper of the Louvre collection and a first-rate observer, must be final, describes the date as being in the hieratic text and speaks of Psammetichus simply. REVILLOUT's publication of the cursive text shows that the distinctive name of Psammetichus I is not there; LIEBLEIN's date must therefore be due to a false inference or a wrong reading of the hieratic. Moreover, the numeral is not the usual ligature for 3, and would give ⸗ instead of ı ı ı. There is some reason for reading the ligature as 'abnormal hieratic' for ∩∩ 50: if this is correct the sale took place at the end of the reign of Psammetichus I; if, on the other hand, 3 is the true reading, then presumably it was in the reign of Psammetichus II.

Psammetichus I.

The papyri of Psammetichus I are all of the '**abnormal** hieratic' style, with the exception of the two from El Hibeh in the JOHN RYLANDS collection. The former are:

(5) Acknowledgement of right to share in office. Louvre E. 2432. DEVÉRIA, p. 207; *Not.*, p. 279: facsimile in *Textes arch.*

Year 29, Epêp 21. The lector (embalmer, ταριχευτης) of the seat of Truth Pnûfi (?) appoints *X* to the office of 'water-pourer' for one quarter of a burial-place which *X* had sold to him out of his own family grave. Oath, witness-scribe, and four attestations, two long.

(6) Sale of land, and receipt. Turin[2], No. 246. *Not.*, p. 281: facsimile in *Textes arch.*

Year 30, Parmûti 5. Esenkhêbi and (Ne)Menekhprêʿ, daughter and son of Khefenkhons, sell 10 aruras of their ancestral lands in Ermont[3], belonging to the temple of Amûn, to Haruoz, charging only 3 kiti, together with its tithe ($\frac{3}{10}$ kiti), to be paid to the scribe of the account of the temple, in fulfilment of an arrangement made with Haruoz by their father. They give receipt for the silver, but the title-deeds are not in their possession to hand over. Oath, scribe, and ten attestations, some very full; the last two by officials giving some additional particulars, and showing that there were in all 11 aruras from amongst 20 aruras shared by the father with his brother, and these again were the half of 40 aruras shared by the grandfather with his brother.

[1] C. 101, see No. 13 below.

[2] The Editor is greatly indebted to Prof. J. H. BREASTED, of Chicago, for the gift of admirable photographs of almost the whole of the collection of early contracts in the Turin Museum, many of which are unpublished, while BOUDIER's facsimiles of others (in *Quelques textes*) are not satisfactory. The contract itself (A) is missing in the photographs of No. 246, but the attestations, which are very full and important, are complete.

[3] Hermonthis.

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(**7**) Sale. Vatican. *Not.*, p. 288: facsimile in *Quelques textes*[1]. Translated below, p. 58.

Year 31 (?), Paôni 12. Shpenêsi daughter of Zeamenefʿônkh (?) sells a man of the north (slave) to *X*, charging 7 teben (?). Oath, scribe, and six attestations.

(Unfortunately much injured, each line having lost half its length. It is interesting as showing that the northmen were still sold at Thebes in this reign.)

(**8**) Receipted accounts. Turin, No. 244. *Not.*, p. 288: facsimile in *Textes arch.*[2]

Years 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42. Eight annual accounts concerning the 10+1 aruras belonging to Haruoz (No. 2), apparently showing the share of the temple in the harvest and serving as receipts. Each account is signed by the scribe of the account of corn and (down to year 36) witnessed by one or more scribes.

(**9**) Sale, with receipt. Turin, No. 247. *Not.*, p. 290: facsimile in *Textes arch.*, better in Brugsch, *Grammaire démotique*, Pl. I (A and B only)[3].

Year 45, Tôbi 5. Api son of Haruoz sells the 10 aruras, bought by his father from Esenkhêbi and (Ne)Menekhprêʿ in year 30 (No. 2), to Peteêsi son of Unamûn: charging 5 teben of silver besides the tithe: hands over his father's title-deed. Receipt for the money; oath, scribe, and ten attestations similar to No. 6.

(**10**) Donation. Turin, No. 248. *Not.*, p. 295: facsimile in *Textes arch.*, better in Brugsch, *Grammaire démotique*, Pl. II[4].

Year 47, Epêp 18. Rer daughter of Henkhons, wife of the hereditary prince and prophet Peteêsi son of Unamûn, with her children, speaking before Usire-khentamente (the god of Abydos) and the prophet Peteêsi son of Unamûn, grant to him (Osiris or his prophet?) the 10 aruras which the same Peteêsi had bought from Api in year 45 (No. 5). The land is established to him under the charge of a choachyte and servants, children of a certain Pefhrihasie. Blessing on establisher, curse on him who annuls. Oath. 'Old title-deeds and new (last) title-deed' handed over. One of the sons is the scribe, the other concurs.

(Here Peteêsi practically makes a donation of the land he has bought in Hermonthis to the god Osiris of Abydos. As prophet of the god he is also the human recipient, and it is necessary for his family, as interested parties, to make the donation.)

The contracts of the '**normal**' type are as follows:

(**11**) Sale of priestly offices. John Rylands, I; from El Hîbeh; see p. 44.

Year 21, Paopi. The divine father Hôr son of Pemû sells to the divine father Essemteu son of Peteêsi his office of prophet of Harmakhi, with fees and endowments belonging to it in the House of Amûn of Tehni in Teuzoi. Oath, scribe, subscription of Hôr and his heir, fifteen witness-copies and one signature.

(**12**) Grant of *παστοφόριον*. John Rylands, II; from El Hîbeh; see p. 47.

Year 21, Hathôr. The priests, prophets, and divine fathers of the House of Amûn of Tehni in Teuzoi (in continuation of the last) give to the divine fathers Essemteu, Ieturoü,

[1] For a fine photograph and negative of this I am indebted to the kindness of Sir H. Thompson; the papyrus has lost half its width.

[2] The photograph of this papyrus is unfortunately very small, but it is much more legible than the published facsimile.

[3] A fine and complete series of photographs of this long papyrus, from Prof. Breasted.

[4] Photographs from Prof. Breasted.

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and Pibês, sons of Peteêsi, a 'place' in the temple. Oath, scribe, and eleven witness-copies remain (out of fifteen?), and one signature.

These are the earliest known 'contracts' of the 'normal' series. The writing is very variable, hieratic with some demotic groups. They are from El Hîbeh in Middle Egypt, and none are known from Thebes until nearly a century later.

We may also add here the Louvre stele, the writing and wording of which are in accordance with the papyri of the normal style.

(13) Sale of a house. Louvre stele, C. 101. ROUGÉ, *Notice des monuments du rez-de-chaussée*, pp. 117, 118; *Not.*, p. 276. LIEBLEIN, No. 1137. Hand-copy in REVILLOUT'S *Mélanges*, p. 417.

Year 50 (or 3?)[1]. The superintendent of the necropolis *X* sells a house to the fuller (?) Petamenopi son of Pkam. No oath (?).

(Much of the copy is illegible. Probably not from Thebes to judge by the contents.)

Necôs.

Only one papyrus of this reign is known. It is in '**abnormal** hieratic.'

(14) Gift of land. Louvre E. 7858. *Not.*, p. 302: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XXIV, No. 24.

Year 2, Tôbi 30. Peteêsi confirms to a woman 6 aruras in the domain of Amûn in Tshetrês, which had been given to his wife and which her brother had confirmed to him (Peteêsi), near the tomb of king Userton (?)[2]. No oath, scribe, four attestations, and one full witness-copy.

(Much shattered. It is the earliest papyrus in the large collection obtained by EISENLOHR at Thebes in the winter of 1884–5[3].)

Psammetichus II (PSAMMIS).

Of the documents which appeared not to belong to the first Psammetichus[4], that dated in the second year will be found under Psammetichus III. The other two, with higher dates, must belong here.

In the **normal** style:

(15) Sale of self as slave, written on a flat circular dish. Louvre E. 706. DEVÉRIA, p. 207; *Not.*, p. 381: facsimile in *Rev. Ég.*, vol. iv, *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. VIII, No. 7. Translated below, p. 56.

Year 4, Paôni 20 (?). Zetmau(?)-esʿônkh sells herself as slave to Amenempua, with all she possesses. Oath, scribe.

(The provenance is not recorded.)

In **abnormal** hieratic:

(16) Marriage contract. Louvre E. 7849. *Not.*, p. 305; *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XIX, No. 18. Translated below, p. 115.

[1] See above, p. 17.

[2] See No. 48 below, probably = Userkon. Cf. Οσορθων in Manetho.

[3] Purchased for the Louvre, and comprising nearly all of their collection of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty after Psammetichus I. Besides this papyrus of Necôs EISENLOHR obtained two of the fifth and sixth years of Psammetichus (II), and a large number, about thirty, of Amasis II (years 3 to 37). EISENLOHR, *Ä. Z.*, 23/52–3, names one of Apries amongst them. If he was not mistaken in the cartouche, this must be the unique example in the British Museum.

[4] Above, pp. 16, 17.

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Year 5, Mesorêʿ 21. The water-pourer Kausenêsi enters the house of the water-pourer *X* to make marriage contract for his daughter, and receives the dowry—2 teben of silver and 50 (?) bushels of spelt. Oath; if he leaves her, either from dislike or because he loves another, except for the 'great crime which is found in woman,' he is to repay the dowry and give her a share of the property (?) he may have gained while with her, and a share of family property for her children. [Eight attestations, REVILLOUT.]

(The attestations are not published. Another unpublished fragment is said to be dated in Tôbi of year 6. Both this fragment and No. 16 belong to the EISENLOHR collection, an additional reason for attributing them to Psammetichus II rather than Psammetichus I. For a possible date of the year 3 (?) see No. 13 above.)

Apries.

Only one papyrus is known dated in the reign of Apries (in the British Museum, *Not.*, p. 310). Two others from the EISENLOHR collection are attributed by M. REVILLOUT to this reign on various grounds. It would seem that the reigns of Necôs and Apries were not favourable to commercial transactions of the kinds represented by the contracts.

Amasis.

This long reign is represented by some forty papyri, published and unpublished, the bulk belonging to the EISENLOHR collection in the Louvre. We seem here to have a confirmation of Herodotus' statement[1] of the great prosperity of Egypt in the days of Amasis. They are distributed throughout the reign from the second year to the thirty-eighth, leaving the last six years blank.

Two of the published papyri are of the '**abnormal** hieratic' type, which seems to have disappeared even from Thebes about the middle of the reign. They are:

(**17**) Discharge. Louvre E. 7861. *Not.*, p. 322: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XVIII, No. 17.

Year 3, Tôbi (?) 19. Userertais discharges Zekhe, son of Tesmont, from a debt of 7 (?) teben of gold (?) incurred for goods, the latter having sworn an oath before the god Khensemuese-nefhotp. Oath (the end torn away).

(Very obscure in places. REVILLOUT says that the signatures of four witnesses are visible on the back. This is probably the only instance amongst the 'abnormal hieratic' series of attestation on the verso.)

(**18**) Marriage contract. Louvre E. 7846. *Not.*, p. 332: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XX, No. 19.

Year 22 (not 12), Epêp 5. The water-pourer Ieturoü son of Peteêsi enters the house of the water-pourer Zeho son of Amenertais to make marriage declaration for his daughter Tshenkhnum (?). Dowry, provision in case of abandonment. Oath; this marriage contract is to replace destroyed one made in year 15; scribe and three attestations.

(Follows the wording of No. 16: even the dowry is the same, evidently a standard amount.)

No. 18 is the latest of all the published documents in 'abnormal' hieratic. One of the attestations to it is written in the 'normal' style. Each style influenced the

[1] Hdt. ii. cap. 117.

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other to some small extent, but the two remained perfectly distinct until the 'abnormal' disappeared. To judge by M. REVILLOUT's translations, numerous unpublished papyri from Thebes, written in the first half of the reign of Amasis, belong to the 'abnormal hieratic' series.

In the '**normal**' series the witnesses as a rule simply sign their names in a column on the back[1], the day of the month is never given in the date, and the oath disappears entirely. The earliest examples are from El Hîbeh.

(**19**) Acknowledgement of servitude. JOHN RYLANDS, III; see p. 52.

Year 2, second month of . . . : by *X* son of Heriubasti to the chief priest [Zeubesteſ'ônkh] son of Hôr; scribe, traces of fifteen or sixteen witnesses on the back.

(Imperfect. The name of Amasis may have been intentionally washed out, the date falling within the time of the civil war.)

(**20**) Transfer (cession) of deed. JOHN RYLANDS, IV. (Very imperfect); see p. 52.

[Year 2?]. The chief priest Zeubesteſ'ônkh cedes the papyrus of servitude, given to him by Peftu'ukhons son of Heriubasti (No. 19?) [to Essemteu son of Peteêsi?]. Scribe, signature of the chief priest's heir, fifteen witnesses on back.

(**21**) Acknowledgement of servitude. JOHN RYLANDS, V; see p. 53.

Year 2, Paôni: by Peftu'ukhons to Essemteu (see the last) on account of supplies (?), &c., given when he was dying. Scribe, witnesses.

(**22**) Sale of self as slave. JOHN RYLANDS, VI; see p. 54.

Year 3, Thoüt: by Peftu'ukhons to Essemteu. Four complete witness-copies, nineteen witnesses on the back.

(This formal sale into servitude to the new owner was thus completed at the beginning of the year after the transfer had taken place.)

(**23**) Renewed acknowledgement of servitude. JOHN RYLANDS, VII; see p. 55.

Year 8, Kiahk: by the slave Peftu'ukhons to Essemteu, from Hathôr 5 of year 8 to the same date of year 9. Eleven witnesses on the back.

(The latest document we possess about this slave. Does it imply that five years' service entitled to freedom?)

(**24**) Sale of cow. JOHN RYLANDS, VIII; see p. 59.

Year 8, Pakhons: by Zeptaheſ'ônkh to Peteêsi son of Essemteu; with elaborate undertakings in case of mishap. Thirteen witnesses.

(**25**) Letters. Louvre E. 7855. *Not.*, p. 313. *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XVII, No. 16.

(*a*) From Zefmîn to the lady Metertais, telling her of the dispatch of three batches of supplies, asks to be informed of their arrival; her needs will be looked after by Zekhe.

(*b*) From the same to Zekhe, who has not written since he went south, bidding him take all care of Metertais and the child. Date: year 12, Hathôr 8. [Address on verso.]

(The two letters are written together in one column. The same Zekhe son of Teskhons

[1] None of the versos of the papyri in the Louvre have been published, but M. REVILLOUT's description generally gives the number of the witnesses on the back.

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is named in unpublished documents. M. REVILLOUT assigns the date to the reign of Apries, but so far as his translations permit a guess at their evidence there is no cogent reason for doing so.)

(26) Grant of land. Louvre .... *Corpus Louvre*, fasc. 4, p. 2: facsimile, ibid., Pl. XXV, No. 25[1].

Year 15, Hathôr. Psammeṭk-menkhe gives 10+1 aruras of land of Amûn, in Kebt (Κοπτος), to Esamûn, a water-pourer in the necropolis of Thebes, as endowment for the tomb of his mother Tsenenhôr. It was part of 22 aruras which he had bought from Son in Paôni of year 14, Son having bought them in Pakhons of the same year from Uennofri, whose father Haruoz had bought them in year 3 of Uehabrêʿ from Eskhons. This Eskhons had married Nitokri and received the land as her dowry from her father Petusṭri son of Unamûn, in Parmûti of year 37 of Psammêṭk I. The donor hands over four title-deeds, viz. two old ones given to Son by Uennofri, the sale by Uennofri to Son, and the sale by Son to Psammeṭk-menkhe. Scribe, signatures of Psammeṭk-menkhe and his heir *X*.

[Sixteen witnesses on the back, followed by the signature of the scribe for the territory of Kebt.]

(27) Accounts. Louvre E. 7840 bis. *Not.*, pp. 361, 364–5, and 367–9 (?). REVILLOUT'S hand-copy of part B. in *PSBA.*, xiv. 91.

Year 29 (?), Thoüt, and other dates to year 33.

(28) Sale of self as son. Louvre E. 7832. *Not.*, p. 366: facsimile in *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. iii. *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. IX, No. 8. Translated below, p. 57.

Year 32, Hathôr: by Hôr to the water-pourer Ieturoz: his sons to be Ieturoz's grandsons.

[Twelve witnesses on the back.]

(29) Receipt for tax, ground rent, or firstfruits (?). Louvre E. 7835. *Not.*, p. 369: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XIV, No. 13.

Year 34, Pamenhotp: for land in the domain of Amûn in the field of Pahi (Πωις, Παις), on the west, in the territory of Kebt, paid by Ieturoz to the scribes of the temple of Amûn for the year 33–34. Signatures of the scribe of the account of corn, the scribe of Amûn for Kebt, and four others.

(These receipts are always signed on the front of the document.)

(30) Receipt as the last. Louvre E. 7838. *Not.*, p. 369: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XII, No. 11.

Year 35, Tôbi: as the last, for year 34–35: one more signature.

(31) Receipt as the last. Louvre E. 7834. *Not.*, p. 370: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XIII, No. 12.

Year 35, Tôbi: as the last, from the herdsman Ieturoü and his brother Petemont, with Ieturoz, for year 34–35: signatures as the last.

[1] Apparently a recent purchase, as it is not in *Not.*

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(32) Farming agreement. Louvre E. 7836. *Not.*, p. 370: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XI, No. 10.

Year 35, Epêp: of the herdsman of Mont Petemont to cultivate an endowment farm for Ieturoz in year 36; the harvest to be shared equally.

(33) Partnership in office. Louvre E. 7843. *Not.*, p. 371: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XXVI, No. 26.

Year 35, Mesorêʿ. Kausenmût acknowledges Ieturoz as co-partner in duties and all emoluments (as water-pourer) at the tombs of Petemenstu and Zementefʿônkh.

(34) Farming agreement. Louvre E. 7833. *Not.*, p. 375: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XV, No. 14.

Year 36, Pakhons. The water-pourer Uzehôr lends a yoke of oxen to the herdsman Petemont for ploughing land (the endowment? for his deceased? brother) from year 36–37. One-third of the harvest is to be given to Uzehôr for the land by right of his brother, and from it he will pay the scribes of Amûn: three-quarters of the remainder also to Uzehôr for the loan of the oxen, and one quarter to Petemont for the cultivation.

(35) Farming agreement. Louvre E. 7833. *Not.*, p. 376: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XVI, No. 15.

Year 36, Pakhons. Uzehôr lends one ox and the herdsman Petemont and his partners five oxen, making together three yoke, for ploughing the lands of Uzehôr from year 36–37. Uzehôr to take one-third of the harvest for the land after (?) paying the scribes, and one-sixth of the remainder, Petemont and his companions taking the remaining five-sixths. If Uzehôr withdraws from the bargain he will pay a teben of silver.

(36) Farming agreement. Louvre E. 7839. *Not.*, p. 376: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. X, No. 9.

Year 37, Paôni. Petatûm, beekeeper in the temple of Mont, has been charged with the cultivation of the land forming the endowment of Zekhe('s tomb), by the water-pourer Ieturoz, son of Zekhe, for the year 37–38. He will pay the scribes of Amûn, and give the remainder of the harvest to Ieturoz, and depart.

(As there is no remuneration for the cultivator, his undertaking was probably to discharge some obligation previously incurred.)

(37) Business letter. Louvre E. 7450. *Not.*, p. 377: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XXI, No. 20.

From Petamûn, superintendent of the necropolis, to his master the divine father Zekhe; certifying the receipt of an ox due to the divine endowment of Amûn from Pmêti as payment for the funeral expenses of Peteharpbêk. Year 38, Mesorêʿ. (Compare No. 1.)

(38) Business letter. Louvre E. 7854. *Not.*, p. 356: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XXII, No. 21.

From Zekhons (?)-efʿônkh to Petemenstu, the prophet of Amûn: the two sons of Zekhe, . . . -Min and Ieturoz (see 35, &c.), having paid their corn-tax, he asks that the receipt be made out for them.

(No date, but it evidently belongs to this group.)

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(**39**) Acknowledgement of rights. Vienna Münzkabinette. *Not.*, p. 378. The first lines transcribed into hieroglyphs by KRALL, *Studien zur Geschichte*, ii. 19 (*Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. Wien*, 1884, p. 345).

Year . . ., Tôbi. Rere (?), son of Herirem and Enneutehts, a water-pourer of the Valley of Thebes, acknowledges that half of his own property and half of his parental property belong to his brother Pshenêsi.

(Fragmentary; the date lost, but the king's name preserved. It is interesting because a number of documents belonging to the same family survive in different museums from the reign of Darius. KRALL'S transcript is corrected by the parallels in these later documents.)

The EISENLOHR collection, so rich in papyri of the reign of Amasis, stops suddenly at his thirty-eighth year (No. 36), leaving six years unrepresented. In this we may perhaps trace the disturbing effect of Cambyses' accession to the Persian throne and his long preparations for an expedition against Egypt. No. 39, however, shows that a group of documents may stretch across the Persian invasion, and this fact makes the attribution of the following to Psammetichus III all the more probable.

Psammetichus III.

(**40**) Receipt for firstfruits (?). Strassburg, No. 2. SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 15: facsimile, ibid., Pl. I.

Year 2, Tôbi. Receipt for twenty-one geese (?) and a goose-pen (?) from Petemenstu, son of Puhor, the goose-keeper (?) of the temple of Amûn, due to the divine endowment of Amûn in charge of three goose-keepers (?) of the temple of Amûn. Five signatures.

(Professor SPIEGELBERG attributes this Theban papyrus to Psammetichus III on the ground that Petemenstu appears again in a similar receipt (No. 64) of the thirty-fifth year of Darius I in the same collection, and he shows that the date of Tôbi of the second year is possible in this short reign of six months, it having probably commenced at the end of the previous year. It might also be explained as due to the continued loyalty of Theban partisans to the unlucky Pharaoh after his deposition; for, according to Herodotus, he was put to death only for stirring up revolt. At any rate, the attribution is hardly questionable; the hand resembles some hands of the reign of Darius I, and there is nothing amongst the published Theban papyri that approaches it before the end of the reign of Amasis. Accepting this view, Petemenstu must have acted in the same capacity for nearly forty years.)

TWENTY-SEVENTH AND LATER DYNASTIES

The Persian conqueror has left few records in Egypt, and no contracts date from his reign. The three or four years of Cambyses' sojourn in Egypt and the period before the accession of Darius[1] must have been much less favourable for business than the reigns of Necôs and Apries, which themselves have given us so few papyri, even if Cambyses was not the cruel madman that he is represented to have been by tradition. All the demotic papyri known of the Persian dynasty are dated in the reign of Darius,

[1] Possibly the time 'when no king was found' as stated on a tombstone in the Berlin Museum, published by Prof. ERMAN, *Ä. Z.*, xxxi. p. 94 and Pl. I.

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and it is only reasonable to attribute them all to the time when the beneficent and wise rule of Darius I was upholding the Persian Empire, except where there is good evidence for a different attribution. Those after the twentieth year, and they are plentiful, must necessarily be of Darius I, for the reign of Darius II in Egypt ended with the revolt after nineteen years. The same may be predicated of the large batch concerning the family of Pshenêsi, and written by the Theban priestly notaries Zeho and Api, beginning in the fifth year, for they are tied to this time by the example from the reign of Amasis (No. 38). There are only four papyri which can be separated from these groups, namely—

1. The great petition of Peteêsi in the JOHN RYLANDS collection, caused by events that took place in the ninth year. This is evidently of Darius I, since the main narrative of preceding events stops in the reign of Cambyses, see p. 105.

2. A contract of the year 9 or [2]9 in the Louvre. The date 29 seems the more probable, and though the writing is fine it is not so fine or late in appearance as one of the year 31 (*Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XXII, No. 22).

3. The papyrus belonging to Professor GOLÉNISCHEFF at St. Petersburg, with a date of year 3. Here again the writing is fine. The names, however, point to a close connexion with the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

4. The large papyrus in the Louvre dated in year 2, attributed by M. REVILLOUT to Darius III. The writing is fine, and the whole style resembles that of the Macedonian and early Ptolemaic papyri. There seems no reason to reject REVILLOUT's identification. It is almost incredible that it should be of Darius I, and even Darius II seems too early an attribution, besides isolating the document.

Darius I.

(**41**) Official account, in the collection of Professor GOLÉNISCHEFF, St. Petersburg. *Not.*, p. 407; hand-copy of part by REVILLOUT in *Rev. Ég.*, iii. livr. 2, Pl. 1–2 [1].

Col. 1. List of cups and other objects, and amounts of gold and silver in (or taken from?) the temple of Hôr at Edfû (?).

Col. 2. Gold and silver left in the temple of Edfû (?) in the third year of Darius; the priests assembled and divided (?) the property among themselves. (The names of the priests are given, and the amounts received by each.)

Cols. 3–8 (?) (apparently a continuation of the list of priests and the gold and silver which they received).

(This document is interesting in spite of its terribly shattered state. Probably more can be learnt from a careful examination of the original. There appear to be remains of eight columns, and more may have existed originally. From the list of priests ( ) occupying seven (?) shattered pages, one can estimate the number with rights in the temple at approximately eighty, and this may represent twenty to each of the four orders.)

No. 41 may be a temple-document or record the result of a government inquiry. One

[1] I am indebted to Prof. GOLÉNISCHEFF for good photographs of the fragments; unfortunately the writing is obscure in many places, probably owing to discoloration of the papyrus.

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suspects that the division (?) among the priests was not an ordinary division of income, but an attempt to secure or conceal the treasures that had not been laid hands on by the government, the amounts assigned to each being large[1]; or, on the other hand, it might be that sums which belonged to the priests, and had been stored in the temple for security during the troubled years, were now taken out again with the prospect of a term of settled peace and profitable trade. Edfû was a temple to which Darius I, and perhaps Darius II after him, showed special favour[2]. Relying on a passage in Polyaenus, which represents Darius as reaching Egypt immediately after the death of an Apis bull and offering 100 talents for the discovery of another, WIEDEMANN has dated the visit of the great king to his fourth year. But the story in Polyaenus is not convincing.)

[A papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale known as the 'Demotic Chronicle,' and dating from the early years of the Greek rule in Egypt, contains two interesting paragraphs concerning the treatment of the temples by Cambyses. Unfortunately it is fragmentary, and I have only REVILLOUT's hand-copy to rely on[3]: an examination of the original would doubtless help to make the meaning clear.

The words [concerning?] property: they which are written in the writing of property in separation (?), from year [44?] of Per'o Ahmosi unto the day when [Cambyses? came] up to Egypt (or went up out of Egypt?). Thereupon (?) he died, before he reached his country. [Darius (?) was he who ruled?] the whole land (or the whole land mourned for him, i.e. Amasis) because of his beneficence of heart, as prince. He (Cambyses or Darius?) gave Egypt to his satrap in year 3, saying, 'let the writings of account (?) . . . the numbers (?) of the warriors . . . the scribes (?) of Egypt be sent to me . . . together, that they may write the custom of Egypt established (?) unto year [44 (?)] of Per'o Ahmosi (as?) the custom, the custom [established (?)] for Per'o unto (?) the temples, the custom which was brought hither (?). . .

. . . unto year 19 . . . Egypt which were . . . the matters in which they were engaged, the divine endowments . . . the custom of Egypt. They wrote a copy [of it in (?) the] writing of Ashûr[4].

Completed opposite to it (?); it was written opposite to it (?), nothing being omitted (?).

(Col. 2.) The matters which were discussed against (?) the custom of the temples in the house of judgement.

The boats (or boards?), the fire-wood, the flax (?), the papyrus (?), which used to be given to the temples aforetime in the reign of Per'o Ahmosi, except the temple of Memfi, the temple of Uon (?) (Hermopolis in the Delta), and the temple of Pubasti (?)—to the temples,

[1] The amounts (only eleven of which are preserved) vary from 20 to 70 pieces of silver and $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 pieces of gold; and one priest received $3\frac{1}{2}$ pieces of gold as well as 30 of silver. From these figures it is evident that the gold pieces were worth nearly or quite ten times as much as the silver. The rate of exchange for equal weights of the two metals at this period was fixed at $13\frac{3}{10}$ according to the evidence of coins; and the standard weights on the Babylonian-Persian system were arranged to give 10 units of silver, in the Phoenician system 15, to 1 of gold: HILL in *Encycl. Bibl.*, 4444. Apparently, therefore, the above account is on the Persian system. A proportion like $13\frac{3}{10}$, meaning that the same standard weight was used for the gold as for the silver, would not fit the above figures so well, though it must be confessed that the evidence is not decisive.

[2] EISENLOHR, *Die Feldertexte von Edfu* (*Leyd. Congr.*, 1883, p. 233).

[3] Recto, col. 1, 2, in *Rev. Ég.*, i. livr. 2, 3, Pl. 1. Cf. *Not.*, p. 325.

[4] Assyria including Syria, see additional notes: so Aramaic writing rather than cuneiform.

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Kabuze (Cambyses) commanded, saying, 'Give them not unto them, from (?) the . . ., but let places be given unto them in the groves (?) of the South Land (Upper Egypt), that they may procure boats (or boards) and fire-wood for themselves, and bring them to their gods.'

The wood-produce (?) for the three temples (named) above, Kabuze commanded, saying, 'Let them be given to them in their manner of aforetime.'

The cattle which used to be given to the temples, the temples of the gods, aforetime, in the reign of Per'o Ahmosi, except the three temples (named) above; Kabuze commanded, saying, '[Their] half shall be given to them.'

Those which used to be given to them—the three temples above—(he) commanded (that) they be given to them still.

The fowls which used to be given to the temples aforetime in the reign of Per'o Ahmosi, except the three temples; Kabuze commanded, saying, 'Give them not unto them: the priests shall rear geese for themselves, and give them to their gods.'

The amount of (?) the silver, the cattle, the fowls, the corn, and other things which used to be given to the temples of the gods aforetime in the time of Per'o Ahmosi (and as to which) Kabuze commanded, saying, 'Give them not unto the gods.'

The value (?) of the things reckoned:

silver 60,532 teben, ½ kiti
corn 100,210 (?) (measures)
. . . 4,303,301 (?)
. . .
Incense (?), fire-wood, flax (?), papyrus, planks of . . . . . planks of . . .

This papyrus was written centuries after the events narrated took place, and its statements may be very incorrect. It is much to be hoped that the question may be definitely decided as to whether the passage represents an investigation by Darius as to the income of the temple in the days of Amasis, and the items lopped off by Cambyses, or an investigation ordered by Cambyses himself with a view to the reductions named. The present translation cannot pretend to much accuracy, being only from a hand-copy, but it is hoped that it will draw attention to a piece of evidence which has hitherto been misunderstood regarding the condition of Egypt after the Persian conquest.]

(42) Marriage settlement. British Museum. *Not.*, p. 408: facsimile in *TSBA.*, viii. Translated below, p. 116.

Year 5, Paopi. The water-pourer Pshenêsi, son of Herirem and Enneutehts, acknowledges receipt of 3 teben of silver from Tsenenhôr, daughter of the water-pourer Esmin and Ruroü. If he divorces her he will repay it, and also give to her one-third of all that he gains while with her, including 'my revenues (?) of water-pourer and Opener (*παστοφόρος*) of the Hill.'

Scribe Zeho and nine (?) witnesses.

(Probably a contract made subsequent to marriage when a child was expected or already born. Enneutehts had had a previous husband, see 44–5.)

(43) Acknowledgement of child as heir by the father. British Museum (on the same papyrus as the last ?). *Not.*, p. 409: facsimile in *TSBA.*, viii.

Year 5, Hathôr. Pshenêsi makes Ruroü, his daughter by Tsenenhôr, copartner with his

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other children to be born, in all his possessions, and in his future gains, and in his offices of 'water-pourer' and 'opener.'

Scribe Zeho and nine(?) witnesses.

(**44**) Endowment of child. Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 216. *Not.*, p. 410, hand-copy in REVILLOUT, *Chrest. dém.*, p. 330: facsimile in BRUGSCH, *Grammaire démotique*, Pl. III.

Year 5, Hathôr. The female water-pourer Tsenenhôr acknowledges the right of the water-pourer Petemenhotp, her 'elder' son by Ienharoü, to a half-share in all her property and that to which she is entitled through her father and mother, the other half belonging to her daughter Ruroü; if another child is born and lives his share will have to be taken out of their shares equally.

Scribe Api, son of Zeho, [and eight witnesses].

(**45**) Endowment of child. Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 217. *Not.*, p. 409: hand-copy in *Chrest. dém.*, p. 330.

Year 5, Hathôr. Tsenenhôr acknowledges the right of the female water-pourer Ruroü, her 'younger' daughter by Pshenêsi, to a half-share in all her property—(as the last).

[Scribe Api and eight witnesses.]

(The group 42–5 is thus a settlement subsequent to a marriage, and the birth of a daughter, the arrangement with the wife being dated a month earlier than those for the children, one of which is by the wife for her son by a previous marriage, the other two by the husband and the wife respectively for their daughter, probably soon after her birth. It is interesting to see that the children already bear the title 'water-pourer,' which was evidently inherited; they were certainly young, for another child (Ieturoü) was born to the parents subsequently, see No. 53.

Women had very full rights to their own property, and a wife was entitled—in virtue of her children?—to a share of her husband's 'gains' during their marriage: see also Nos. 16, 18.)

(**46**) Sale of slave. Turin[1]. *Not.*, p. 410. Translated below, p. 58.

Year 5, Parmûti. Ahmosi sells his male slave Pshen . . . to the 'Opener' of the temple of Amûn named . . . mût: guarantee of title under pain of forfeiting 10 pieces of silver.

(M. REVILLOUT has found a papyrus[2] showing that this slave was re-sold to Tsenenhôr six months later, thus furnishing a good instance of a married woman's rights to separate estate.)

(**47**) Narrative of the petition of Peteêsi. JOHN RYLANDS, IX; see p. 60.

(The petition was the outcome of events which took place in year 9.)

(**48**) Gift of half a house to a wife. Turin. *Not.*, p. 413[3].

Year 10, Paopi. Pshenêsi gives to Tsenenhôr half of a vacant house-site, on which he proposes to build, on the west of Thebes near the tomb of king Userton(?)[4], the expense

[1] This and the rest of the series at Turin are completely represented in Prof. BREASTED's photographs, except the endorsements.

[2] In the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Not.*, p. 411.

[3] REVILLOUT attributes this, or a closely similar papyrus, to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[4] Cf. No. 14 above.

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of building to be shared equally; and half of the title-deeds. Scribe Api, son of Zeho, [and eight witnesses].

(Pshenêsi had not yet bought the site; see the next.)

(**49**) Sale of house-site. Louvre E. 7128. *Not.*, p. 414: hand-copy in *Rev. Ég.*, ii. livr. 1, Pl. 23: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. I, No. 1.

Year 12, Paopi. Ṯeuteutoi sells the above vacant house-site (or perhaps only half of what was proposed in 48) to Pshenêsi. Scribe Api [and eight witnesses].

(**50**) Sale of cow. Turin. *Not.*, p. 415.

Year 15, Parmûti. [The herdsman] Phenamûn sells a red ploughing-cow to Mekhaf for 4 kiti of silver and 15 measures of wheat (?): guarantee under fine of 1 teben of silver.

Scribe Api [and four witnesses].

(**51**) Gift of courtyard (?). Ṯurin. *Not.*, p. 416.

Year 16, Paopi. The water-pourer Esamenhotp gives courtyard belonging to their father's house to Tsenenhôr, with various privileges defined.

(Esamenhotp appears to be a close relation of Tsenenhôr—using the expression 'our father Esmin,' though his parentage was different—and probably an immediate neighbour. A staircase or terrace was used in common; see also No. 59.)

(**52**) Acknowledgement of loan of corn. Louvre E. 9293. *Not.*, p. 417: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XXVII, No. 27 (very obscure).

Year 24, Kiahk. Ieturoz binds himself to repay to Efôu a quantity of corn on Tôbi 24, or failing that, to give monthly interest.

Scribe Api [and eight witnesses].

(**53**) Endowment of daughter (will?). Turin. *Not.*, p. 422.

Year 24, Parmûti. Pshenêsi acknowledges right of his daughter Ruroü to half of all his property and future gains, the other half belonging to her (whole) brother [Ieturoü?]. Scribe Api.

(The name Ieturoü is supplied from No. 63: see Nos. 42–5, where Ruroü was made copartner with all the children: now that the family has ceased to increase, and perhaps in view of her marriage, the share is defined by a new will.)

(**54**) Gift of land. Louvre E. 3231 A. Devéria, p. 212. *Not.*, p. 429: hand-copy in Revillout, *Nouv. Chrest.*, 139: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. I, No. 2.

Year 25, Paôni. The prophet of Amenraʿsenter, Khefenkhons, gives 4 aruras of land in Pmehenamûn to the female water-pourer Ruroü [as endowment (?) for the tomb (?) of] the woman Tete . . . . Scribe Api, and signature of the donor. [Seven witnesses.]

(If the proposed restoration is correct the document indicates that female water-pourers were attached to the tombs of women.)

(**55**) Sale of half of cow. Louvre E. 9292. *Not.*, p. 412: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XXIII, No. 23.

Year [2?]9 (or 9), Mekhir. Haruoz sells half of a black heifer, bought from Hôr, to Steamenkoü, with half of its calves, guaranteeing possession under penalty. Scribe [and four witnesses].

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(The date being injured there is no clear proof that this belongs to the reign of Darius I; see above p. 25.)

(**56**) Divorce. Berlin, No. 3076. *Not.*, p. 411; *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, p. 5: facsimile in L., *D.*, vi. Pl. 125, No. I; *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Pl. 2.

Year 29, Epêp. The water-pourer Pete . . . divorces Tahai: she is free to marry. Scribe and four witnesses (on recto).

(**57**) Marriage contract, of wife. Berlin, No. 3078. *Not.*, p. 429; *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, p. 4: facsimile in L., *D.*, vi. Pl. 125, No. II; *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Pl. 2. Translated below, p. 117.

Year 30, Thoüt. Esenkhêbi (?) acknowledges that Ieturoü has made her his wife and given her 1 kiti of silver as her compensation. If she abandons him and loves another she will give it back, and have no claim on what she has gained with him. Scribe and four witnesses on the verso.

(**58**) Sale of inheritance. Louvre E. 9204. *Not.*, p. 431: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. XXII, No. 22.

Year 31, Paôni. Taamen . . . uis sells to her half-brother, a water-pourer, Phenlaboi (?), her rights to the property of their mother. Scribe [and eight witnesses].

(M. Revillout adds a text from the British Museum, which seems to be a duplicate of this.)

(**59**) Acknowledgement of right to one-fourth of office and emoluments. Turin. *Not.*, p. 434.

Year 31, Paôni. The 'water-pourer' Amenhotp acknowledges the right of Tsenenhôr to a quarter of the fees of water-pourer given for the service of Espotu and his children: she must perform a quarter of the service as usual. No scribe or witnesses (?).

(There can be no doubt that Amenhotp here is the same as, or a brother, of the Esamenhotp of No. 51.)

(**60**) Divorce. Berlin, No. 3079. *Not.*, p. 441; *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, p. 5: facsimile in L., *D.*, vi. Pl. 126, No. IV; *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Pl. 3, verso Pl. 2. Translated below, p. 117.

Year 33 (or 34, injured?), Parmûti. The water-pourer Pete . . . divorces Tahai, setting her absolutely free to marry again. Scribe and eight witnesses.

(The woman is the same as in No. 55, and one might expect that the husband was the same also, but his mother bears a different name. Perhaps he was half-brother of the previous husband.)

(**61**) Divorce. Berlin, No. 3077. *Not.*, p. 435; *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, p. 5: facsimile in L., *D.*, vi. Pl. 125, No. III; *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Pl. 3.

Year 34, Paôni. The water-pourer User . . . êou divorces Ruroü, as the last. Scribe and four witnesses.

(The man may be a brother of the last: if so, he seems to have belonged to a very inconstant family.)

(**62**) Agreement as to cow. Berlin, No. 3110. *Not.*, p. 442; *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, p. 4: facsimile in L., *D.*, vi. Pl. 126, No. V; *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Pl. 1, verso Pl. 3.

Year 35, Paopi. The herdsman of the nome of Tshetrês, Zeho, guarantees to an official[1], Eshôr, that a ploughing-cow which the above Eshôr had given to his water-pourer Zeho, and

[1] Apparently *ka*-priest of Cambyses, cf. below, p. 132, note 10.

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the latter to the first-named Zeho to be spayed, shall be returned to him by Hathôr 20: if he fails he will give another by the same date, or pay 5 kiti of silver by the end of the month, or failing that will pay monthly interest; pledging all his property for performance. Scribe and eight witnesses.

(The water-pourer Zeho is another of the family of Esamenhotp, which is found in all the Berlin papyri.)

(**63**) Exchange of cows. Turin. *Not.*, p. 435.

Year 35, Pamenhotp. The oxherd Ieturoz gives a red cow to the water-pourer of the necropolis of Zêmi, Ieturoü, son of Pshenêsi and Tsenenhôr, in exchange for another cow. Scribe [and four witnesses]. (Compare No. 53.)

(**64**) Receipt of firstfruits (?). Strassburg, No. 5. SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 16: facsimile, ibid., Pl. I.

Year 35, Pamenhotp. Receipt of three geese by the divine father Zeho from Petemenstu as firstfruits (?) of year 35, Zeho receiving the firstfruits of the Diospolite glebe-lands belonging to the temple of Amûn in exchange for his own lands. Scribe and four witnesses (on recto). (Compare No. 40.)

(**65**) Acknowledgement of trust. Strassburg, No. 4. SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 17: facsimile, ibid., Pl. II.

Year 35, Parmûti. Ptahertais acknowledges that he has twenty-seven measures of corn (?) in his house belonging to Zeptehefʿônkh, undertaking to give them up when required. Scribe and four witnesses.

Darius III (?).

The documents, which are so numerous in the last years of Darius I, cease suddenly in his thirty-fifth year, when the revolt of Khebebesh took place, and a very long gap succeeds, the period of 150 years down to Alexander's conquest being almost bare of papyrus records in demotic. Legal documents written in Aramaic, and often containing names of Jews, have been found, dating from the reigns of Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius II. Two demotic contracts are strangely assigned to Artaxerxes by REVILLOUT, without reasons given, and they are quite plainly of Darius I[1]. REVILLOUT also translates a contract in the British Museum, which according to his version is double-dated in the fifteenth year of a king Mautrut (sic), corresponding to the fifth year of another king Amenher (sic); and says that the writing closely resembles that of the contracts 'of Artaxerxes.' He attributes it to the reign of Amyrtaeus[2]. This should prove interesting, and may help to fill the gap. Another papyrus is translated by him as dated in the sixth year of Hacoris of the Twenty-eighth Dynasty[3]. The rule of the native dynasties, strenuous as it must have been, was too much troubled by wars and fears of invasion to produce a large crop of legal documents.

The only published example of this time, i.e. between the end of the reign of Darius I in 486 B.C. and Alexander's conquest in 332 B.C., is the following:

[1] *Not.*, pp. 441, 442. They are Nos. 60 and 61 in the above list, and LEPSIUS read the cartouche as being of Darius as long ago as 1858 in his *Königsbuch*.

[2] Ibid., p. 436.

[3] Ibid., p. 471.

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(66) Cession of rights to share of inheritance. Louvre E. 2430. DEVÉRIA, p. 212. *Not.*, p. 480: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. II–III, No. 2.

Year 2, Hathôr, of Darius. The woman Esenkhêbi abandons to her cousin Petamenopi her right to houses, &c., that belonged to her father Ieturoü—who was the younger brother of Esmin, the father of Petamenopi—Petamenopi having assigned to her by another deed of the same date an entrance hall, &c., as the share of herself and her brother and three sisters, out of the same property. In a final paragraph her mother Esharpekhrat sanctions this. The beginning of the roll is lost; but the first fragmentary copy which remains seems to be the original, and it is followed by six witness-copies.

(It is hardly possible to attribute this to Darius I. It is quite disconnected from the other papyri of that reign, and it is written in a later style. It might be of Darius II, whose reign is not without record in Egypt; but it is safest for the present to attribute it to Darius III, as M. REVILLOUT has done, see above, p. 25.

We have here the first instance of witness-copies appended to a document since that of the third year of Amasis, No. 22. But they are frequent under the Macedonian dynasty and the early Ptolemies.)

G. THE FORMS OF THE DOCUMENTS.

Mode of engrossment. The scribe evidently took measures to make it clear if the document which he was writing was ever subsequently tampered with. The ink could be washed off or scraped off, but in either case the surface of the papyrus would betray an alteration unless very skilfully made. But there were other dangers to guard against. A single leaf of prepared papyrus seldom measured more than 30 cm. either way, and for all except small documents two or more leaves had to be pasted together. It would not be difficult to separate these leaves and substitute others. The scribe therefore took care that his lines of writing should overlap the joints of the leaves; if the writing formed separate columns the space between the columns was made very narrow, while, on the other hand, he left a broad outer margin on all sides of the completed document. It would thus need a skilful forger to remove or add a leaf or a page without detection. These points indicate the general principles. As to details, a separate line had been reserved for the initial date in older documents, but in his search for compactness the scribe of the 'normal' style made the text follow the date in the same line: this improvement is not found in the 'abnormal' series before the latest instances of the reign of Amasis. In all cases the scribe's own signature safeguards the end of the document, being written there without any interval between.

In the normal series, where the contract, apart from the attestations, would extend beyond one column of ordinary width, the lines are lengthened to prevent this happening. This is seen as early as the contracts of Psammetichus I; and in the Ptolemaic times, the writing being small, there is a great waste of papyrus through the exaggeration of this practice, leaving enormously wide margins with often only three or four very long and narrow lines of writing. In the abnormal series, so far as our evidence at present goes, the scribe managed differently. In a papyrus of Taracus (No. 3) he carried over the last

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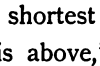
line of the contract deliberately to a second column, in order that this column, which was to contain the attestations, might be unmistakably marked as belonging to the document. In the Turin papyri of Psammetichus I, where the contracts are not short and the attestations are long and numerous, the scribes wrote their paragraphs across the roll so as to produce one long narrow column, which in No. 6 (p. 17) must measure over a metre in height to judge by the photographs. Curiously enough, although the writing generally overlaps the joints of the leaves, the two official attestations at the end of all are each written on a separate leaf with wide margin, pasted on to the end of the roll. In the Paris papyrus of Necôs, the long lines of the normal style are adopted. In the JOHN RYLANDS papyri of Psammetichus I, in the normal style, the attestations follow in lateral columns, but just overlap the joints of the leaves. The case is much the same with the long papyrus of Amasis (JOHN RYLANDS, VI). For the reign of Darius I there is no example of long attestations to compare. When they recommence with Darius III (?) and the Macedonians the attestation copies are found to be written intentionally of different lengths so as to avoid anything like pages and to overlap each other on the successive leaves.

Date. The normal style is 'Year 21, Paopi, of Perʿo Psammêṭk, L.P.H.' The 'abnormal' texts regularly add the day of the month, which never occurs in the normal contracts until late in the Ptolemaic age; they may also omit the king's name, which likewise is done in the smaller Ptolemaic documents. With Taracus the king's name has the epithet 'son of Êsi (Isis), beloved of Amûn[1].' Kings of the same name bear no distinguishing mark until the Macedonian time, when filiation was introduced, e.g. 'Alexander son of Alexander' for Aegus: under the Ptolemies a variety of eponymous officials were added to the date. The 'abnormal' series often begins the contract itself, after the date, with the words 'On this day.'

Parties. '*A* son of *B* hath declared[2] to *C* son of *D*,' is found throughout the 'abnormal' series, the mother's name being given only where of special importance, e.g. as an heiress[3]. In the earlier examples of the normal series the type is the same, but from the time of Amasis onwards it is '*A* son of *B*, his mother being *M*, hath declared to *C* son of *D*, his mother being *N*.' This was evidently owing to the endless homonyms, especially among cousins.

Scribe. In the abnormal series the signature is in the form 'the subscribing witness *N* son of *M*.' In the normal series it is often simply, 'written by (or the scribe?) *N* son of *M*.' In one case, No. 59 above, the scribe is not named, but this is probably an improper departure from the rule.

Attestation. Under Taracus the shortest form of attestation is 'Before  *A* son of *B*: to every writing that is above,' or the like, followed by the date, and repeated with each witness, except such as used the longer form. The longer form was 'Before *A* son of *B* he bearing witness to the declaration of *C* son of *D* which he spake to *E* son of *F*—"I have given to thee *x*,"' &c., stating some of the leading features of the

[1] So also in the stela of donation in the reign of an uncertain king from the Oasis of Dakhleh, now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, Dakhleh stela, ii, l. 2.

[2] Or perhaps 'declares.'

[3] e.g. in No. 3 of Taracus, No. 6 of Psammetichus I.

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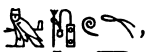
contract and ending with the date; the description of the contract may vary with each witness, and the official scribes who sometimes appear as witnesses may give some particulars that are not in the contract at all. From the thirtieth year of Psammetichus I onwards the phrase  , 'subscribing witness?' (or 'attested by'?) often takes the place of , and in the papyrus of the reign of Necôs (No. 14) we find a complete witness-copy along with four short attestations. These modifications of the earlier style were no doubt produced by the influence of the 'normal' series.

In the earliest instances of the 'normal' series we find the short form of attestation to be simply 'the subscribing witness (or "attested by") the (title) *A* son of *B*'; the long form is a complete witness-copy, introduced by the words 'attested by (?) the (title) *A* son of *B*, he being witness in year *x* of Per'o *N* to the declaration made by *C* son of *D* to *E* son of *F*: "I have given to thee,"' &c., and ending 'written by — as before (?),' the last words taking the place of the scribe's signature to the original contract. At first all the attestations were written on the recto; but in the 'normal' contracts of the time of Amasis a new method was introduced which held good thenceforward; by this, only the witness-copies are written on the recto[1], while all the witnesses (including those who had already appeared in the witness-copies) write their names and filiation, '*A* son of *B*,' one below another in a column on the back of the contract[2]. Since witness-copies are the exception, this column on the verso as a rule is the only attestation. Besides saving space this method offered the advantage that the witnesses' names could not become separated from the contracts. The later witness-copies begin 'attested by (?) the (title) *A* son of *B* whose mother is *C*, he bearing witness: Year, &c.' (full and unmodified copy of the contract).

From the notes to the list of contracts it will be seen how greatly the number of witnesses varied. In one case, in No. 15, which is written exceptionally on a dish, it is certain that there was no witness beyond the scribe himself.

The formulae employed within the actual contracts vary not only with the periods but also necessarily according to the subjects. They will, perhaps, be most conveniently treated as the different classes of documents present themselves in the catalogue of the John Rylands collection.

H. Classified List.

The documents briefly analysed above may be roughly classed as follows:

Donation of land to private person, 14.
" " to temple, 10.
" " as endowment of tomb-priest, 26, 54?.
" house to wife, 48.
" house, 51.
Donation of place in temple to priest, 12.
Exchange of cows, 63.
Sale of land, 6, 9, 49 (house-site).
" house, 13.
" inheritance, 58.
" priestly offices, 11.

[1] In some of the early transfers the vendor or donor signs specially on the recto, and his signature may be accompanied by that of his heir or of some other interested person; see p. 46, note 10. [2] See also No. 17 on p. 20.

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Sale of self as slave, 15, 22.
„ self as son, 28.
„ slave, 1, 7, 46.
„ cow, 24, 50, 55.
„ thread, 4.
Contract, farming agreement, 32, 34, 35, 36.
„ marriage, 16, 18, 42, (of wife) 57.
Divorce, 56, 60, 61.
Loan of corn, 52.
Acknowledgement of right to inheritance (will?), 39, 43, 44, 45, 53.
Acknowledgement of right to share or partnership in priestly office, 3, 53, 59.
„ of trust, 62 (cow), 65 (corn).
„ of servitude, 19, 21, 23.
Certificate of discharge, 2, 3, 17.
Cession of rights to inheritance, 66.
Transfer (cession) of a deed, 20.
Receipts for taxes, &c., 8, 29, 30, 31, 40, 64.
Narrative of a petition, 47.
Accounts, 27, 41.
Letter, business, 37, 38.
„ private, 25.

I. Note on Demotic Papyrus Literature after the Conquest by Alexander.

The legal formulae were probably well developed and established before Egypt came under Greek rule; thereafter the long repetitions of the stereotype are wearisome enough. The published papyri of the time of Alexander the Great and Soter are few in number, and consist solely of legal documents spread over an extravagant expanse of the paper. Those of Philadelphus, Euergetes, Philopator, and Epiphanes are likewise of large size, more numerous but without much variety in them; amongst the unpublished stores in mummy cartonnages and elsewhere other classes may exist. Greek papyri begin in Philadelphus' reign, and Greek bankers' dockets to demotic sales in Philopator's. Some hold that one MS. of the story of Sethon Khamuis was written in the reign of Philadelphus; it is certainly Ptolemaic, but there are few signs of such literature in demotic before the middle of the second century B.C., and most of the demotic stories and religious, philosophical, and magical texts date from the Roman period[1]. Legal and business documents of the second century are abundant in all shapes and sizes and continue to about 80 B.C., showing great but diminishing prosperity in the country. After that date there is a gap until the Roman period. Even during the reign of Augustus papyri are very rare, but with Tiberius' advent they are more plentiful. Dated examples of legal documents are known down to the reign of Hadrian, but undated papyri of varied contents may be considerably later. By the style of some Greek writing contained in it the best palaeographers attribute the enormous Demotic Magical Papyrus, which is divided between the British Museum and the Leiden collection, to the third century A.D.

[1] A magical text interpreted by Spiegelberg is as early as the reign of Philadelphus, *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, p. 21.

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THE
PAPYRI OF THE JOHN RYLANDS COLLECTION

THE JOHN RYLANDS demotic papyri form four distinct groups according to both age and provenance. The early papyri are from El Hîbeh in Middle Egypt, the early Ptolemaic papyri from Thebes, the later Ptolemaic from Gebelên (south of Thebes), and the Roman from Dimê in the Fayûm. There are besides three Ptolemaic papyri of which the provenance cannot be definitely ascertained. These groups and the individual papyri within them will be treated as nearly as possible in the order of their dates.

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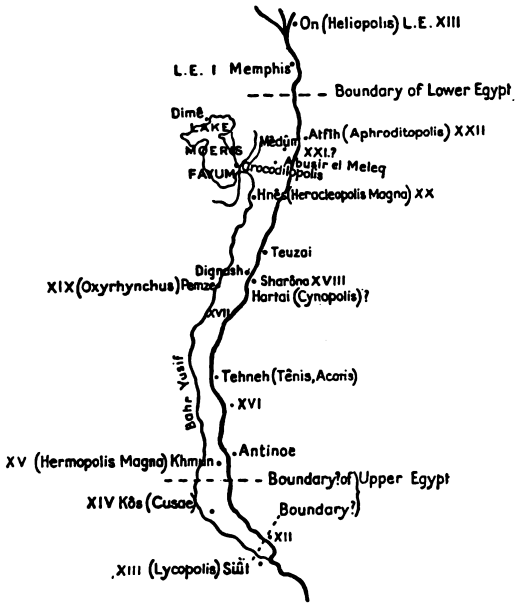
EARLY PAPYRI FROM EL HÎBEH

THIS very remarkable group of nine papyri of the sixth and seventh centuries B.C., belonging to the prosperous reigns of Psammetichus I, Amasis II, and Darius I, was acquired, like the rest of the collection, by Lord Crawford while in Egypt in the winter of 1898–9. Dr. B. P. Grenfell has learnt that they were found in the ruins of El Hîbeh, on the east bank of the Nile near Feshn in Middle Egypt, and considers the evidence for this provenance almost indubitable. If any doubt were still possible it is set at rest by the decipherment of the texts on the papyri themselves,

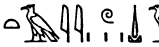


Map of the Heptanomis or Middle Egypt.

[The Roman numerals mark the sites of the nome capitals in the order of the temple lists (see p. 89).]

which are full of references to the temple of El Hîbeh. It is a very fortunate circumstance that this temple still exists, it being, probably, the only survivor of all the temples in Middle Egypt; and, although the inscriptions which remain are extremely fragmentary, enough has been recorded of the peculiar titles of the principal deity to make the identification certain.

The City and Temple of Teuzoi.

The Rylands papyri concern especially a city bearing the name  [1], Teuzoi, which apparently means 'Their wall,' or possibly 'Their ferry.' No such name

[1] Written out in hieratic in Pap. II, H. l. 2.

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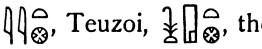
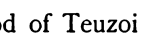
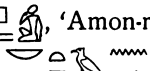
has survived in Coptic literature; but the hieroglyphic name has long been known from a single reference upon the stela of the Ethiopian conqueror, Pʿankhi, which indicated that the city lay on the east bank of the Nile in the Heptanomid. We are told how Pʿankhi, who seems to have counted the whole Thebaid as his own, learnt of the growing power of Tefnakhti, a local prince in Lower Egypt, whose standard was now followed by all the warriors of the western half of Lower Egypt, from the sea-coast to Memphis and the ancient border of Upper Egypt near Lisht: that this Tefnakhti had gone southward with his army, the cities of Mĕdum, El Lahûn, Crocodilopolis (capital of the district of the Lake of Moeris), Oxyrhynchus, and Diknash successively opening their gates to him as he passed triumphantly along the west bank: that he had then crossed the river, 'he turned back to the eastern nomes, they opened their gates to him even as the former, namely, , the "Residence of the Heron[1]" (Ha-bêne),  , Teuzoi, , the "Residence of the King" (Ha-seten), and , Aphroditopolis (P-nebtpeh)[2].' Hitherto, unfortunately, the situation of only the last of these cities on the east bank has been ascertained: Aphroditopolis, Πετπεϩ, is the modern Atfîḥ, a little north of the entrance to the Fayûm and on the opposite bank. The names in this list should be at least approximately in order from south to north, corresponding to the previous itinerary from north to south on the west bank. There is evidence that the 'Residence of the Heron' was opposite Oxyrhynchus at Kûm el Ahmar south of Sharôna[3]: we now have to place Teuzoi at El Hîbeh, and the 'Residence of the King' would therefore seem to have been situated as far north as between El Hîbeh and Atfîḥ, although it is mentioned in an inscription at the above Kûm el Ahmar[4].

The proof that Teuzoi is actually represented by the ruins of El Hîbeh lies, however, in the following facts. The papyri show that the god of Teuzoi was  [5], 'Amûn of the Crag' (Tehne). The long petition of Peteêsi is accompanied by copies of certain hieroglyphic inscriptions which once existed in the temple of Teuzoi; in these the god is regularly named  , 'Amon-reʿ, great of bleatings[6],' and in one case this is qualified with the addition , 'Lord of the Great Crag[7].' Fortunately among the scanty remains of sculpture in the ruined temple at El Hîbeh is a pillar adorned with a ram-headed figure of Ammon, entitled, [8], 'Amûn, great of bleatings, Lord of the Crag, the great god, lord of valour(?)'; again, on another pillar, Sesônchis I

[1] This bird somehow represents the Phoenix of the legend.

[2] Stela of Pʿankhi, ll. 3, 4. Mariette, *Monumens Divers*, Pl. I; Schäfer, *Urk. d. älteren Äthiopenkönige*, pp. 4, 5.

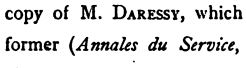
[3] *Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report*, 1902–3, Plate and p. 4, note.

[4] Brodrick and Morton, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxi. 33. The identification of Teuzoi with El Hîbeh necessitates some changes in the map of the ancient geography of this district given by Maspero in *Les Empires*, p. 172.

[5] Pap. I and II.

[6] Pap. IX, cols. 21, 22.

[7] Ibid., 22/13.

[8] The inscription is much injured, and is here restored from the two copies of Ahmed Bey Kamal and the earlier copy of M. Daressy, which supplement each other. The former (*Annales du Service*, ii. 87) has only  , the latter (ibid., 154) .

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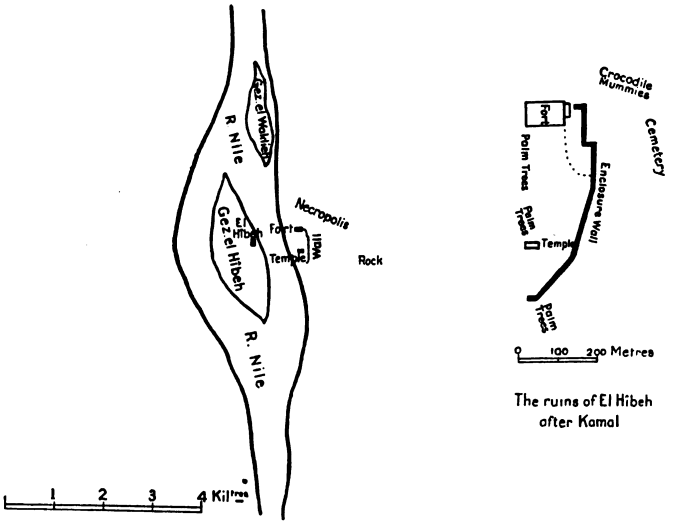
'dedicates the temple to his father,' figured as ram-headed, and on a ceiling slab 'Amûn, great of bleatings' is further mentioned[1]. These titles of Ammon are not known elsewhere, and thus afford indubitable proof that Teuzoi and the ancient site known as El Hîbeh are one and the same.

Ahmed Bey Kamal, of the Cairo Museum, has lately published sketch-maps of the immediate neighbourhood, and a plan of the temple, from which the accompanying figures are taken, together with a description of the site. From this it appears that the ruins are on rocky ground, and are almost immediately fronted by the river, so that little cultivation was possible there beyond growing a few palms. The modern village of El Hîbeh stands upon an island in the Nile opposite the ruins. The most striking feature in the latter is the great wall of crude brick, 12½ metres in thickness. It is well



The ruins of El Hîbeh after Kamal

The island and the ruins of El Hîbeh (after Kamal).

preserved, running north and south on the desert side of the city for 626 metres, and slightly angulated so as to protect the south end also from attack. At the north end it turns at a right angle towards the river, but only for a short distance, and leaves a narrow entrance between its termination and a great fort perched on a rock, which, with the river in front, completed the defences of the place. This wall may have suggested the name given to the city, Teuzoi, 'their wall,' referring to the royal personages who built it, or to the gods of the locality in the word 'their.' Tehne, 'crag,' lit. 'forehead,' was applied to rocky places, perhaps cliffs, or more probably steep and remarkable rocks or hill-tops, and is found as a place-name at Thebes[2], at Memphis, and in Middle Egypt[3]. The modern place-name Tehneh, given to a spot a little north of Minyeh and on the

[1] Both recorded by Daressy, ibid., p. 155.

[2] Maspero, *Rec. de Trav.*, ii. 109, 112: an obscure instance.

[3] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, pp. 957–9.

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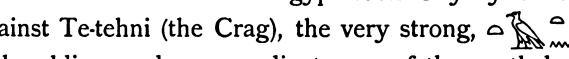
opposite bank, where the ruins of a town are found in a rocky wady, must be derived from the same word. The stela of Pᶜankhi, already quoted, proceeds to state that the Ethiopian military governors in Upper Egypt were ordered to lay siege to Hermopolis Magna and harry the Hermopolite nome, whose ruler Nemert had gone over to the enemy, and a fresh host from Ethiopia was dispatched to the relief of Heracleopolis Magna which Tefnakhti was besieging with all his forces. After a great defeat of the northern allies at Heracleopolis, Nemert, the king of Hermopolis, contrived to escape from the battle and re-enter his city. Pᶜankhi was furious at the news of Nemert's escape; to appease him the armies in Egypt took Oxyrhynchus by storm, and afterwards 'fought against Te-tehni (the Crag), the very strong,  ; they found it filled with soldiers and every valiant man of the north land. Then a battering-ram was made for it, its walls were breached, and a great slaughter was made of them—the number thereof is not known—including Tefnakhti, the son of the chief of the Me.' They next recaptured the 'Residence of the Heron[1].' This 'Crag' is Tehneh rather than El Hîbeh[2].

As has just been pointed out, the name Teuzoi, 'their wall,' probably has reference to the great city wall. Te-tehni, in the title of the local Ammon, might refer to the rock on which the fort stood or to the pyramidal rock shown in KAMAL EFFENDI's map. The Gezîret el Hîbeh, 'island of El Hîbeh,' is the 'island of Teuzoi[3],' which the priests of the temple cultivated, apparently depending on its produce largely for a livelihood amidst their desert surroundings. In the petition of Peteêsi (Pap. IX) Heracleopolis Magna is frequently referred to as a great local centre of authority for Middle Egypt as well as capital of the nome in which Teuzoi lay[4]. Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchus, and other localities in this region are also mentioned in it, as well as Thebes, still the metropolis of the worship of Ammon, and Memphis, the capital of the whole country.

So much for the general topography. It seems that in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty Teuzoi was inhabited mainly by priests[5]. The temple is the main centre of action in the papyri, and happily it has not yet disappeared from the face of the earth. Whether an earlier temple existed there or not, the present building belongs entirely to the two kings Sesonchis I and his son Osorchon I, and it would seem that it was dedicated by Sesonchis after his victories in Palestine to Ammon and the gods of Thebes, locally modified. KAMAL describes it from observations made about the year 1900; DARESSY's notes, taken in 1892, when it was probably in much better condition though encumbered with rubbish, are specially valuable[6]. The temple was built of a poor quality of limestone, the surface of which perishes with time and exposure. Palm-trees grow or grew in its ruins, and doubtless have contributed to the injuries done. The building is of considerable size, measuring 36 metres in length and something over 16½ metres in width. The

[1] Stela of Pᶜankhi, ll. 27–9.

[2] Te-tehni (with the worship of Thoth, not of Ammon) = Τηνις = Ακωρεως (Tehneh), is found in the just published *Papyrus* TH. REINACH, p. 60 et passim. Compare also Strabo's Τάνις (Str. xvii. 813 εἶτα ἡ Θηβαϊκὴ φυλακὴ καὶ διῶρυξ φέρουσα ἐπὶ Τάνιν), perhaps another Tehni, apparently in the neighbourhood of Hermopolis.

[3] Pap. IX. 16/6 et seqq. (p. 99).

[4] Pap. IX. 17/10.

[5] Pap. IX. 8/13.

[6] The plan is KAMAL's (*Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte*, ii. 85), with a few additions suggested by DARESSY's remarks (ibid., 154, 156).

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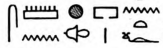
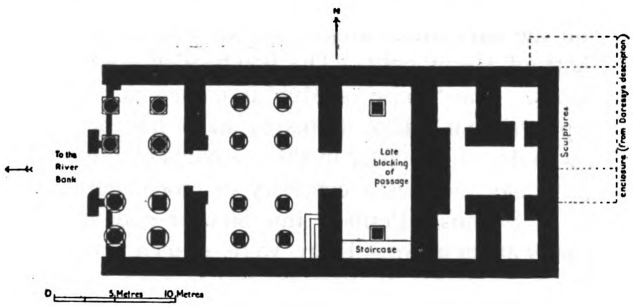
portico faced the Nile, which in the inundation season probably flowed close past it. The front chamber appears to possess nothing noteworthy except its plan. The columns here are circular and *canallées*, by which faceted must be meant rather than fluted, while in the other chambers the roof was upheld by square pillars. In the second chamber[1] some of the sculptures are still intelligible. (1) The first pillar on the right-hand side shows on the passage-face 'Amûn, the great of bleatings, lord of Tehni,' ram-headed, giving the scimitar to Sesonchis, and on another face the king offers to Rê, hawk-headed and wearing the disk. (2) The first pillar on the left shows on the passage-face Sesonchis receiving life from Ammon, who here has his usual (Theban) form with human head and high plumes; on the other face he offers fire or incense to a ram-headed god, evidently Ammon 'great of bleatings' again, for though the titles are lost the inscription indicates that the god is he to whom the king dedicated the temple,  . (3) The second pillar on the right: on one of the side faces the king offers oil to 'his mother,' lion-headed, perhaps a form of Mûth. (4) The left-hand wall at the inner end of the chamber showed Sesonchis presenting a group of kneeling captives to a seated god, while a procession of foreign captives labelled with their designations appeared above. (5) Some blocks fallen from the walls give fragments of inscriptions of a 'high priest of Amûn' and 'chief captain,' probably of the Twenty-second Dynasty. (6) A fragment of a door-jamb shows the king running or dancing with vases, and a slab fallen from the roof proves that the ceiling was decorated with spreading vultures and a line of hieroglyphs containing the name of 'Amûn, the great of bleatings.' In the third chamber the most important feature is a staircase at the right-hand (south) end, which must have led to the roof, as Daressy has explained[2]. There appear to be no inscriptions here. The entrance to the chambers beyond is blocked[3], but Daressy points out that the obstruction does not belong to the original building. At the back of the temple Daressy states that there is an enclosure with two small chambers, placed respectively against the north and east exterior walls of the temple. This was built soon after the temple itself, the end wall of which, where the chamber does not touch it, is sculptured with a succession of five scenes for Osorchon I, the son of Sesonchis. Beginning from the north, these represent (1) Osorchon presenting a table of offerings to the lunar ibis-headed Thoth ;



Plan of the temple of El Hîbeh (after Kamal).

[1] Daressy thought that the pillars in this chamber were united in pairs by (low?) walls.

[2] Daressy says that his plan makes two narrow chambers out of this hall, marking a cross wall where Kamal shows only bases of columns.

[3] Cf. below, p. 87, note 1.

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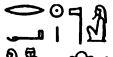
(2) the same presenting two vases to a ram-headed god, said to be Chnûmis, but probably we may recognize in this figure the local Ammon, 'great of bleatings'; (3) the king offers incense and water to 'Khons in Thebes Nefhotp,' hawk-headed; (4) Osorchon offers two vases to the human-headed Mûth, 'lady of Ashru'; (5) offers a figure of Mei (Truth) to Ammon, human-headed and wearing plumes.

Thus to Sesonchis I belongs practically all the decoration that remains of the interior of the temple, and Osorchon I added some scenes on the back wall outside.

It may be suspected that the deities represented on the walls of the temple were those specially honoured in it at the time. Unfortunately the papyri offer no striking confirmation of this surmise beyond the principal deity: no doubt changes took place from time to time in the selection of deities to be associated with him. Rê,  hawk-headed and wearing the sun disk[1], is perhaps the same as Harmakhis, whose priesthood is the subject of our papyrus No. I. Ammon, Mûth, and Chôn on the back wall[2] are strictly the Theban triad appearing with the local Ammon[3] and Thoth of Hermopolis. The lion-headed goddess[4] may be Mûth again, or Sakhmis, or Bubastis. The 'house of Mût' is named in papyrus No. II. Thoth does not appear in the papyri, but Chôn seems to have had a prophet at Teuzoi[5], and a shrine of Osiris, who does not appear in the remnants of the sculptures, is mentioned in a papyrus[6]. Strange to say there is a cemetery of crocodiles north of the wall, indicating the local worship of Suchus. Perhaps this sinister god, imported it may be from the Faiyûm, had a separate temple. There were sixteen cotemplar gods with Ammon of Teuzoi[7] and the above names at most amount to nine.

The oldest remains recorded at El Hîbeh appear to be some town-ruins of the New Kingdom outside the north wall and fort[8]. The famous papyrus recording the travels of Unamûn in the reign of the last king of the Twentieth Dynasty, which was purchased by M. Golénischeff in the winter of 1891–2, is said, with much probability, to have been found at El Hîbeh[9]. Bricks in the city wall are stamped for queen Esenkhêbe of the Twenty-first Dynasty, with her father (?) Pinotem the First Prophet of Ammon, and her husband Menkheperrê, and the temple, as we have seen, dates from the Twenty-second Dynasty[10].

The earliest reference to Teuzoi (El Hîbeh) in inscriptions is the record of its surrender to Tefnakhti—presumably the father of Bocchoris, whom Manetho makes the sole representative of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty—on the stela of Pʿankhi. The John Rylands papyri now give us many details of its history from the reign of Psammetichus I to that of Darius I. We may anticipate that the papyri discovered by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in their work for the Egypt Exploration Fund will continue the record with a number of interesting details regarding the ways of its inhabitants under Ptolemaic and Roman rule.

[1] *Annales*, ii. 87, 154–5.
[2] Ibid., 87–9.
[3] Ibid., 88. Dieu Khnoum à tête de bélier. Chnûmis is indeed the god of several cities in the neighbourhood, and Arsaphes of Heracleopolis resembles Chnûmis in form.
[4] Ibid., 155.
[5] Pap. IX. 9/17.
[6] Ibid., 7/19.
[7] Pap. IX. 3/15, 13/7.
[8] Grenfell and Hunt in *E. E. F. Archaeological Report*, 1901–2, p. 4.
[9] *Rec. de Trav.*, xxi. 74.
[10] L., *D. Textband*, II, p. 43. Petrie, *PSBA.*, xxvi. 283.

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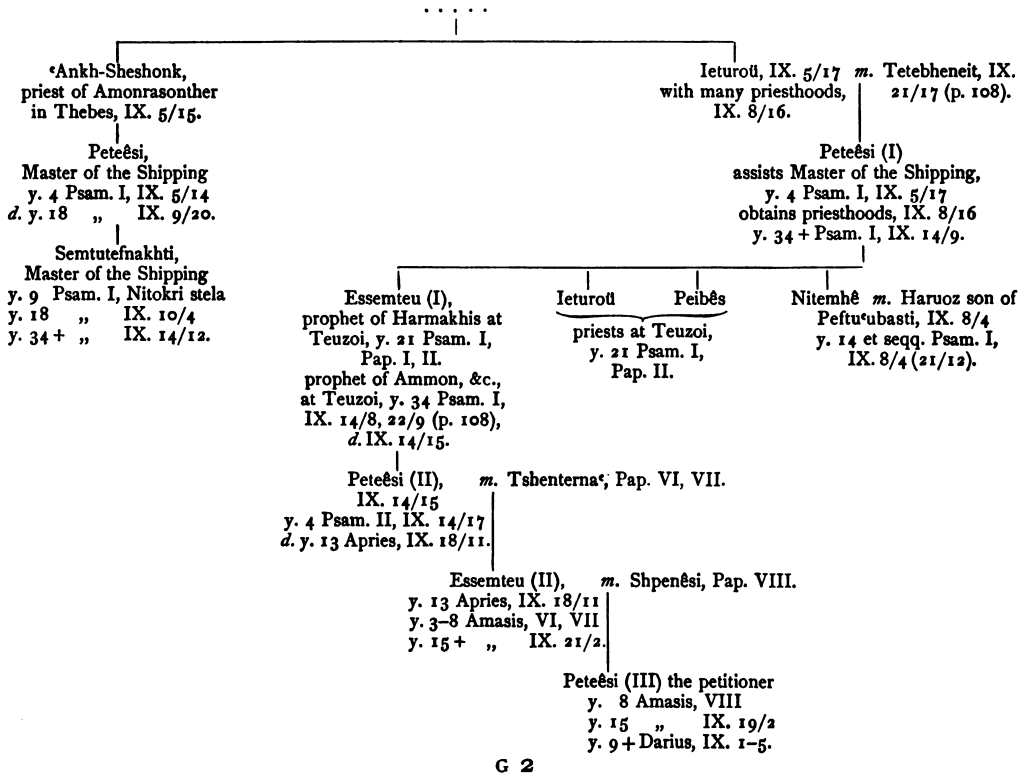
The Family of Peteêsi.

The group of nine papyri described in the following pages is probably all that survives of the papers of a priestly family which settled at Teuzoi in the reign of Psammetichus I. The principal document is the memorial of a certain Peteêsi in the reign of Darius I, who had incurred the enmity of his fellow priests and went in fear of his life. His elaborate narrative sets forth how his forefathers had obtained rights in the temple, how they were transmitted from father to son, and how these rights were wickedly diverted in the days of his grandfather. Many acts of unjustifiable hostility to his family are alleged by Peteêsi against the priests of Teuzoi at different periods. Teuzoi was perhaps a fortress in earlier days, but the city had long been entirely priestly, the place was impoverished, and at times almost deserted, and the priests themselves must have been a turbulent gang.

The other papyri are contracts made with three of the ancestors of Peteêsi in the reigns of Psammetichus I and Amasis II. They can hardly form part of the materials on which the statements in the petition were founded; in fact, they are so far from corroborating the details that they might well have been called for by an adversary to throw doubt on Peteêsi's story.

The genealogy of Peteêsi, so far as it can be gathered from his petition and the earlier papyri, is as follows:


.....
ʿAnkh-Sheshonk, priest of Amonrasonther in Thebes, IX. 5/15.
Peteêsi, Master of the Shipping y. 4 Psam. I, IX. 5/14 d. y. 18 „ IX. 9/20.
Semtutefnakhti, Master of the Shipping y. 9 Psam. I, Nitokri stela y. 18 „ IX. 10/4 y. 34+ „ IX. 14/12.
Ieturoũ, IX. 5/17 with many priesthoods, IX. 8/16. m. Tetebheneit, IX. 21/17 (p. 108).
Peteêsi (I) assists Master of the Shipping, y. 4 Psam. I, IX. 5/17 obtains priesthoods, IX. 8/16 y. 34+Psam. I, IX. 14/9.
Essemteu (I), prophet of Harmakhis at Teuzoi, y. 21 Psam. I, Pap. I, II. prophet of Ammon, &c., at Teuzoi, y. 34 Psam. I, IX. 14/8, 22/9 (p. 108), d. IX. 14/15.
Ieturoũ Peibês priests at Teuzoi, y. 21 Psam. I, Pap. II.
Nitemhê m. Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti, IX. 8/4 y. 14 et seqq. Psam. I, IX. 8/4 (21/12).
Peteêsi (II), IX. 14/15 y. 4 Psam. II, IX. 14/17 d. y. 13 Apries, IX. 18/11. m. Tshenternaʿ, Pap. VI, VII.
Essemteu (II), y. 13 Apries, IX. 18/11 y. 3–8 Amasis, VI, VII y. 15+ „ IX. 21/2. m. Shpenêsi, Pap. VIII.
Peteêsi (III) the petitioner y. 8 Amasis, VIII y. 15 „ IX. 19/2 y. 9+Darius, IX. 1–5.

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Papyri of the Reign of Psammetichus I.

Two of the papyri from El Hîbeh bear a date of the twenty-first year of Psammêṯk, which must necessarily be referred to the reign of Psammetichus I. They are the earliest ascertained examples of the class, distinguished above as the 'normal' series, which differs from the 'abnormal hieratic' series both in writing and in formulae, and leads directly to the types of later demotic legal documents. The 'abnormal hieratic' papyri are from Thebes, and it appears that the style of the twenty-fifth (Ethiopian) dynasty was generally adhered to in the southern capital as late as the middle of the reign of Amasis II[1]. The John Rylands papyri, coming from El Hîbeh in Middle Egypt, are quite free from this archaism. A hieroglyphic-demotic stela of the fiftieth (?) year of Psammetichus I, and a contract of servitude dated in the fourth year of Psammetichus, presumably the second of the name[2], are the nearest in date of the normal series to the two papyri which follow; the stela and the contract may well have come from Middle or Lower Egypt.

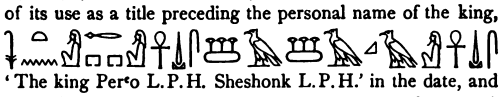
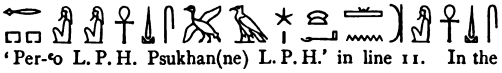
Papyrus No. I. Sale to Essemteu (I) of three offices in the temple of Teuzoi.

The text is (**A**) the sale subscribed by the vendor and his son, followed by fifteen copies (**B**–**Q**) of the same under the names of different witnesses, and a further signature.

A. (1) Year 21 Paopi[3] of Per-ʿo[4]-Psammêṯk[5] L.P.H.

[1] See above, p. 14. [2] Nos. 13 and 15 above, p. 19.

[3] The day of the month is not given in 'normal' contracts. Perhaps the first day is implied: at any rate the expression 'to-day' occurs frequently in the body of later contracts. Paophi would begin on March 2 or 1, the year being between 645 and 640 B.C.; see Mahler, *Chronolog. Tabellen.*

[4] The word Per-ʿo, 'Great House,' at first applied to the royal court and establishment, and gradually more to the person of the king, is fully used in that sense under the New Kingdom. On a hieratic stela of the Twenty-second Dynasty (Dakhleh stela, i. l. 1) is found the earliest instance of its use as a title preceding the personal name of the king,  'The king Perʿo L.P.H. Sheshonk L.P.H.' in the date, and again (as A. H. Gardiner has pointed out to the writer)  'Per-ʿo L.P.H. Psukhan(ne) L.P.H.' in line 11. In the present papyrus, as often in Pap. II, the title Perʿo and the name Psammêṯk are written together in a single cartouche, showing how closely they were connected together in speech, cf. פרעה־נכו, פרעה־חפרע Pharaoh-Necho, Pharaoh-Hophra. As a rule, however, they are graphically separated in demotic writing of all ages, 'L.P.H.,' being placed after the title Perʿo and followed by the initial mark of the cartouche before the name. It occurs thus in several of the copies in Pap. II and regularly in those of Amasis and later. (L.P.H. stands for 'Life, Prosperity, and Health!' being itself an abbreviated writing. This ancient epithet of royal names, no doubt a loyal wish, is retained after cartouches, &c., in demotic writing, but in all probability was not pronounced.)

[5] Psammêṯk, 'the man (vendor?) of mixed wine' (see p. 201). The great King would not have permitted his name to be vulgarized by a false and derogatory spelling; he evidently considered it correct and suitable, so no other explanation is needed. The name Psammêṯk is not known before Psammetichus I: it may thus have been given to him on account of some leading event in his own or his father's life. It may not be too fanciful to connect with it the story told by Herodotus (ii. 151) of his being marked out for the sole rule during the Dodecarchy, by improvising a libation-bowl out of his helmet, and the account of the low and φιλοπότης origin of Amasis (ibid., 174) in the same dynasty is significant. Such stories might be derived from the name.

Neko, the name of the father as well as of the son of Psammetichus I, seems to be a revival of an old Egyptian name, see below, p. 243. Of the remaining names in the dynasty, Uehabrêʿ (Apries) is simply the Egyptian throne-name of Psammetichus I adopted as a personal name, and Aḥmosi (Amasis), 'the Moon is born,' is an Egyptian

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The divine father[1] Hôr son of Pemû hath declared to the divine father Essemteu son of Peteêsi[2].

'I have given thee my office[3] of prophet[4] of Harmakhi[5], and my share as deputy (?)[6], (2) and my share as scribe of the *shoni*[7], the things that belong to (?) the superintendent (?) of the granary (?).

'Thine they are, with their stipends[8] and their goods[9], and the things which shall be added unto them from the temple the field and the town[10], and every place[11] (3) belonging to them in the House of Amûn of Tehni in Teuzoi[12]—linen, incense, oil, bread, ox-flesh, goose-flesh, wine[13], beer, lamp[14], herbs, milk, every kind of property in the land[15] belonging to them.

name of long standing. Such names might, of course, quite well be adopted by a foreign stock planted in Egypt: they are no proof of an Egyptian or any other origin for the dynasty. Psammetichus was the name of the father of Inarôs, who is specifically called a Libyan. The Libyans of Marea claimed οὐκ or οὐδὲν ὁμολογέειν with the Egyptians (Hdt. ii. 18), by which difference of speech might be meant. Yet Psammetichus was an Egyptian name, and so was Ιναρως (p. 47, note 2). For Θαννύρας, the name of Inarôs' son (Hdt. iii. 15), no Egyptian parallel as yet suggests itself, perhaps only because it was not a common name.

[1] 'Divine father' (BORCHARDT, *Ber. Sächs. Ges.*, lvii. 254) is found with almost every name in Pap. I and II. It is a common sacerdotal title elsewhere at this period, but it was evidently more than a conventional title of all priests. It probably was reserved for members of a priestly college forming the permanent staff of a temple, and as such it was prominently borne by persons of the highest rank.

[2] This is evidently Essemteu (I) of the petition of Peteêsi. He is first mentioned in that document at a date attributable to the thirty-fourth year of Psammetichus I (see the analysis on p. 62). His father dwelt with his family in Teuzoi from about the fourth to about the fifteenth year of Psammetichus I, holding all the prophetships in the temple: in the fifteenth year he committed these practically to his son-in-law Haruoz (IX. 9/9 et seqq.), one prophet's share being given to his daughter: and in the thirty-fourth year he seems to have handed them all over definitely to Essemteu. It is difficult to reconcile the statements in the petition with the transfer of the prophetship of Harmakhis by this unknown Hôr to Essemteu in the twenty-first year, but of course it is possible that there was complicated trafficing in the prophetships in the interval.

[3] In Papyrus IX and elsewhere we have the 'share of a prophet' in such contexts, e.g. IX. 3/20: and here (l. 4) the 'office of prophet' is counted as one of three 'shares' (doubtless intended for Essemteu and his two brothers, see Pap. II) referring to the stipends given out of the revenues of the temple.

[4] In the trilingual decrees, the ancient title , literally 'servant (or slave) of God,' is rendered by προφήτης, indicating that these priests were looked upon as 'interpreters' of the will and oracles of the god, though they themselves were not actually inspired. Cf. Hdt. ii. 83. The Coptic ϩοπτ = ἱερεύς in Gen. xli, xlvi, of the Egyptian priest Potiphera, פוטיפרע (Peteprê') is the same word. Each of the sixteen cotemplar gods at Teuzoi possessed a prophetship, IX. 13/7.

[5] Thus Harmakhis was one of the cotemplar gods with Ammon at Teuzoi: cf. the hawk-headed Rê, sculptured in the temple, above, p. 42. The name belongs properly to the Sphinx, *OGIS.*, no. 666 (it scans Ἁρμᾶχις), cf. the stela of the Sphinx set up by Thutmosis IV, naming ; but the writing of the name of the Sphinx with , the name of the hawk-headed Rê, is also amply evidenced.

[6] Cf. 'deputy of this god' in IX. 22/14 (p. 108).

[7] Another title of uncertain meaning. Cf. 'the superintendent of the *shoni*,' λεσωνις of the Greek papyri, IX. 1/2.

[8] 'Stipends,' lit. 'offerings'; see p. 65, note 4.

[9] Occasional fees.

[10] 'From the temple the field and the town,' a regular phrase in enumerating priestly sources of revenue, occurring in nos. 44, 45, 53, 58 (p. 28). For the whole of this passage see the bilingual printed in the additional notes.

[11] It is not quite clear whether the meaning is 'which shall be added unto them from the temple, &c., and (from) every place'; or, giving to 'place' its regular technical sense of παστοφόριον 'priestly lodging' (see the next document), 'Thine they are with their stipends, &c., and every lodging belonging to them.' The latter rendering, however, is decidedly preferable.

[12] See above, p. 38.

[13] Cf. Hdt. ii. 37, where the same things are specified in the same order as allowed daily to Egyptian priests: Σιτία σφι (sc. τοῖς ἱεροῖς) ἐστὶ ἱρὰ πεσσόμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πλῆθός τι ἑκάστῳ γίνεται πολλὸν ἡμέρης ἑκάστης· δίδοται δέ σφι οἶνος ἀμπέλινος, Herodotus adding that they may not eat fish and cannot endure even to look at beans.

[14] The whole of this list is of things that might be offered to the deity or used in the ceremonies, and afterwards enjoyed as perquisites by the priests.

[15] 'Any in the land' (or 'any in the world'), a very common idiom in demotic.

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'Thou hast caused (4) my heart to agree to the silver[1], (the price) of these three shares above (written).

'Neither children nor brethren[2], nor any man in the land, nor my own self likewise shall be able to control them without[3] thee, beginning from year 21 of Per'o-Psammêṭk L.P.H. onward to any year; and including (5) children, brethren, or any man in the land.

'The man who shall come unto thee on account of these shares above written—I will cause him to be cleared (?) for thee from any patent[4] in the land, together with children and brethren[5], unto[6] any silver, any corn, any thing (6) in the whole land which shall please thy heart; these three shares above written still being thine for ever.

'The man who shall come unto thee to take thee unto (?) the judges[7] in the name of these shares above written—(7) he shall not be able to say "produce a subscribing witness" except in[8] the town in which the witness is.

'As Amûn liveth! as Per'o L.P.H. liveth![9], I shall not be able to say "false!" to any word above written; I shall not be able to withdraw a word of it.'

Written by the divine father (?) Aho (?) (8) son of Hôr, son of Pemû, for himself.

(9) Attested by the divine father Hôr son of Pemû, for himself[10].

Fifteen further witnesses attest the sale, each making a full copy of the body of the document in identical form, thus:

B. (1) Attested by the divine father Psenke (?), son of Pshenptah, he being witness in year 21[11] of Per'o-Psammêṭk L.P.H. to the declaration made by the divine father Hôr, son of Pemû, to the divine father Essemteu son of Peteêsi—'I have given to thee my office (&c., &c.). (7) I shall not be able to say "false!" to any word above written: I shall not be able to withdraw a word of it'; written by — as before (?)[12].

[1] The earliest occurrence of this formula, which is not found in the 'abnormal' series. For Greek translations of the phrase see p. 120, § 3: cf. ⲁ ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲧⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁⲁⲕ, 'my heart agreeth with thee,' in the Coptic documents, *Rainer Kopt.*, cxxix and KRALL's note thereto.

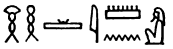
[2] Referring of course to rights that might be possessed by the vendor's brethren or children as heirs. The repetition at the end of the sentence seems to be only for emphasis, and not to introduce any new idea. [3] Or 'except thee.'

[4] The word perhaps means ownership publicly attested in the council, and the written certificate of such ownership or any document establishing it; cf. IX. 8/10, 9/2 on pp. 83, 84. It appears to be rendered in Greek by κυρία: see the formulae § 12 on p. 121.

[5] Does this mean that Hôr's children and brethren are responsible, or that the claims of children and brethren shall be satisfied?

[6] Most texts, No. V (p. 53), 15 (p. 56), 28 (p. 57), say 'he shall give thee any silver, &c., which shall please thy heart,' which seems absurd. [7] Cf. Pap. IX. 15/9.

[8] This paragraph is elsewhere found only in No. II and on the contract of servitude No. 15 on p. 56.

[9] In the New Kingdom the oath is  , 'As Amûn endureth, as the Ruler endureth' (SPIEGELBERG, *Rechtswesen*, p. 74). A similar oath is found in almost all the 'abnormal hieratic' documents, but is not known in the 'normal' series of contracts beyond Nos. I and II, and the contract of servitude just mentioned. Curiously enough an exact parallel is found in Coptic documents, 'I swear by God the Almighty and by the health of the lords, the kings, that I cannot transgress the things that are written in this guarantee.' KRALL, *Rainer Kopt.*, p. 6.

[10] These are the subscriptions first of the son and heir of the vendor and then of the vendor himself: so also in a grant of land of the fifteenth year of Amasis II (No. 26 above). In a similar grant of the twenty-fifth year of Darius I (No. 54) the donor alone subscribes thus, and a similar arrangement is discernible on the fragments of No. IV below. The object of the subscription was probably to give greater formality and weight to the transfer, especially in cases where the property might be liable to interference from the heirs. Ordinarily the parties themselves do not sign a contract in their own handwriting.

[11] The month is not stated in the attestations of Pap. I and II.

[12] A phrase found at the end of all witness-copies, evidently

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The names of the witnesses are:

B. the divine father Psenke (?) son of Pshenptah.
C. the divine father Zethutefᶜônkh son of Haruoz.
D. the divine father Aho (?) son of Amûn (?).
E. the divine father Zeubestefᶜônkh son of Amûn (?).
F. the divine father Hôr son of Zeubestefᶜônkh.
G. the divine father Zeubestefᶜônkh son of Hôr.
H. the divine father Zeubestefᶜônkh son of ᶜAnkhkêb (?).
J. the divine father Hôr son of Peftuᶜusopti.
K. the divine father Haruoz (?)[1] son of Peftuᶜubasti (?).
L. the divine father Haruoz son of Áho (?).
M. Hôr son of Ienharoü[2].
N. the divine father Khepekhrat son of Aho (?).
O. the divine father Haruoz son of Psenke (?).
P. Zekhensefᶜônkh son of Khepekhrat.
Q. the divine father Pemû son of Hôr.

Finally, a line in hieroglyphic is the simple signature of another witness:

Q. (13) 'Attested by the divine father Ienharoü, son of Pfot[3].'

PAPYRUS No. II. Grant of a 'place' in the temple to Essemteu and his two brothers.

A. (1) Year 21, Hathôr, of Perᶜo-Psammêṯk L.P.H.

Priests, prophets, and divine fathers[4] of the House of Amûn of Tehni in Teuzoi have declared to the divine father Essemteu son of Peteêsi (2) and the divine father Ieturoü son of Peteêsi and the divine father Peibês son of Peteêsi:

'We have given unto you this place in the temple[5] of the House of Amûn of Tehni:

to save the trouble of copying the name of the scribe who wrote the original (**A**).

[1] This may perhaps read Harbai: but in the Petition of Peteêsi (IX. 9/16, &c.) we meet with a priest of Ammon, Haruoz son of Peftuᶜubasti, brother-in-law of our Essemteu, who should certainly appear amongst the signatories to Essemteu's purchase of this priesthood, if the Petition is at all trustworthy.

[2] SPIEGELBERG (*OLZ.*, viii. 562) has just discovered that this common name is the equivalent of Ἰναρως. In the same article he discusses the etymology of Ψαμμήτιχος, and would explain it as 'the man of (some god named) Mêṯk.'

[3] This signature appears also in Pap. II. One suspects that the man was aged, and was excused the trouble of making a full copy on that ground. His signature brings up the total, excluding the subscriptions of the vendor and his son in **A**, to sixteen, which is the usual number in important transfers. Although the same names are often repeated, indicating relationship, only three other witnesses reappear in Pap. II, namely J, O, Q, in II. J, A 7, and B respectively. All except those in M and P, and in Pap. II. K, bear the title 'divine father.' It is obvious, therefore, that the sixteen subscribers to the document cannot be precisely the holders of the sixteen *hotep*, 'stipends,' of the subordinate prophetships in the temple of Teuzoi (IX. 13/7). Yet, for all we know, sixteen stipends may have been usual in other temples, and if so we may connect with it the number sixteen of the witnesses to most important priestly transactions.

[4] Probably it is not far from the truth to say that the 'priests' (*uᶜb*) included all who belonged to the higher sacerdotal class by birth, 'prophets' were priests of high grade attached to the service of particular deities, and 'divine fathers' included all the staff of the temple above the rank of παστοφόρος. Compare OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, pp. 75, 94.

[5] 'Place of the temple.' That this was a building or apartment is shown in IX. 7/12–13 where a 'house' and a 'place of the temple' are built, and ibid. 18/14 where they are pulled down, both being spoken of as 'houses' in 20/14; while in 2/7 priests are imprisoned in 'a place of the temple.' In 21/4 the 'house' is rebuilt, but the 'place of the temple' remains in ruins. Evidently the 'house' belonged to the priest personally as his private residence, while the 'places of the temple' were the official apartments, in fact the παστοφόρια of the Greek papyri.

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whose south is the House of Mût[1], its north (3) the *khent*[2], its west the tower (?) of Kiahk[3], its east the store-chambers of the House of Amûn of Tehni.

'It is your place.

(4) 'No man in the land shall be able to control it except you.

'The man who shall come to you on account of it, saying, "It is not your place," he shall give (5) to you any silver, any corn which shall please your hearts, your place (in the temple) being still yours for ever.

'The man who shall come unto you to take (6) you unto (?) the judges in the name of this place in the temple above (written), he shall not be able to say "produce a subscribing witness" except in the town in which the witness is.

(7) 'As Amûn liveth! as Perᶜo L.P.H. liveth! we will not say "false!" to any word above (written): we will not withdraw a word of it.'

Written by the divine father Haruoz son of Psenke.

Below this in a line of hieroglyphic is a simple signature of a witness:

(8) Attested by the divine father Ienharoü son of Pfôt,

followed by eleven full attestation-copies: as the end of the roll is destroyed it is likely that there were originally fifteen as in Pap. No. I, to make up sixteen in all. The form is precisely as in the former case:

Attested by *X* son of *Y*, he being witness in Year 21 of Perᶜo-Psammêṭk L.P.H. to the declaration made by the priests, prophets, divine fathers of the House of Amûn of Tehni in Teuzoi to the divine father Essemteu son of Peteêsi (&c., &c.). 'We have given (&c., &c.), we will not withdraw a word of it.' Written by the above.

The names of the witnesses are:

B. the divine father Pemû son of Hôr.
C. the divine father Aho (?) son of Hôr.
D. the divine father Zethutefᶜônkh son of ᶜAnkh . . . .
E. the divine father Zeubestefᶜônkh son of Hôr.
F. the divine father Hôr son of Zeubestefᶜônkh.
G. the divine father Psenke son of Aho (?).
H. the divine father Hôr son of Psenke.
J. the divine father Hôr son of Peftuᶜusopti.
K. the Son whom He loves[4] Harkhêbi son of Harsiêsi.
L. the divine father Hôr son of Haruoz.
M. the divine father Pshenptah son of Psenke.

These two documents are written on papyrus of identical make; they are of one type, and probably concern the same business in different stages, namely, the introduction of a family into the acting priesthood of Teuzoi. The first, written in Paophi, is the sale or transfer of a priesthood and two other offices in the temple of Ammon and all their

[1] i.e. the temple or shrine of Mûth, consort of Ammon.

[2] One variant (M) gives 'the [*khent* of] the House of Amûn of Tehni,' but the meaning of *khent* is unknown.

[3] 'The tower (?) of Kiahk.' This west side would be towards the river. The name taken from the 'fourth month of inundation,' at this time falling in May, may be due to some event in the history of the place or a connexion with some festival in that month.

[4] A priestly title, especially of the high priest of Harsaphes at Hnês. Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, 1361.

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emoluments, by Hôr to Essemteu; the second, written in the following month, Athyr, is the grant of a 'place' in the temple by the whole temple establishment to Essemteu and his two brothers. No such documents have been known previously, but attention may be drawn to the papyri described above relating to the ownership of the office and emoluments of the libation-priests in the Theban necropolis[1].

Two types of sales in the abnormal series are as follows:

Tahraku. Year 3 (No. 1).

a. We have given thee *A* (a slave).

b. We have charged (?) thee *x* teben in exchange for him, being free of liability to anybody regarding him.

c. Oath not to withdraw.

Psammêṭk. Years 30, 45 (Nos. 6, 9).

a. We have given thee *x* aruras.

b. We have given it away to thee to-day, well content: we have no claim on it henceforward.

c. We have charged (?) thee *x* kite.

d. (Receipt for the silver.)

e. We have given it away (&c. *b* repeated).

f. Oath not to withdraw: we have no one able to claim: any one who lays claim shall not be heard.

Here, in Pap. No. I, the form is:

a. I have given thee *x*.

b. Thine it is.

c. Thou hast caused me to agree to the price.

d. No relation of mine, nor any one else, has any claim.

e. Any man who lays claim shall be got rid of at my expense.

f. A man taking the buyer into court about *x* cannot call the witnesses outside of their own town.

g. Oath not to challenge or withdraw the document.

The donation in Pap. No. II differs from this scheme only in necessary points, omitting *c*, and reducing *d* to 'no man has any claim.' A simplification of the form in Pap. No. I is found soon after in the fiftieth (?) year of Psammetichus I and the fourth year of Psammetichus II: here *a* is abolished and *c* put in its place, before *b*. This form

a. 'Thou hast caused my heart to agree to the price of *x*,'

b. 'Thine it is,'

followed by a variety of guarantees, is the type for all subsequent periods. But as time went on the above form of document, which was then called a 'writing for silver,' was deemed insufficient, and was therefore associated with a second document called a 'writing of abandonment[2],' by which the vendor acknowledged that all his

[1] Nos. 5, 33, 59 in the inventory (pp. 17, 23, 30). respectively, below, pp. 113 et seq.

[2] The two are termed 'agreement for sale' and 'cession'

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claims were discharged. The earliest instance of a 'writing of abandonment' dates from the second year of Darius (III?)[1], and it is regularly found in the Macedonian, Ptolemaic, and Roman ages.

The most important and constant difference between the abnormal and the normal series is the suppression of the price charged; a misfortune to the modern investigator. A little later, the oath, by Ammon and Pharaoh, which is found in almost every legal document of the abnormal series, disappears entirely from the normal series, though the closest possible analogue is found in Coptic documents[2]; its latest occurrence is in the sale of the fourth year of Psammetichus II[3]. The guarantee (*f*) regarding witnesses disappears at the same time. The other forms of guarantee (*d*, *e*) as found in the earliest example of the 'normal' series are retained to the end, and only varied and extended.

Papyri of the Reign of Amasis II.

Six of the El Hîbeh papyri belong to the early years, 2–8, of Amasis' long reign. Although monuments of the reign are numerous, few bear dates except the papyri, of which one previously known was dated in the third year, another in the sixth, and several in the twelfth, besides a considerable number from the later years. An important inscription upon a stela in the Cairo Museum, dated in Payni of the third year of Amasis, records the defeat and death of his predecessor Apries, with whom Amasis may possibly have reigned for some time jointly, or in rivalry[4]. The crisis in the civil war seems to have been passed by Athyr 8 in the third year, but the text is obscure. Another stela of the third year is known, and one is said to exist of the first year.

The constant recurrence of the same persons in the papyri now under consideration shows that they all belong together. That they are from El Hîbeh is proved by the mention of Teuzoi in the title of the witness No. VI. F. Finally it is clear that they belong to the Peteêsi family.

In V–VII the contract or agreement is made with a priest Essemteu son of Peteêsi. It is the same name that is met with in the papyri of the twenty-second year of Psammetichus; on referring to the Petition of Peteêsi we find the statement that Peteêsi (II), son of the earlier Essemteu, died in the thirteenth year of Apries, leaving a son Essemteu (II) as his representative[5]. In or soon after the fifteenth year of Amasis much trouble fell on this Essemteu, and he was compelled to flee from his persecutors in Teuzoi. But until that time, though his father had suffered greatly, he may have been fairly prosperous; a degree of prosperity is certainly indicated by these papyri, the latest of which is dated in the eighth year. No. VIII, also of the eighth year, is made with Peteêsi son of Essemteu, who must be the petitioner Peteêsi (III) himself, the son of Essemteu (II). He first appears in the petition as a scribe, accompanying his father in his exile[6].

Nos. III–VII are contracts concerning servitude, all or all but one relating to the same servant or slave. The dates of the last three are perfect—Year 2, Payni: Year 3,

[1] No. 66 on p. 32.
[2] Above, p. 46, note 9.
[3] No. 15 on p. 19.
[4] Published by Daressy, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxii. p. 1.
[5] Pap. IX. 18/11 (p. 102).
[6] See below, pp. 62, 63.

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Thoth: Year 8, Choiak. In the earliest of these Peftuʿukhons acknowledges himself to be slave of Essemteu for ever on account of benefits received, and in Thoth (the beginning) of the next year makes a more formal contract; in year 8 he renews the contract, this renewal being perhaps required by law after the lapse of so many years. Nos. III and IV unfortunately are mere fragments, but a thread of connexion with the others can be recognized. Of the date of III it can only be said that it was in the second year, and in the second month of some season, which might be the month of Paôphi or Mechîr or Payni again. By it a brother of Peftuʿukhons, if it is not Peftuʿukhons himself, acknowledges that he is slave of the chief prophet [Zeubesteſʿônkh] son of Hôr. On No. IV no trace of the date remains; Zeubesteſʿônkh son of Hôr hands over to some one (whose name is lost) the papyrus of servitude of Peftuʿukhons. As the remaining papers belonged to Essemteu, who appears in them as owner of the slave, we may be sure that this papyrus also was for him, and further we may conjecture that No. III was the papyrus referred to, though the slave's name must have been somewhat different in that document. Variations of name for the same person are frequent enough in the legal documents. It would, therefore, appear that Essemteu acquired a slave who, on the one hand, surrendered himself to him (Essemteu) in consideration of a loan made when he was perishing; and, on the other hand, was made over to him (Essemteu) by the chief prophet. The date also of the latter transaction seems capable of very close limitation. It must be subsequent to the papyrus No. III in year 2, but before Thoth of year 3, when Hôr son of Zeubesteſʿônkh takes his father's place as chief prophet. Thus Essemteu acquired his slave in year 2 of Amasis. We can hardly be wrong in connecting this with the civil war between Apries and Amasis, which was approaching its end at this time. The disturbed state of the country must have led to the ruin of many Egyptians, and the slaughter, wounding, and capture of many others, both natives and mercenaries. In these circumstances there were great opportunities for the acquisition of slaves. One is tempted to equate the date of III (year 2, second month of . . .) to that of V (year 2, second month of harvest, i.e. Payni), in which case IV also would be the same. The enslaving of an Egyptian, or mortgaging of his body for a debt[1], was probably encompassed about with legal difficulties, and there may have been some fictitious transactions to confirm it. According to this interpretation on the same date that Peftuʿukhons surrendered to Essemteu as a slave on account of the loan, he also acknowledged himself slave of the chief prophet, and the chief prophet handed over his title to Essemteu. The transfer of a slave from one master to another perhaps gave a better title than any first acknowledgement could effect[2]. The unparalleled number of witnesses in the most essential documents, Nos. V and VI, is significant. But it must not be forgotten that the data for this deduction are very insufficient as yet.

[1] Cf. Diod. i. cap. 79 *τῶν δὲ ὀφειλόντων τὴν ἔκπραξιν τῶν δανείων ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας μόνον ἐποιήσατο, τὸ δὲ σῶμα κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον εἴασεν ὑπάρχειν ἀγώγιμον*, 'He (Bocchoris) also made debts recoverable only out of the property of the debtors, and in no way permitted their persons to be taken in satisfaction of it,' because their persons belonged to the State for services in peace and war. Diodorus' statements must not be taken for history, but they may be useful for hints and illustrations.

[2] If this man had been a serf of the temple, see note 7 on next page, he might have to acknowledge his slavery to the chief prophet before becoming the slave of the priest Essemteu.

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PAPYRUS No. III. Acknowledgement of servitude.

(1) [Year 2, second month of . . . of Per'o] L.P.H. Ah[mosi L.P.]H.

P . . .[1] son of Heriubasti, his mother being Kausenêsi, hath declared to the Comforter of the Father's heart[2], First Prophet[3], (2) [scribe of the divine book[4], Zeubestef'ônkh[5]] son of Hôr.

'[I am thy] slave[6] for ever: never more shall I be able to act as *nemh*[7] unto thee—unto (?)[8] any silver, [any] corn, (3) [any kind of property in the land—together with my] children [that are] born and those who shall be born to us[9], and all that belongeth to us and those things which we shall (4) [gain, and the clothes which are] upon our [backs].

'No [man] in the land shall [be able] to exercise authority over us except thee, from year 2, second month (5) [of . . . onward to any year], for [ever].'

[Written by] the Comforter of the [Father's] heart, Uesiamûn son of Pshenubasti.

On the back were written the names of fifteen[10] witnesses; they are now much mutilated and barely traceable. In the last line can be read:

'Ienharoü son of . . .'

PAPYRUS No. IV. Transfer of contract[11].

(1) [Year 2 (?) . . . of Per'o L.P.H. Ahmosi L.P.H.] The Comforter of the Father's heart, the chief prophet, scribe of the divine book, Zeubestef'ônkh son of Hôr, hath declared to the Comforter of the [Father's] heart (2) [Essemteu son of Peteêsi (?)].

[1] The date, &c., in the first line, though still legible where the papyrus is not torn away, present the appearance of having been intentionally obliterated by washing out the ink as far as , the beginning of the father's name Heriubaste. Perhaps the erasure of the king's name is to be connected with the war with Apries. The date can be restored, except the name of the season, from line 4, and so far agrees with that of No. V. The name of the slave must have been shorter than the Peftu'ukhons which is in Pap. IV–VII, but it began with P and the father's and mother's names are the same. Inconsistencies in names, often through the existence of alternatives, are common enough in the papyri, e.g. in Nos. VI, XIV, and possibly it was a mistake in this name that led to the obliteration above noticed.

[2] I have not found the title except in these six papyri, where it is attached to almost every male name: it seems in fact to take precisely the place of the priestly title 'divine father,' which is regularly found elsewhere but does not occur once in these papyri of Amasis from Teuzoi. Cf. 'the Son whom He loves' in Pap. No. I witness K.

[3] 'First prophet,' probably not the same as the *lesônis*, for which see IX. 1/2, note. In the next year his son Hôr takes the place of Zeubestef'ônkh. In the fifteenth year of Amasis the *lesônis* was Zeubestef'ônkh son of Aho (?) (not Hôr) according to the Petition of Peteêsi (IX. 18/9).

[4] Πτεροφόρος (cf. DITTENBERGER, *OGIS.*, i. p. 96) in the trilingual decrees.

[5] The name and titles are restored from the next papyrus, the formulae following from No. V.

[6] 'Slave' or 'servant,' *bok*. Mere hired service seems out of the question in these documents.

[7] The radical meaning of the word *nemh* may be 'poor,' 'beggar,' or 'suppliant.' Possibly the meaning here is 'borrower,' 'debtor,' or in regard to land 'lease-holder,' 'tenant'; cf. MORET, *Ä. Z.*, 39/28. The high-priest Euerot purchased his large estate from the '*nemh* of the land,' including priests, &c. (ERMAN, *Ä. Z.*, 35/20); but these would not have the freehold; they would at least pay dues to the temple or some other over-lord. 'Serf' as opposed to 'slave' would give an appropriate meaning in some passages; so also would 'pensioner.'

[8] This phrase may refer to the position of the *nemh* as borrower, or it may mean that all the slave's possessions are now his master's: but that is stated in the next sentence.

[9] No wife is mentioned. She might hold her property separately and would not necessarily be enslaved with the husband. '*My* children that are born and those that shall be born to *us*' is the usual phrase: 'us' in the second member evidently refers to the slave's children with himself as prospective producers of progeny.

[10] Fifteen is almost certainly the number, agreeing with that in the next papyrus. Whether the witnesses to both were identical cannot be determined: the surviving name shows that, at any rate, they did not sign in the same order.

[11] The transfer might well have been added upon the papyrus which it names. Pap. IV, however, cannot have formed part of Pap. III, there being a slight difference in the height of the roll. The name of the second party is restored from the other papyri in which Essemteu appears as the master of Peftu'ukhons.

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'[I am quit (?) [1]] unto thee of this papyrus of servitude which Peftuʿukhons son of Heriubasti made unto me (3) [in year 2 . . . (?)].

'[He is thy slave (?) [2]]; I shall not be able to exercise authority over him (?); I shall not be able to produce (?) [3] an old (?) papyrus or a (4) [new (?)] pap[yrus? that may have been made concerning this man] and produce (?) (it?) in the name of this papyrus of servitude that I have given (?) unto thee.

'The man that shall produce (?) a (5) pap[yrus saying "he is not thy slave" (?) he shall] give thee 20 (?) artabas (?) of wheat (?), I (*sic*?) being still thine as slave for ever.'

Written (6) [by the Comforter of the Father's heart Hôr son of Zeubestefʿônkh for himself [4]].

(7) [Written by the Comforter of the Father's heart, the chief prophet, scribe of the divine book Zeubest]efʿônkh son of Hôr for him[self].

On the back in one column are the names of the witnesses:

1. Esharthoüt son of Pshenptah.
2. Ienharoü son of Pemû.
3. Peftuʿuamûn son of Haruoz.
4. Ahtefnakhti son of Hôr.
5. Usernakht son of Pshenubasti.
6. Ahertais son of Hôr.
7. Ahertais son of [Psen]ke.
8. Zeubestefʿônkh son of Hôr.
9. Aho (?) son of Psenke.
10. Ahtefnakhti son of . . . .
11. Zeho son of Ienharoü.
12. Ien . . roü son of Ate(?)tefnakhti.
13. Ze . . . efʿônkh son of . . . hôr.
14. Hôr [son of Ze]ubestefʿônkh.
15. Zeu[bestefʿônkh] son of Har . . . (?).

PAPYRUS No. V. Contract of servitude.

(1) Year 2, Paôni [5] of Perʿo L.P.H. Ahmosi L.P.H.

The farmer (?) [6] Peftuʿukhons son of Heriubasti, his mother being Kausenêsi, hath declared to the Comforter of the Father's heart Essemteu (2) son of Peteêsi.

'I am thy slave for ever on account of this' (?) physician (?) and supplies (?) [7] which thou madest (?) for me in year 2 when I was about to die.

'Never more shall I be able to act as *nemh* (3) unto thee—unto (?) any silver, any corn, any kind of property in the land—together with my children that are born and those who shall be born to me, and (4) all that belongeth to me and those things that I shall gain, and the clothes which are upon my back; from year 2, Paôni, upward to any year (5) for ever.

'The man who shall come unto thee on account of us (*sic*), saying, "He is not thy slave," including any man in the land—he shall give thee any silver, (6) any corn, that shall please thy heart [8], I being still thine as slave for ever.'

Written by the Comforter of the Father's heart Seufkhons (?) son of Ienharoü.

[1] This phrase of divestment and investiture of another person (cf. cession, p. 126) is evidently to be restored here.

[2] The restorations in this papyrus are very doubtful. Part of the gap here might be filled with the name of Peftuʿukhons' mother ('his mother being Kausenêsi'), and the sentences following may have referred not to the slave but to the papyrus, 'him' or 'it' being equally possible as renderings of the pronoun.

[3] There is no analogue to this sentence and the restoration and rendering are quite conjectural.

[4] The name of the late owner's son followed by that of the owner himself, who makes the transfer, are restored here on the analogy of I. A (p. 46, note 10); their names appear in the list of witnesses on the back (8 and 14).

[5] The month begins with Oct. 9, c. 568 B.C.

[6] A title or qualification belonging to Peftuʿukhons as a free man (?): in Nos. III, IV, and VI he bears no title: in No. VII he is 'slave.'

[7] Extremely doubtful.

[8] What legal force this assertion could have it is difficult to see. See p. 46, note 6.

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On the back in one column are the names of the witnesses:

1. Hôr son of Zeubestefʿônkh[1].
2. Aho (?) son of . . -pemû (?)
3. Aho (?) son of Psenke.
4. Zeho son of Psenke.
5. Uesiptah son of Pshenubaste.
6. Pemû son of Ienharoü.
7. Zeubestefʿônkh son of Haruoz.
8. Ienharoü son of Pemû.
9. Ienharoü son of Zeubestefʿônkh.
10. Ieturoü son of Mentemhê.
11. Sheshenkʿonkh (?) son of Pekiôt.
12. Mentemhê son of Ienharoü.
13. Ienharoü son of Pshenptah.
14. Ahertais son of Hôr.
15. Peteamen (?)- . . . son of Zeubestefʿônkh.
16. Aho (?) son of Haruoz.
17. Hôr son of Zeubestefʿônkh.
18. Hôr son of Zeho.
19. ʿAnkhpefhrai son of Zeho.
20. Zeho son of Hôr.
21. Zeubestefʿônkh son of Hôr.

Papyrus No. VI. Contract of servitude.

The text is **(A)** the sale followed by a signature and five copies **(B–F)** under the names of different witnesses.

A. (1) Year 3, Thoüt[2] of Perʿo L.P.H. Ahmosi L.P.H.

Peftuʿukhons son of Heriubasti, his mother being Kausenêsi, hath declared to the Comforter of the Father's heart Essemteu son of Peteêsi, his mother being Tshenternaʿ[3].

(2) 'Thou hast caused my heart to agree to my silver[4], (the price) of acting as slave to thee.

'I am thy slave for ever: never more shall I be able to act as *nemh* unto thee—unto (?) any silver, [any] corn, [any kind of property] (3) in the land—together with my children who are born and those who shall be born to us, and the clothes which are on our backs, and all that belongeth to us, and those things which we shall [gain; from year 3, (4) Thoüt] onward to any year, for ever.'

Written by the Comforter of the Father's heart Ahtefnakhti son of Ienharoü[5].

This is followed by what appears to be the bare signature of the late chief prophet:

(5) [Zeubest(?)]efʿônkh son of Hôr[5],

and five witness copies. The form of these is precisely the same as in Pap. Nos. I and II, except that the name and titles of the king are omitted, while the designation of the month is retained.

Attested by *N* son of *M*, he being witness in year 3, Thoüt, to the declaration made by Peftuʿukhons (&c.), 'Thou hast caused my heart to agree to' (&c.) 'from year 3, Thoüt, onwards to any year, for ever.' Written by — as before (?).

[1] In this long list of witnesses the first two names appear to have been added at the top, when the whole of the space below had been filled.

[2] The year began Jan. 12, c. 567 B.C.

[3] The witness copy E varies the name to Tshentnaʿt and Pap. VII to Tshentnaʿ.

[4] This seems only to be the colourless form generally adopted in sales, in which the price is not stated: the true consideration was probably that named in No. V, a past benefit. From the terms of the servitude it would seem that all the slave's property belonged to his master, so that any payment from him now would be fictitious.

[5] The scribe's name does not appear amongst the witnesses on the back, nor does that of Zeubestefʿônkh, who evidently countersigns the document as being the late owner of the slave.

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The names of the witnesses in these copies are:

B. The Comforter of the Father's heart Pemû son of Hôr[1].
C. „ „ „ Hôr son of Zeho (?)[2].
D. „ „ „ the chief prophet, scribe of the divine roll, Hôr son of Zeubestefʿônkh[3].
E. „ „ „ Hôr son of Bekerrinf[4].
F. The (Shrine)-opener[5] of Amûn in Teuzoi Nittefnakhti son of . . .[6].

The full list of witnesses is written as usual in one column on the back:

1. . . . son of Rôshi (?).
2. Ahertais son of Ienharoü.
3. Pshenetôm son of Pshenubaste.
4. Hôr son of Zeho.
5. Zeho son of Hôr.
6. Hôr son of Bekerrinf.
7. Psammeṯkemakhi son of Pshenptah.
8. Zeubestefʿônkh son of Aho[7].
9. Esharkhnum (?) son of Pshenptah.
10. Ahtefnakhti son of Hôr.
11. Zeho son of Hôr.
12. Pemû son of Aho (?).
13. Aho son of Haruoz.
14. Pemû son of Hôr.
15. Ahertais son of Hôr.
16. Nittefnakhti son of Sou (?)- . . . .
17. Hôr son of Khenstefnakhti.
18. Aho son of Zeho.
19. Hôr son of Zeubestefʿônkh.

PAPYRUS No. VII. Contract of servitude.

(1) Year 8, Kiahk[8], of Perʿo L.P.H. Ahmosi L.P.H.

The slave Peftuʿukhons son of Heriubasti, his mother being Kausenêsi, hath declared to the Comforter of the Father's heart (2) Essemteu son of Peteêsi, his mother being Tshentnaʿ.

'I have been (?)[9] with thee further from year 8, Thoüt, day 5[10], to year 9, Thoüt, day 5; my clothing (?), spelt, 100 . . . the corn (?) (3) of Teuzoi (?), barley (?) . . . 150, I being thine for ever.

'Nevermore shall I be able to act as tenant (?) unto thee—unto any silver, any corn, any kind of property (4) in the land—together with my children that are born and those who shall be born to us, and the clothes that are upon our backs, from year 8, Thoüt, (5) onwards to any (?)[11] year, I being thine for ever.'

Written by the Comforter of the Father's heart Pemû son of Aho (?).

[1] Fourteenth signature on the back. [2] Fourth signature.

[3] The chief prophet's signature is the last on the back.

[4] Bekerrinf, i.e. Bocchoris, fifth signature.

[5] The title must refer to the opening of the shrine for the ritual libations and offerings to the god. As 'water-pourer' (of a necropolis or tomb) corresponds to the χοαχύτης 'libation priest (?),' see p. 16, so 'opener' (of a god or temple) corresponds to the παστοφόρος 'shrine-bearer (?).' They were of similar rank (see OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, i. 94, 98), and we have an instance above (No. 42 on p. 27) of the same person being 'opener' of a temple (?) in a necropolis, as well as 'water-pourer.' Evidently this was customary, and in Ptolemaic demotic the 'water-pourers' preferred the title of 'opener,' and seldom or never used their more specific title: hence χοαχυτης των Διοσπολεως της μεγαλης is 'Opener of (the god) Amenopi in the Ementi (west-necropolis) of Ne' (Grey, ll. 3, 4 = Berl. 3119/2). But 'opener of Amûn' is properly rendered by παστοφορος Αμμωνος, Berl. 5505/5 = Leîd. Gr. P/12 and 'opener of Thoüt' by παστοφορος Ερμου, ibid., 3116, 3/17, 4/8 = Cas. 5/11, 7/10.

[6] The sixteenth signature on the back.

[7] Perhaps he who was *Iesônis* in or soon after the fifteenth year of Amasis, Pap. IX. 18/10.

[8] The month began Apr. 11, c. 562 B.C.

[9] 'I have been,' past tense, but as yet only part of the year specified had elapsed.

[10] The specification of the fifth day in the year inevitably suggests some connexion with the five epagomenal days, but all calendrical questions are beset with difficulties as yet, and it would be rash to attempt any explanation.

[11] 'To any year' is the usual phrase, and extremely common in legal papyri. This reading is perhaps possible here, but 'to 50 (or 80?) years' is a more natural reading of the signs as written, if only a parallel for it could be quoted.

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On the back in one column are the names of the witnesses:

1. Pemû son of Hôr.
2. Zeubestefʿônkh son of Haruoz.
3. Ahtefnakhti son of Ienharoü.
4. Ienharoü son of Mentmosi (?).
5. Zeho son of Esharthoüt (?).
6. Hôr son of Aho (?).
7. Ahertais son of Hôr.
8. Hôr son of Bekerrinf.
9. Ahertais son of Hôr.
10. Ahtefnakhti son of Hôr.
11. Ienha[roü] son of Pshenptah.

No. IV, the transfer of a contract, as such is unique. Where land is sold or given, specified title-deeds may be handed over at the same time and by the same instrument (see Nos. 6, 9, 10, 26, above): and in later sales there is a formula conferring the right to all the title-deeds. But the present is the only instance of the transfer of a contract by a separate instrument. This fact again seems to show that special precautions had to be taken in dealing with contracts of servitude.

For No. VI, the sale by a man of himself into slavery, we have an exact parallel at a somewhat earlier date in No. 15 of the above inventory: in this case it is a woman who sells herself.

Year 4, Paôni 20, of Perʿo L.P.H. Psammêṭk L.P.H.

The woman Zetueri(?)esʿônkh daughter of Imhôtp (?) hath declared to Amenempua.

'Thou hast caused my heart to agree to my silver (the price) of acting as slave to thee.

'I am thy slave.

'No man in the world shall be able to exercise authority over me, except thee.

'Never again shall I be able to act as *nemh* unto thee—unto any silver, any corn, any kind of property in the land—together with my children which I shall bear, and everything that belongeth to me, and those things which I shall gain, and the (?) clothing which is on my back: from year 4, Paôni, onward to any year, for ever and eternity.

'He who shall come to thee on my account, including any man in the land, saying, "She is not thy slave"—he shall give thee any silver, any corn, that shall please thy heart, I being still thy slave, with my children: *thou being entitled to take me in any house in which thou shalt find me.*

'As Amûn liveth! as Perʿo L.P.H. liveth! *never henceforth will I depart from thee*: I will not say "false!" to any word that is (written) above. I will not withdraw a word of them.

'I shall not be able to say "Produce a subscribing witness" outside the town in which thou art.'

The witness-scribe Khensmosi (?) son of . . .

No other witnesses have signed.

It will be seen that the last two paragraphs belong to the older model found in the Papyri I and II. Only the portions printed here in italics are exceptional; the rest of the wording can be paralleled throughout from the servitude contracts III and V–VII. It is worth noting that, unlike the others, there is not here any mention of children already born: but nothing can be found to prove that the woman was purchased as a concubine.

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To judge by the wording of all these documents the slavery was of an easy kind. It is a striking fact that the contract of sonship (No. 28 above) is expressed in closely parallel terms, though with essential differences.

Year 32, Hathôr, of Perᶜo L.P.H. Ahmosi L.P.H.

Hôr son of Peteêsi, his mother being Teuôu, hath declared to the choachyte of the Valley[1], Ieturoz son of Zekhe, his mother being Ieturoü.

'Thou hast caused my heart to agree to my silver of acting unto thee as son.

'I am thy son, together with my children who shall be born to me, with all that is mine and those things which I shall gain.

'No [man in] the land shall be able to exercise authority over me except thee, including father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, master, mistress, or any one claiming damages (?), and my own self likewise.

'My children are the children of thy children, for ever and eternity.

'He that shall come to thee on account of me, to take me from thee, saying, "He is not thy son," of any man in the land, including father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, master, mistress, or any one claiming damages (?), and my own self, he shall give thee any silver, any corn, that shall please thy heart; I being still thy son, with my children, for ever.'

The witness-scribe Nahmeskhons son of Ienharoü.

This was signed by twelve other witnesses on the back[2].

The marriage contracts, which might have been drawn on similar lines, are very different so far as we know them.

To return to the sale of the slave, the following early documents also illustrate the subject:

No. 1, in the Louvre.

(A) Year 3, Tôbi 10 (?), of Perᶜo Tahrako, the son of Êsi, beloved of Amûn, L.P.H. for ever, like Rêᶜ (?).

This day: Pasmenamûn son of Steamenkoü, together with Tbês his sister, hath declared unto the singer of Amûn, Teêsehebse daughter of Ieturôz:

'We have given to thee Uzehôr (?) the man of the north country, to bury by him (?) Steamenkoü together with Hetpeêsi his wife—our mother and my father.

'We have charged to thee the 2 teben 4 kiti of silver of the treasury of Harshafe in exchange for him, to bury with them (?) Steamenkoü together with Hetpeêsi: I not having any claimant (?) of silver, or claimant (?) of spelt, or brother, sister, son, daughter, master, mistress, or any man in the whole land that belongeth to (?) Steamenkoü, to affect Uzehôr in any way.'

They declared 'As Amûn liveth! as Perᶜo liveth, as he is in health and Amûn giveth unto him the victory! as the divine Adorer of Amûn, my Mistress, liveth and her duration is long! I shall not be able to withdraw the document which is made above.'

The witness-scribe Ietu . . .

(B) In presence of Petamenopi (?) son of Herbês: to the declaration of every writing that is above: year 3, Tôbi 10 (?).

[1] T-ôni, part of the Theban necropolis.

[2] According to Revillout, *Notice*, p. 367.

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(C) In presence of Khens (?) . . . son of Bês son of Pkhelkhons: to the declaration of Smenamûn (*sic*) son of Steamenkoü, together with the woman Tbês her (*sic*) sister, we (?) saying, 'I have charged the 2 teben 4 kiti of silver of the treasury of Harshafe as the silver for Uzehôr the man of the north country, to bury Steamenkoü our father, together with Hetpeêsi our mother,' together with every writing that is above [year 3, Tôbi 10 (?), of Per'o].

(D) (A signature in one line almost destroyed.)

(E) In presence of Petamen . . . (?) son of . . .: to the declaration of Pasmenamûn son of Steamenkoü, together with Tbês my (?) sister. Whereas they said, 'I have charged these 2 teben 4 kiti (?) of silver of the treasury of Harshafe—to bury Steamenkoü our father, together with Hetpeêsi our mother with them—as the silver for Uzehôr, their man. I have nothing [on earth to do with him, from to-day onwards].'

(F) In the presence of Sineït son of Khekhons son of Harmêni (?): to the declaration of Pasmenamûn son of Steamenkoü, together with Tbês his sister: together with the writings that are above. Year 3, Tôbi 10 (?).

(G) In the presence of . . . son of . . .: [to the declaration of Pasmenamûn son of Steamenkoü, together with the woman Tbês his sister, in all two persons, they being of one mouth: whereas they declared to the singer of the interior of Amûn Teêsehebs daughter of Ieturôz (?) 'We have charged to thee these 2 teben 4 kiti of silver of the treasury of Harshafe . . . .'

No. **7**, in the Vatican Museum, half destroyed.

Year 31 (?), Paôni 12, of Per'o-Psammêṭk, son [of Êsi, beloved of Amûn L.P.H. (?)].

This day: the woman Shpenêsi daughter of Ze[amenef'ônkh(?), her mother being *X*] the daughter of the Superintendent of the house of . . . of Amûn Zethutef'ônkh (?), son of (?) [*Y*, hath declared unto *Z*]:

'[I have given] away [unto thee Enqenqentf], the man of the north, to-day.

'[I have charged to] thee [these 7 (?) teben (?) of silver on account of him as] his silver to act as slave in thy house thereby.

'[If he shall run away from thee?] . . . husband (?) go out for him, I will cause . . . to be cleared for thee . . . [by oath] before Amûn, I saying, "I am not he that shall cause . . .

'If he shall return to thee, I myself and my daughter (?) . . .

'As Amûn [liveth]! as Per'o liveth, as he is well, and as Amûn giveth him the victory [there belongeth not to me, or to son, daughter, brother, sister, any man in the whole land (?)] that shall be able to . . . to-morrow or the second morrow (?). [And he that shall . . . his declaration shall not be heard in] any [court?] of writing.'

(Name of the scribe and six attestations.)

The above are examples of forms used in the 'abnormal hieratic' series. The following is of a later age:

No. **46**. B.C. 517, in the Turin Museum.

Year 5, Parmûti, of Per'o L.P.H. Tariaush L.P.H.

Ahmosi son of Psammêṭk, his mother being Ieturoü, hath declared to the (Shrine-)opener of the House of Amûn . . . -mût son of Eskhons, his mother being Eskhons:

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'Thou hast caused my heart to agree to the silver for the male youth Pshen . . . son of Thutmosi, his mother being Khetbesierboni, my slave whom I have sold to thee.

'He is thine, he is thy slave.

'He that shall come unto thee for him in my name or in the name of any man in the land, of brother, sister, father, mother, master, mistress, or myself likewise, saying, "He is not thy slave": I will make thee quit of him. If I make thee not quit of him I will give thee [5] silver tebens of the treasury of Ptah of refined silver, i.e. [4] silver tebens plus $9\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{30}$, $\frac{1}{60}$, $\frac{1}{60}$ kiti, i.e. again 5 silver tebens of the treasury of Ptah: thy slave being yet thine with his children for ever.'

(Scribe's signature follows, and presumably signatures of witnesses on the back.)

The last three documents are pure and simple sales in which the slaves are dealt with in the same way as cattle: they are very different from the contracts of servitude in which the slave himself holds the position of the first party to the contract. It seems still open to question whether the latter may not be in reality contracts of hired service or veiled mortgages: but perhaps it is best to consider them as more or less voluntary surrenders into slavery of free-born men or serfs in satisfaction of debts, or in order to obtain the means of existence or to enjoy comparative luxury. Such were common in Palestine and amongst the Babylonians.

PAPYRUS No. VIII. Sale of a cow.

(1) Year 8, Pakhons[1], of Per'o L.P.H. Ahmosi L.P.H.

Zeptehef'ônkh son of Peteptah, his mother being Tbaiait, hath declared to (2) the Comforter of the Father's heart Peteêsi son of Essemteu, his mother being Shpenêsi (?)[2]:

'Thou hast caused my heart to agree to the silver for this red plough cow (named?) (3) Uzeboki (?)[3].

'She is thine, she is thy cow: together with every calf that she shall produce[4], from year 8, Pakhons, onward for ever.

(4) 'No man in the land shall be able to exercise authority over her except thee, including any man in the land and my own self likewise.

(5) 'He that shall come to thee on account of her to take her from thee, saying, "She is not thy cow," I am he that will clear her (6) for thee. If I do not clear her for thee, I will give thee a cow of her kind (?). If I do not give thee a cow of her kind (?), I will give thee (7) 1 artaba (?) of wheat (?)[5] for her, besides (for?) every calf that she shall produce.

'Thy man hath the right to recover[6] for them, and I will give them unto thee.

[1] The month began Sept. 8, c. 562 B.C.

[2] Apparently Peteêsi (III), the writer of the petition No. IX. His mother's name is not given elsewhere.

[3] Scarcely to be interpreted otherwise than as the name of the cow; two other sales are known (Nos. 50 and 55), and in each the name of the cow is given, Setierboni and Tkhat . . .

[4] In the sale of a ploughing cow, No. 50, there is no reference to calving, and in No. 62 a cow has been spayed. The spaying, however, would be more useful for fattening than for draught purposes, and points to the cow being destined for the table, in spite of what Herodotus says as to abstinence from cow's flesh (Hdt. ii. 18, 41).

[5] The amount of the penalty is reckoned in the same material and measure as in No. IV. In the contracts of the time of Darius penalties in standard silver are usual. The earliest instance of this known as yet dates from the thirty-sixth year of Amasis (No. 35). Perhaps at the beginning of his reign it was not yet customary, at any rate in the obscure village of Teuzoi. It is possible that the penalties here and in No. IV are in silver, but if so it is not of a specified standard, and corn is more probable.

[6] πραξις, see p. 151, note 3.

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(8) 'If she is taken[1] and I make (?) a bull-calf after her, I will give thee a bull-calf of his kind (?). If she is taken and I make (?) a heifer after her, (9) I will give thee a heifer of her kind (?). If she is taken and I make (?) a bull after her, I will give thee a bull of his kind (?): (10) without reciting any patent in the land against thee.'

Written by Kemienefharbok son of Pbaiêu.

On the verso in one column:

1. Ahtefnakhti son of Psammêṯk.
2. Ahmosi son of Ahtefnakhti.
3. Harerôu son of Zeptahefʿônkh.
4. . . . son of Zeharefʿônkh.
5. Khens(?)ertais son of Peftuʿubasti.
6. Pemû son of Ienharoü.
7. Ahertais son of Amenêu.
8. Peteêsi son of Zeusirefʿônkh.
9. Petekhons (?) son of Petusiri.
10. Semtutefnakhti son of Herbês.
11. Zeho son of Psammêṯk.
12. Khenstefnakhti son of Kemienefharbok(?).
13. Ahtefnakhti son of Kheamûn (?).

Loans of oxen for ploughing are included in the farming agreements Nos. 34, 35. No. 62 is a very remarkable and elaborate agreement about the spayed cow. In No. 63 two red milch (?)-cows are exchanged against each other, the one branded with 3 *zaʿr* on its shoulder, the other with a milk-vase. A ploughing cow is sold in No. 50 for cash and corn (?), and half of a young cow with the brand of Amûn of Zêmi in No. 55: the former of these is quite simple, but No. 55 provides penalties on the lines of those in the JOHN RYLANDS papyrus[2].

PAPYRUS OF THE REIGN OF DARIUS I.

The last and by far the most important of the papyri from El Hıbeh is the great roll of the Petition or memorial of Peteêsi, nearly $4\frac{1}{4}$ metres or 14 feet in length, and closely written over the whole of the recto and five-sixths of the verso.

PAPYRUS No. IX. The petition of Peteêsi (III).

The principal divisions of this long document are:

A. Cols. 1–5/13. Events of the 9th and following years of Darius, viz. Peteêsi's unwilling evidence on the causes of the ruin of Teuzoi, his sufferings and imprisonment, followed by a murderous attack on him by the priests: his petition to the 'Governor' or satrap (?) for protection, the revengeful burning of his house, the end being his return to Teuzoi, after more than a year's absence, under a guarantee of safety and protection, but without compensation for the injuries done to him or any attention to the rights which he claimed through his ancestors in the temple of Teuzoi.

B. Cols. 5/13–21/9. A statement, probably that referred to in 4/2 et seqq., as prepared for the 'Governor,' showing how the connexion of Peteêsi's family with Teuzoi began in the 4th year of Psammetichus I, and relating the history of that connexion at great length down to the 4th year of Cambyses. If, as is probable, the original report continued the narrative down to the 9th year of Darius, this portion was

[1] The meaning of this paragraph is not clear.

[2] Compare two Ptolemaic sales of cows just published in the *Papyrus Th. Reinach*, pp. 205 et seqq., nos. 6 and 7, interpreted by SPIEGELBERG.

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omitted as being replaced and completed by A. To this statement are appended other documents, viz. :

C. Cols. 21/10–23. Copies in hieratic of two hieroglyphic inscriptions dated respectively in the 14th and 34th years of Psammetichus I. Each records the relieving of the temple from a burden of taxation in identical terms, but with important changes in the titles of the two officers who appear in them, namely, Peteêsi, Master of the Shipping, and another Peteêsi his agent in Teuzoi. According to the Petition the latter is Peteêsi (I), ancestor of the memorialist, and the second tablet had been maliciously effaced by the priests in order to destroy the evidence of Peteêsi (I)'s titles.

D. Cols. 24, 25. Copies of songs inspired by Ammon when he approached the defaced tablet. It had been engraved after an outrageous attack by the priests on the family of Peteêsi, for which they had been most charitably forgiven.

From the first words it may be conjectured that the text in its entirety was a second statement of Peteêsi (III)'s case prepared for the 'Governor' or for some other high officer, to be used in a renewed petition, the results of the previous petition having failed to satisfy the injured person.

The highest personage with whom Peteêsi is brought into contact is designated as the 'Governor' in the translation, but the reading and meaning of the title by which alone he is referred to in the original are unknown. We learn that he resided in the capital, Memphis[1]. He may have been the Satrap himself[2], and cannot have been less than one of his chief subordinates. In one passage the 'Governor' and the 'Master of Egypt' are mentioned together[3]; the latter might, perhaps, be the satrap, but is more probably the Great King himself. The 'Governor' does not appear in the earlier stages of the narrative, and may thus belong, as the satraps did, to the reconstituted administration of the Persian empire, planned and carried out by Darius[4].

The principal persons and the order of events recorded in the petition can be seen from the following analysis:

Regnal Dates.	*Masters of the Shipping.*	*Family of Peteêsi.*
	'Ankhsheshonk, priest of Amonrasonther in Thebes? 5/15.	Ieturoü (younger brother of 'Ankhsheshonk), 5/17. with many priesthoods, 8/16.
	his son Peteêsi	his son Peteêsi (I)
Psammetichus I year 4, 5/19.	Master of the Shipping, in charge of Ptores, 5/14. settled in Heracleopolis, 6/8. orders Peteêsi (I) to re-furnish the temple of Teuzoi out of the dues which had been wrongfully exacted, 7/1.	assists the Master of the Shipping as inspector, 5/17. services recognized by the king, 6/4. reports on ruin of temple of Teuzoi, 6/10. re-furnishes temple by his cousin's order, 7/7. and settles his family there, 7/11.
year 14, 21/12.		sets up his statues and stela in the temple, 7/14, 21/12.
	gives Peteêsi (I) the prophetship of Ammon of Teuzoi and his Ennead 8/1.	Obtains the Prophetship 8/1.
		betrothes his daughter Nitemhê to Haruoz son of Peftu'ubasti, 8/4.
year 15, 8/14.		rewarded by king with priesthoods held by his father, 8/14.
		settles Haruoz and Nitemhê in Teuzoi, 9/1, and removes to Thebes, 9/18.

[1] 3/4. [2] See especially 3/11. [3] 2/16–17. [4] Hdt. iii. 89.

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Regnal Dates.

Psammetichus I
year 18, 9/20.

year 19, 10/11.

year 31, 11/2.

year 34, 22/9.

(20 more years of Psammetichus, 16 of Necho.)

Psammetichus II
year 4, 14/17.

(½ years more of Psammetichus II.)

Apries
year 1, 16/1.
year 13, 18/11.

(about 6 years more of Apries.)

Masters of the Shipping.

Peteêsi dies, 9/20.
|
his son Semtutefnakhti
made Master of the Shipping and governor of Ptorês, 10/4.
dwells in Hnês, 10/8.
buries his father, 10/9.

sole governor of Ptorês.

sends a captain to take the guilty priests prisoners, 11/16.

sends chief of police to Peteêsi, 12/10.

welcomes Essemteu, 14/11.

(Masters of the Shipping disappear from the narrative.)

Family of Peteêsi.

Peteêsi (II) goes to Phoenicia (?) with Pharaoh, 14/17.

Loses the PROPHETSHIP.
returns and finding his prophetships usurped, appeals to Pharaoh, who is ill, 15/8.
sues Ptahnûfi before the court, 15/9.
goes to his cousins at Thebes, who promise him help though the king is dying, 15/11.
returns to Teuzoi and is dissuaded from further action, 15/17.

dies, 18/11.
|
his son Essemteu (II), 18/11.

Family of Peteêsi.

Peteêsi (I) advises the king to appoint Semtutefnakhti to govern Ptorês as a noble with him, 10/1.

continues to inspect, 10/9.

resigns, declining reward, 10/12.
visits Haruoz at Teuzoi, 10/19.
goes to Thebes, 11/2.
Teuzoi priests having murdered two sons of Haruoz in his absence, 11/2.
Peteêsi intervenes, and secures two, the rest having fled, 11/13. They are brought by the captain before Pharaoh and punished, 11/19.
Peteêsi puts Haruoz under protection of Semtutefnakhti, 12/1.
goes to Teuzoi to reorganize it, 12/8.
sends chief of police to gather the fugitive priests to Hartai, 12/13.
swears forgiveness to them, 13/3.
retains one-fifth of the endowment, as PROPHET of Ammon and his Ennead, 13/7.
sets up a new tablet as evidence of his priesthoods, 13/15.
recovers and buries the bodies of the boys, 14/1.
returns to Thebes, leaving
|
his son Essemteu (I) at Teuzoi to protect Nitemhê, and making him PROPHET of Ammon and his Ennead with one-fifth of the endowment, 14/4.
Essemteu presents himself before Semtutefnakhti, 14/11.
dies, 14/15.
|
his son Peteêsi (II) succeeds.

The prophetship of Ammon.

priests go to Haruoz son of Harkhêbi, a priest of Sûchus ruling in Hnês, and persuade him to give the four shares of the prophetship of Ammon to his son Ptahnûfi, the priests taking the sixteen shares of the Ennead prophetship, 15/2.

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Regnal Dates.	*Family of Peteêsi.*	*Affairs of the priests of Teuzoi, &c.*	*The prophetship of Ammon.*
Amasis II year 15, 16/1.		Superintendent of land, having a grudge against Harmakhor, whose relations are all priests at Teuzoi, visits the place and finds reasons for depriving the priests of the island of Teuzoi and other property held by them, and seizes their stock of corn, 16/1. priests appeal to Pharaoh, engaging Khelkhons by promise of prophetship of Ammon for his brother Psammetkmenempe, 16/14.	
		Psammetkmenempe made prophet, 17/8.	Nekomosi son of Ptahnûfi resigns prophetship to Psammetkmenempe, 17/1.
		Khelkhons appears before Pharaoh against the superintendent of land, 17/9; fails to dispossess him of the land, but obtains area on mainland equal to about one half of the island (this being the amount to which they were properly entitled) and restoration of the corn seized, 17/19.	
			Psammetkmenempe requires Essemteu's signature to his appointment, 18/4.
	Essemteu (II) flees to Khmûn, 18/13, and makes his son | Peteêsi (III) assist Imhôtp, a scribe of the treasury, 19/1.	Zeubestefʿônkh, the lesonis, and the priests destroy the house and temple-place of Essemteu (II) at Teuzoi and the monuments of Peteêsi (I), 18/13.	
	Peteêsi (III, the petitioner) is introduced by Imhôtp to the superintendent of the treasury in Memphis, who orders Harbês, the sheikh of Hnês, and Psammetkʿuneît, the captain of the host, to seize and send to him the guilty priests, 19/5; Peteêsi accompanies the troops to Teuzoi, 19/17.	the lesonis not found, other priests taken to Hnês and attribute the outrage to Psammetkmenempe, 19/20.	
	the sheikh persuades Peteêsi to compromise, 20/3.	the priests swear not guilty, pay the costs and part damages, 20/17.	
	Peteêsi brings his father and family from Khmûn to Teuzoi, and rebuilds the house, 21/2.		
year 44, 21/7 (end of reign).			Khelkhons dies, Psammetkmenempe sends for his stipend but does not come himself to Teuzoi, 21/5. |
Cambyses (counting from end of Amasis' reign) year 3, 21/7.		priests refuse to give anything to Hôr, 21/8.	Hôr his son visits Teuzoi, 21/7.
year 4, 21/9 (last full year?).		give prophetship of Ammon to Pshenah, 21/9.	Pshenah, prophet of Ammon.
Darius year 9, 1/1.		Ahmosi son of Peteharempe visits Teuzoi and inquires into the ruin of the city; is referred by Zeubestefʿônkh, the lesonis, to Peteêsi (III), 1/1.	'Governor' became prophet of Ammon, 1/3.

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	The petitioner Peteêsi (III)	*The priests of Teuzoi, &c.*
(Darius, year 9.)	Peteêsi (III) fearing to give evidence except before the Governor, is taken to Hnês and compelled to write it for Ahmosi, 1/10.	
	returns to Teuzoi, is seized by Pkoip and put under guard with Zeubestefʿônkh and the other prisoners: Zeubestefʿônkh escaping, 2/4.	Pkoip shows the evidence to the priests, seizes Peteêsi and his brother, dismisses Zeubestefʿônkh, the Iesonis, and appoints Ienharoũ in his place, 2/5.
	Peteêsi is grievously beaten and nearly murdered by Ienharoũ, 2/12.	
	rescued by . . ., 2/15.	
	recovers after three months, goes to Memphis, and spends seven months petitioning the Governor, 3/2.	Pkoip endeavours to prevent Peteêsi from finding the Governor, but Semtutefnakhti obtains him a hearing. The Governor sends for the priests: after a slight punishment for delay they bribe Semtutefnakhti who procures their dismissal, 3/4.
	Peteêsi with Semtutefnakhti begins to speak before the Governor, relating the wrongs of Peteêsi (II); and is ordered to write a full account of his ancestors' rights in the temple and the things that had befallen regarding them, 3/13.	
	he writes, but Semtutefnakhti, telling him of the dismissal of the priests, persuades him to go home with letters from himself and Ahmosi the prophet of Horus ensuring his protection, 4/5.	The priests interview Peteêsi, 4/5.
	on his way home he is met by the news of the burning of his house, 4/18.	The priests burn Peteêsi's house, 4/19.
	he returns to Memphis to complain to the Governor, who orders Ahmosi son of Peteharempe to take Peteêsi to Teuzoi and bring the guilty priests, 4/20.	
	Ahmosi delays, but at length the same (?) Ahmosi (the prophet of Horus) sends a man who brings back only Ienharoũ the Iesonis, 5/4. The Iesonis is beaten: after much pleading Ienharoũ having sworn to protect him, Peteêsi returns home little satisfied, 5/8.	

A. The Misfortunes of Peteêsi (III), the Petitioner, in the ninth year of Darius, his Petition and ultimate Return to Teuzoi. Cols. 1–5/13.

(1/1) Oh, may Amûn prolong his existence![1].

In the ninth year, Pamenhotp, of Perʿo Tariaush[2], Ahmosi son of Peteharem-

[1] The two letters, Nos. 37 and 38 on p. 23, of the time of Amasis II, commence with 'Oh! May Prêʿ prolong his existence!': evidently this salutation was usual at the beginning of documents addressed to superiors. In such formulae the god varies according to locality, &c. Here Ammon is appealed to by Peteêsi as a native of Teuzoi and having claims to its priesthood: a priest of Ammon when at Memphis appeals to Phtha, and at Heracleopolis Osiris and Arsaphes are invoked, but to judge by many instances in this long text there is no absolute rule. Phrê (the sun-god) is frequent under all circumstances. See note 11 on p. 66.

[2] July, 512 B.C. The latest date in the subsequent document (B) is the fourth year of Cambyses, 522 B.C., and

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pe[1] (2) came from Ptorês to Teuzoi[2], and said to Zeubestefʿônkh son of Ienharoü, who was *le-shoni*[3] of Amûn, 'My stipend[4] used to be given (3) to me in Teuzoi yearly from the time that the Governor[5] became prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi[6].' Zeubestefʿônkh (4) son of Ienharoü, the *le-shoni*, said to him, 'As thy breath prospereth[7], and as Amûn liveth who resteth here, behold though it is (now) Pamenhotp[8], there is no corn(?) (5) in the granary of Amûn, there

detail is not furnished by it much later than the fifteenth year of Amasis, 556 B.C. Meanwhile all the dramatis personae have changed, with the one exception of Peteêsi (III) himself. The events narrated in the present document (A) probably all took place in the course of one or two years, and no other year is specified after this one date.

[1] This Ahmosi appears again in 5/2 et seqq., and may be related to, if not the same as, Ahmosi the prophet of Horus in 4/16, 5/4. His father's name points to a connexion with the family of priests of Horus in Buto, which obtained rights in the temple of Teuzoi: this family, hostile to Peteêsi's family, is represented in the second document by Khelkhons son of Hôr, his brother Psammeṯkmenempe, and the latter's son, Hôr (16/15–21/8). The summary way in which Ahmosi dealt with Peteêsi shows that he had authority, and from 5/2 he seems to have belonged to the entourage of the 'Governor' in Memphis.

In contrast to the second document (B), which deals with events long past, none of the persons mentioned in this document, except the priests and the 'Governor,' bear titles. This is so unusual that it hardly seems explained by the fact that they were still living and well known to the person to whom the petition was addressed. Can it be an indication that the natives were not retained by Darius' system in high civilian rank as permanent and responsible officials, whether local or otherwise: that, in fact, they were employed as servants and emissaries of the Satrap and other Persian officers?

[2] 'The South Land,' *ПТОРНС, Assyr. Paturisi (Esarhaddon), Heb. פתרוס, LXX Παθουρης, Φαθωρης. There seems to have been a distinction drawn between Middle and Upper Egypt from very early times, at least in popular ideas; see below, note on p. 89. But officially the whole of Egypt above Memphis was included in Ptorês according to 5/14, 18. Isaiah xi. 11 gives in succession Miṣraim, Pathrôs, and Kush: and Esarhaddon likewise, Muṣri, Paturisi, and Kusi; Miṣraim might well include Middle as well as Lower Egypt, and Pathrôs mean the Thebaid only. This seems to be the meaning of Ptorês here and again in 7/13, where Peteêsi is described as going from Teuzoi (in Middle Egypt) to Ptorês, if the words employed are to be interpreted with any strictness.

[3] *le-shoni* (*mr-šn*), graecized as λεσωνις (*Amh. Gr.*, 44), is equivalent to ἀρχιερεύς in the trilingual decrees. Titles changed frequently and perhaps their significance changed also. The lesonis first appears in the fifteenth year of Amasis in this papyrus, 18/10. A man born in the twenty-fourth year of Psammetichus I, 640 B.C., bore the title when he died ninety-nine years old, i.e. in c. 540 B.C., again in the reign of Amasis, MARIETTE, *Mon. Div.*, 47 B. The lesonis was evidently president of the temple, probably a priest, but with administrative rather than sacerdotal functions. See note 18/14. Cf. also OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, i. 38–9.

[4] From 13/7, 8 we learn that the revenue from the endowment estates of the temple of Teuzoi was divided into 100 stipends, each of the twenty priests in each of the four orders receiving one: the prophet of Ammon, however, received 4 stipends by virtue of his office, and the prophet of each of the sixteen (3/15) accompanying gods 1 stipend, probably in addition to their emoluments as priests. Thus the 100 stipends are accounted for. No doubt the revenues in other temples were similarly dealt with. How the lesonis was paid does not appear: there was a special tax called λεσωνεια (*Amh. Gr.*, l. c.), and as the lesonis could be deposed by a government official (2/8) he may have been appointed by the government and have received his salary in a different manner from the other priests.

[5] Unknown word. Perhaps the Satrap, see above p. 61. In the reign of Psammetichus I the whole of Ptorês was ruled by two successive 'Masters of the Shipping,' from Heracleopolis as the centre (cols. 5–14); in that of Psammetichus II we hear no more of such: in the time of Amasis a superintendent of ..... at Memphis seems to have control of a far-reaching description (cols. 19–21/1).

[6] In the fourth year of Cambyses Pshenah was made prophet of Ammon in Teuzoi, 21/9. This Pshenah (whose name and father's name likewise are pure Egyptian) might be the 'Governor' himself. But more probably a change was made when Darius organized the satrapies. If the 'Governor' is the Satrap, the fact that he became prophet of Ammon in this obscure temple would show how thoroughly the Persians affected to respect the religious prejudices of their subjects. For his right to the office of prophet see the note to 8/2. The Governor must have handed over his stipend to Ahmosi: and if the Governor was Aryandes, perhaps Ahmosi was his general, the 'Maraphian' Amasis, Hdt. iv. 167. But this again is very improbable, the name Ahmosi being common at the time.

[7] 'As thy breath prospereth,' so also in 12/5, 7, 20/13, always addressed to a superior. In 12/5, as here, it is combined with an oath by a deity. The corresponding oath before a king is 'As thy face liveth,' 10/2, 17/13.

[8] Phamenoth, at this time beginning on June 27, is represented further on as the month in which the harvest was dealt with in the reign of Psammetichus I (see p. 86), when Phamenoth began strictly a month earlier in the true year. Perhaps Ahmosi was employed in the central admini-

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is no silver in the chest of the temple. To seek (a loan of) silver (?)[1] at interest to give to the *khre* of the . . . . . (6) is the thing which we shall do from now (onward). (As for) the men whose hands are bound (?) in this town, it is not upon us (7) if there be men in this town beside them[2].' Ahmosi said to him, 'Who is he of whom I can inquire, that he tell me (8) the manner in which the town hath been ruined?' And Zeubestefʿônkh, the chief priest, said to him, 'There is not a man who will (9) be able to tell thee the manner in which this town hath been ruined except Peteêsi son of Essemteu, that scribe of the temple[3] (10); it is he that will tell thee truth.'

Ahmosi caused me to be called, and said to me, 'Tell me, I pray, the manner (11) in which this town was ruined'; and I said to him, 'Is it that thou art opening, in order to cause . . . . . [4] I myself (12) . . . . . [5] I shall not be able to tell thee the things that are come unto this town.' (But) Ahmosi said, 'It is thou that (13) art [ruin?]ing the town more than the men who ruin it.' [He set] men to keep me[6], he had me put (14) on to his ship, saying, 'I will take thee to the Governor; I have refrained from beating thee because thou art an old man[7] (15) and thou wouldest have died.'

(When) Ahmosi reached Hnês[8] he said to me, 'Until now wilt thou tell me (16) the manner in which Teuzoi was ruined?' (But) I said unto him, 'Oh! that I might (?) reach the Governor and learn the fact (?) (17) that . . . . . Teuzoi[9], and render account to him of every thing that hath happened to Teuzoi.' But Ahmosi said to me, (18) '[Thou wilt] be [made to tell it] unto me, for thou art not a man (of weight)[10].' He set two men to keep me, saying, 'Let him [stay] in the sun (?) until (19) every thing that hath happened to Teuzoi [be told me].'

I suffered great fatigue in the sun (?), and I said unto him, 'Let a sheet (2/1) of papyrus be given [me] that I may write for thee every thing that happened.' And Ahmosi gave me a sheet of papyrus; I wrote every thing that was done to ruin (2) Teuzoi. Ahmosi read the papyrus; he cried aloud and said to me, 'As Prêʿ liveth[11], I have learnt the fact that

stration in Memphis, and now had a commission from the Governor in connexion with the harvest in Upper Egypt: he would then 'come from Ptorês,' having begun at the southern end where the harvest was earliest.

[1] 'Silver? (the word is broken) to apply to the money-payment of the taxes' is probably what the words here mean, unless the loan is to be of 'corn.'

[2] Intimating that the men of Teuzoi were all rascals and the speaker had done his best to put them one and all in prison(?). From the sequel it is evident that Zeubestefʿônkh and Peteêsi stood together in opposition to the bulk of the priests.

[3] This is the petitioner himself, and here is the only passage in which he gives his title, but in VIII we apparently have this Peteêsi with the title, 'Comforter of the Father's heart' (p. 59). As scribe of the temple his duties were again administrative; his holding with the president (the lesonis) against the sacerdotal staff might be intelligible enough on that ground alone.

[4] Perhaps 'opening, in order to cause the door to be shut?' i.e. the more he is questioned the less he will tell. Or perhaps the idea is that by his inquiries Ahmosi is likely to shut the door of relief more closely than ever.

[5] Perhaps an oath, perhaps a reason for his silence, such as that he was without friends, or 'I also . . . .' The lacunae here are serious.

[6] 'Or 'he set a man to guard me.'

[7] Peteêsi first appears in the Petition in, or soon after, the 15th year of Amasis, 556 B.C., 42 years earlier, when he was already a trained scribe. This would make him not much less than 60 years of age at this time. But at least 10 years have to be added to this estimate in view of the contract which he made in the 8th year of Amasis (p. 59).

[8] The ruins of Hnês (Heracleopolis Magna) lie about 20 kilometres distant from those of Teuzoi, due north, but across the Nile on the left bank of the Bahr Yûsif, near the edge of the Western Desert. Hnês was the capital of the nome to which Teuzoi belonged, 17/10. Ahmosi had busines to transact at Hnês, 2/4; the Governor was in Memphis, 3/4.

[9] The sense is again interrupted by the lacunae. Peteêsi seems to be asking to be sent back to Teuzoi and report, so long as it is to the Governor himself. A commission from the Governor would ensure his safety from the vengeance of the priests.

[10] Or perhaps 'hast no people.' Peteêsi had sons. The word 'man' 'people' may be used in a superlative sense.

[11] The interjectional oath by Phrê the sun-god, used here by the official Ahmosi at Hnês, is put in the mouths of the

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it is thou that was in the right[1].' (3) Said I, 'Lo, I have told thee the things that happen unto me, and these priests will slay me.' (Then) he sealed the papyrus, he caused me to seal it with him, (4) he gave it to a man, and caused it to be brought to the place in which the Governor was[2].

Ahmosi stayed in Hnês while he finished (5) his business[3]. He sent me away, and I came to Teuzoi. But only a few days had passed when Pkoip son of Peſtuʿuamûn came (6) to Teuzoi and brought the papyrus, which Ahmosi had made me write, to the priests[4]. I was seized, with my son and four brethren (7) of mine; we were given to some guards (?), and shut up in a temple-place[5]; and Pkoip removed (8) Zeubesteſʿônkh son of Ienharoü from being *le-shoni*. He caused him to be put in a prison-house, and caused a lock[6] to be laid upon the place in which we were; (9) he caused Ienharoü son of Petehapi to succeed him.

On the 13th Mkhîr[7], the festival of Pshoü[8], every one that was in Teuzoi (10) was drinking beer[9], and the warders who were guarding us drank beer and went to sleep. (Then) Zeubesteſʿônkh (11) son of Ienharoü departed. (When) the warders awoke they found not Zeubesteſʿônkh, and the warders who were (12) guarding us departed[10].

(When) Ienharoü son of Petehapi, the *le-shoni*, heard (it), he came to the temple with his brethren with their (13) staves: they came upon us and slew[11] me (*sic*) with beating. Then they left (off beating) us, saying, 'They are dead,' and they carried (14) us away to an old tower[12] near the gate of the temple, and cast us into it, (15) intending to throw it down upon us. But . . . . . son of Peteêsi[13] was he that came, crying aloud, saying, 'Is it that ye are

priests of Teuzoi when at Memphis, 4/6; of the petitioner Peteêsi at Memphis, 4/13; and of Semtutefnakhti at Memphis, 4/15; also of the nomarch at Hnês, 20/20; and at an earlier date the priests of Ammon at Teuzoi employ it once in a peculiar form, 11/3. The wide use of this oath may be due to the universal importance of the sun-god, rather than to the fact that scribes were largely trained in the 'House of Life' at Heliopolis. Oaths by other deities have special significance. Thus the nomarch of Hnês swears by the local god Osiris, 19/15, 20/6 (?), 15, 19, and only once by Phrê, 20/20; Peteêsi (I), by his god Ammon, both at Teuzoi, 13/2, 14/6, and at Hnês, 12/5; and the petitioner Peteêsi (III) once invokes the local Phtha at Memphis, 4/7. In the court of the nomarch the priests accused before the nomarch invoke Pharaoh, 20/1. Addressed to Pharaoh we find only the oath by himself, see the instances in note to 1/4. The formal oath before Arsaphes and Osiris at Heracleopolis, as opposed to the interjectional oath, is referred to in 20/18.

[1] A technical phrase in judgement.

[2] This expression, though apparently colourless, is strongly suggestive of the Late-Egyptian idiom for the travelling court of Pharaoh, and so supports the theory that the 'Governor' is the Satrap himself.

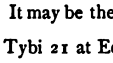
[3] It may be that Ahmosi was governor of the south, resident at Hnês, somewhat like Peteêsi son of 'Ankhsheshonk and his son Semtutefnakhti, in the reign of Psammetichus I.

[4] Pkoip was evidently an officer sent by the Governor, but his rank is not stated. He consistently sides with the opponents of Zeubesteſʿônkh and Peteêsi; see also 3/4.

[5] See note 5 on p. 47.

[6] Lit. 'in a house of bronze and caused bronze,' &c.

[7] June 10. Unless there is a mistake in the month this was in year 10, eleven months after Ahmosi's visit to Teuzoi, the date of which is guaranteed by the double mention of Phamenoth in 1/1, 4. It seems improbable, however, that more than a few weeks should have elapsed.

[8] Or 'of the heat (?),' or drought, apparently not otherwise known. It may be the festival of the god Sôs,  , which was on Tybi 21 at Edfu in the Ptolemaic calendar, Brugsch, *Thes.*, 373, l. 8.

[9] 'Drinking beer,' to judge by this passage and below, 8/8, 9/8, was the term for feasting. Beer was the national drink from the earliest times (cf. also Hdt. ii. 77). At the festival of Bubastis drinking was a great feature according to Herodotus, who, however, makes the people there drink immense quantities of οἶνος ἀμπέλινος (Hdt. ii. 60). It is worth noting that Brugsch assigns the festival of Bubastis at Esneh to June 10 (16 Payni in the Alexandrian calendar). Brugsch, *Thes.*, 359, 383, l. 15.

[10] Reminding us of the effect of οἶνος on the thief's φύλακοι in Herodotus' story of Rhampsinitus, and of the mode of Phanes' escape (Hdt. ii. 121, iii. 4).

[11] A common hyperbole in modern Egypt.

[12] The word used is the Semitic מגדל, but this is found in Egyptian texts as early as the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and it survived in Coptic.

[13] Perhaps the petitioner's own son.

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about to murder (16) men in the open day? This thing that ye are doing will reach the [Governor], it will reach (17) the Master of Kêmi[1]. Six priests[2] are these whom ye are slaying, and ye say "We will overthrow a tower (18) upon them." I cannot but send information of them to the Governor, and when they hear of them they will slay you, saying (?), "Destruction! destruction (19) to Teuzoi!" on account of it, and it (?) shall not be able to be as (?) a city in which a (decent?) man dwelleth[3].'

They took us out of the tower, they carried us (20) to the front of the temple. (Now) it happened that there was no aged man amongst them except me. My heart failed[4], I knew not a thing (3/1) in the land that was come to pass. It came into their hearts, saying, 'Peteêsi will not spend an hour alive.' They were made to carry me to (2) my house, and I spent four days not knowing a circumstance in the land in which I was. I spent three months under the hands of the physicians (3) before the beating healed upon me.

Then I went on board a wood-freighted boat[5] by night, (4) and came to Menfi. I spent seven months[6] pleading to the Governor and his notables, while Pkoip son of (5) Peftuʿuamûn bade every man, saying, 'Let him not reach the Governor.' Semtutefnakhti son of Kheunnofri, however, recognized us. (6) I told him the things that had happened unto me, and he made me stand before the Governor. And the Governor caused them to be sent for four times (7), but they came not. When they came at the fifth time the punishment inflicted upon them was to cause them to receive (8) fifty strokes of the lash[7] per man and (then) to be left.

They went to Semtutefnakhti[8] son of Kheunnofri, saying, 'We (9) will engage (?) thee with stipend together with thy brother and thy three sons, making five stipends. Let a papyrus be brought that we may make the (10) commission of thy five stipends to-day.' Semtutefnakhti caused a sheet of papyrus to be brought, and the commission of his five stipends was made.

(11) Semtutefnakhti went before the Governor, saying, 'Oh, may he make the duration of Prêʿ![9] These priests—behold (12) the Governor hath caused punishment to be inflicted upon them, and their affair is a failure here: let the Governor dismiss them.' (And) he caused the Governor (13) to proclaim, saying, 'Let them depart.'

[1] The reading 'Governor' is sufficiently justified by the remains of the word. The meaning of the two terms may be 'the satrap, and the overlord of Egypt' (i.e. the Great King), see above, p. 61.

[2] Peteêsi's family was thus still priestly in spite of the misfortunes of his father and grandfather. Peteêsi was at least scribe of the temple, 1/9, and apart from that the qualifications of priest probably continued throughout a priest's family and descendants, whether they held office in a temple or not. For the privileges of priests see 11/18, note.

[3] The translation after 'slay you' is not quite certain.

[4] Must mean that he swooned.

[5] Probably a boat freighted with wood from Nubia for Memphis, which could be boarded without attracting notice.

[6] The earliest date at which the MS. could have been written is thus about the middle of the 10th year or of the 11th year, see note 7 on p. 67.

[7] The instrument of punishment would be, as recently, the *kurbâg* of hippopotamus hide, or the palm-rib *migrah*. The same phrase is used constantly in the second story of Sethon Khamois (*Stories H. P.*, pp. 55 et seqq.), where 500 blows are dealt at a time.

[8] The name Semtutefnakhti is common on the Serapeum stelae of the time of Darius; nothing further is known of this individual, who was evidently one of the 'great men' of the court.

[9] The salutation to 'the Governor' is the same that was used to king Psammetichus, 5/20, only without the preceding 'my great lord!' It is doubtful whether such a royal salute would be given to any officer below the rank of the Satrap. The conversations with 'the Governor' are not otherwise marked with the formality of the interviews with Pharaoh; a Satrap needed to be prudent.

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(Now) it came to pass that I stood before the Governor in the evening[1] with (14) Semtutefnakhti; I spake before the Governor—'The share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi used to (belong to) my father[2], (15) together with another share of the prophet of sixteen of the gods of Teuzoi, so that they gave him sixteen stipends in their name. But (?) my (16) father went to the land of Khor with Per'o Psammeṭk-Neferebrê', accompanying the bouquet (?) (17) of Amûn, (and thereupon) the priests went to Haruoz son of Harkhêbi (?), [the ruler of] Hnês, saying, "The share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi is a share belonging to Per'o. (18) But (?) a priest of Amûn took it, [his father being] in Hnês, and behold it is held by his son's son until now. (19) Behold, as he hath gone to the land of Khor with Pharaoh let thy son Ptahnûfi son of Haruoz come that we may write the title (20) for him to the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi." He sent Ptahnûfi his son to Teuzoi, and they wrote the title for him to the share of the prophet of Amûn. (4/1) The priests took the other sixteen shares and divided them between the orders: they amounted to four shares to each order.'

The Governor said to me, 'These events that you are telling (2) are many. Betake thyself, pray, to a house; let Semtutefnakhti give thee a sheet of papyrus, and write thou (thereon) everything that happened to (3) thy fathers from the time when this share was in their possession; write the manner in which it was taken from thy (4) father together with those other shares; and write the events that have befallen thee thenceforward until now[3].'

The next day I took a sheet of papyrus (5) in my hand. It came to pass that, while I was writing the things which the Governor had told me to write, the priests came to the entrance of the house in which I was, (6) saying, 'Peteêsi, is it in thine heart that the Governor had us beaten on account of thee? As Prê' liveth, he did not have us beaten (7) on account of thee: he had us beaten because he had sent for us once (?) and we did not come.' I spake unto them, saying, 'As Ptah liveth, that (8) hath indeed happened (so), and ye shall (?) also[4] see the punishment that he will execute upon you on my account'; for I knew not that Semtutefnakhti had caused (9) the Governor to dismiss them.

(When) evening came and Semtutefnakhti came out of the House of Record[5], I took to him the papyrus which I had written, saying, 'Read it.' Quoth he, (10) 'I have said to myself "As to the priests, the Governor dismissed them and they went out. There is no profit to you in taking a papyrus to him. Will (11) that which he will do be to send for them again?"' (Then) I wept before Semtutefnakhti, saying, 'Have I come to spend my (12) seven months here pleading unto the Governor and his great men every day for these two strokes of the lash that have been dealt to (13) these priests, saying, "Ye have been slow; when ye were sent for ye did not come"? As Prê' liveth, I came to plead unto the Governor (14) to prevent my ever being driven (?)[6] from my city again.' For I knew not that they had made an

[1] Probably as he came out of his office; cf. 4/9.

[2] i.e. ancestor, Peteêsi (II) the grandfather of the petitioner; see p. 43, above: and for the whole of the transaction referred to here see the fuller account below, pp. 95 et seqq.

[3] The document B (p. 77) is the result.

[4] Or, possibly, 'Ye have now seen the kind of punishment you will further receive on account of me.'

[5] Lit. 'House of writing.' Some of the work done in it is shown in 8/14, 15; cf. also 19/14, where it is in Hnês. It is perhaps a general name for offices and courts where public business of different kinds was transacted. A similar term occurs in the sale formulae in the 'abnormal series.' Cf. in the Eighteenth Dynasty, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, xxxiv. 242. The 'House of Judgement,' 15/9–19, may be different.

[6] Or 'ever being caused to go outside my city again,'

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assignment to Semtutefnakhti to engage (?) him with stipend (15), nor knew I that it was he who had caused them to be dismissed.

Said to me Semtutefnakhti, 'Converse not with thy heart[1]: as Prêᶜ liveth, nevermore shall they cease (16) to respect thee! Come, that I may cause Ahmosi the prophet of Hôr[2] to write them a letter, and that I may write them a gentle (?) letter also: which (letters) they shall respect (17) more than the letter of the Governor.' He came with me to Ahmosi the prophet of Hôr, and caused him to write a letter to them, and he wrote a letter to them himself.

(18) Then they dismissed me, and I came south and reached Hnês. (And behold) I found . . . . . [3] son of Peteêsi and Ahmes-hanuras (19) coming northward. They said to me, 'Art thou Peteêsi? Goest thou to Teuzoi? Fatigue not thyself, thy (20) house hath been set on fire!'

I came north, I cried aloud unto the Governor, saying, 'My house hath been set on fire!' (5/1) He said unto me, 'By whom?' Said I to him, 'By those priests whom I have been accusing unto thee since seven months until now, (2) and who were allowed to depart without having been punished.' And the Governor caused Ahmosi son of Peteharempe to be summoned, saying, 'Depart to (3) Teuzoi with Peteêsi, bring me those priests who have set fire to his house.' Ahmosi spent several (4) days, saying, 'I am going south with thee,' but I was caused to withdraw (?) him again[4]. One day Ahmosi the prophet of Hôr came down, (5) and called Uehebreᶜ-mirêᶜ (?), a blind (?) man, saying, 'Go to Teuzoi and bring those priests whom Peteêsi accuses.' (6) Uehebreᶜ-mirêᶜ (?) came to Teuzoi, five *kiti*[5] of silver were given to him, and not a priest did he bring northward thence (7) except Ienharoü son of Petehapi, the *le-shoni*. They said to Ienharoü son of Petehapi, 'What is this causing the house of (8) Peteêsi to be set on fire (8) that thou hast done?' Said he, 'I know it not.' They caused Ienharoü son of Petehapi to receive fifty strokes of the lash, and left him.

I spent many days (9) at the affairs (?) pleading and praying daily, but they finished not a thing of mine nor (yet) did they let go Ienharoü (10) son of Petehapi, the *le-shoni*. And Ahmosi the prophet of Hôr said unto me, 'Wilt thou die at these affairs? Come, that I may cause Ienharoü (11), the *le-shoni*, to swear to thee, saying, "I will go and right thee in every matter of thine."' And Ahmosi the prophet of Hôr caused Ienharoü son of Petehapi to swear to me, saying, 'I will go (12) and right thee in every matter of thine.'

The prophet of Hôr was let go: I came to Teuzoi with Ienharoü the *le-shoni*. But I was not (truly) righted; (nay) I (13) was taking people to them to cause them to be reconciled to me[6].

the old man desiring to end his days in peace in his own home.

[1] i.e. 'fear not,' cf. 20/19.

[2] See note 1 on p. 65. From 13/6 one might surmise that the title 'prophet of Hôr' was held by the chief prophet in Hnês, whose authority would be considerable in the lesser temples of the nome.

[3] The man who had interposed to save Peteêsi's life, above, 2/15.

[4] i.e. Peteêsi was obliged to release Ahmosi from his undertaking to accompany him to Teuzoi: or read 'with thee, that they may make compensation.'

[5] The kiti was $\frac{1}{10}$ teben, about 140–50 grains or about 9 grams. The gift was of course a bribe from the priests.

[6] A difficult passage, but this must be the meaning. It is a final note of disappointment at the very moderate success of the petitioner's struggles. For 'right' 'righted' perhaps 'revenge' 'revenged' may be substituted.

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B. History of the earlier relations of the family of Peteêsi with the Temple of Teuzoi, from the fourth year of Psammetichus I to the reign of Cambyses[1]. Cols. 5/14–21/9.

This long narrative may be subdivided into three sections:

(*a*) Early in the reign of Psammetichus I, when the South Country was ruled by 'Masters of the Shipping' dwelling in Hnês, Peteêsi (I), as inspector for his uncle, the Master of the Shipping, restores the decayed temple and worship of Teuzoi, and his descendants, Essemteu (I) and Peteêsi (II), hold the office of prophet of Ammon in Teuzoi and his Ennead. 5/14–14/16.

(*b*) In the reign of Psammetichus II, Peteêsi (II) accompanies the expedition of Pharaoh to the land of Khor: during his absence his office of prophet is confiscated by the priests and the prophetship of Ammon is given to the son of the nomarch. In consequence of the king's death Peteêsi on his return fails to obtain redress. 14/16–16/1.

(*c*) In the reign of Amasis II the superintendent of land seizes (for the government) the island of Teuzoi, which was cultivated by the priests. The priests obtain the help of a powerful courtier, Khelkhons, at the price of giving the prophetship of Ammon to his brother. The holder of the prophetship gives up his rights, but Essemteu (II) the son of Peteêsi (II), whose claim is found to stand in the way, avoids compulsion by flight. His son, Peteêsi (III), acts as assistant to a government inspector, and through the intervention of the latter is restored to his home with a guarantee of safety: and so things continued till after the Persian conquest. 16/1–21/9.

(*a*) In the Reign of Psammetichus I, Peteêsi (I) obtains the Prophetship of Ammon at Teuzoi, which passes to his son Essemteu (I) and his grandson Peteêsi (II) in succession; 5/14–14/16.

The Masters of the Shipping.

The following narrative, down to col. 14 (l. 15), is full of references to two high officials, Peteêsi son of ʿAnkhsheshonk and his son Semtutefnakhti, who successively held the title of Master of the Shipping, and were entrusted with the government of Ptorês, the South Land. The former, Peteêsi, is described as the son of a priest of Amonrasonther, the Theban Ammon (5/16). He was, however, taken to Pharaoh's court without having been initiated as priest of Ammon, but became priest of Arsaphes, god of Heracleopolis, and Suchus god of Crocodilopolis, the later Arsinoe in the neighbouring Faiyûm. As early as the 4th year of Psammetichus I he asked for assistance in his work on the ground of old age: his court life must therefore have begun under some other king, the Ethiopian Taracus or one of the petty princes of his time in Middle Egypt. The importance of Heracleopolis at this period is shown below, and the priesthoods held by Peteêsi remind us especially of the fact that in Herodotus the Labyrinth, which lies halfway between Hnês and Crocodilopolis, about 20 kilometres distant from each, is represented as the common monument and temple of the Dodekarchy.

[1] Prepared by the petitioner for the 'Governor,' in accordance with his order (p. 69).

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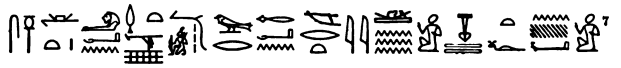
Peteêsi's request in the fourth year was granted by the king. In consequence he was enabled to remain quietly at Hnês, governing, while his nephew, also called Peteêsi (I), undertook the active work of inspections for him.

The papyrus contains a copy of a stela dated during Peteêsi's administration in the 14th year of Psammetichus[1]. We meet with this 'Master of the Shipping' again in the 15th year[2], and he died in the 18th year[3].

Upon his father's death Semtutefnakhti was appointed Master of the Shipping, and entrusted with the government of Ptorês in his place. He too governed in Hnês while Peteêsi (I) continued his inspections for a year, apparently to give time for the new Master to accommodate himself to the post. Semtutefnakhti is mentioned in year 19[4], in year 31[5], and again shortly after year 34[6]. A long interval of 40 years follows on this in the narrative, which is not resumed until the 4th year of Psammetichus II, and we hear no more of 'Masters of the Shipping.'

So far the papyrus. On turning to the published monuments, we find in them no reference to Peteêsi the 'Master of the Shipping.' On the other hand, Semtutefnakhti appears in several inscriptions. Most important of all, as establishing his date by contemporary evidence, is the inscription which records the adoption by Shpeniopi and installation of the princess Nitokri, daughter of Psammetichus I, as 'wife of God' in the temple of Ammon at Karnak. The officer in charge of the great flotilla which escorted the princess from the palace harîm—at Sais or Memphis—to Thebes is conspicuously named upon the great stela. He is 'the privy councillor, prince of the nome of the . . . Tree (the Heracleopolite nome), great captain of the host and Master of the Shipping, Semtutefnakhti':

 [7]

The date of the 9th year of Psammetichus I is assigned to this event in two places on the stela, leaving no possible room for doubt as to the view of the person who inscribed the stela, which can hardly have been incorrect. Unfortunately it contradicts the statement in the papyrus according to which Semtutefnakhti did not succeed his father Peteêsi until year 18. If the authority of the papyrus is to be upheld as to the main facts, we might suppose that before year 9 Peteêsi had practically retired from active participation in the government, and that if he retained his titles and some of his authority his son had already practically succeeded him, though there is no trace of this in the papyrus. But when we further perceive that the name of Semtutefnakhti is not accompanied by that of his father on any of his extant monuments, it may be doubted whether Peteêsi was ever really of much importance. Peteêsi the petitioner 150 years later claimed him as his grandfather's uncle and patron, and therefore would be disposed to make much of him. Did he then fabricate the inscriptions of the tablets which he professes to copy in the papyrus? There are difficulties in them which will be considered when they are reached later on.

[1] 21/12. [2] 8/14. [3] 10/1. [4] 10/12. [5] 11/2, 16. [6] 14/12. [7] Adoption of Nitokri, l. 9.

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Besides the Stela of Adoption another monument of great interest names Semtutefnakhti. It is necessary to describe what remains of it in some detail in order to establish its significance. In excavating the forecourt of the temple of Mût at Karnak Miss BENSON and Miss GOURLAY discovered five blocks of sandstone sculptured on both sides which had belonged to a monument or chapel[1]; on the one side of the blocks are remains of religious scenes; while on the other side ships are represented descending[2] the Nile, presumably to Thebes, laden with gold, oxen, dôm-palm nuts, and other products of Nubia. The first ship approaching the shore and welcomed by several adoring figures is 'the ship of Amûn, carrying the gold': in it stands the gigantic figure of some important individual, apparently not a king. This might be the leader of the priesthood of Ammon. Unhappily his name is erased or lost; his profile, however, suggests that he was an Ethiopian. The next boat is 'the great ship of Sai (Sais),' conveying the 'hereditary

prince, captain of the host of Hnês, the Master of the Shipping, Semtutefnakhti.' His figure is smaller than that in the ship of Ammon, indicating that he was of less importance. On these follow laden ships of burden without any notable personages, the first of them being named 'the barge of king Pʿankhi.' The fleet of boats must have formed at least two rows when the monument was complete, and the second row, like the first, may have been headed by magnates in their dahabiehs. The label 'the barge of king Pʿankhi' induced the original editors to connect the scene with the invader Pʿankhi; but later kings of Ethiopia, for instance one who was probably the father of Taracus, bore the same name, and the title 'Master of the Shipping' is as yet known only in the reign of Psammetichus I. There is scarcely any doubt that this Semtutefnakhti is the one already known. Thus the monument can be assigned to some period in the long reign of Psammetichus I, and probably not late in it. We may conjecture that the king sent a fleet under the charge of the trusty Semtutefnakhti on a friendly visit to the then king of Ethiopia: the visit may have terminated in an alliance and the exchange of costly presents. The plunder of a warlike expedition seems a less probable explanation, and it is not easy to connect the scene with either the famous graffiti of Abusimbel (naming three leaders, but nowhere Semtutefnakhti), which more probably date from the reign of Psammetichus II, or with the story of the pursuit of the Deserters related by Herodotus.

Besides these conspicuous appearances on public monuments, Semtutefnakhti is

[1] BENSON and GOURLAY, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, Pl. XX–XXII and pp. 46, 257, 370.

[2] Being *rowed* down the stream, not *sailing* up against it, according to the well-known rule.

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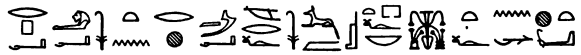
commemorated by two fragmentary statues. FLINDERS PETRIE, in his excavation of the temple of Arsaphes at Hnês, found the foot of a fine basalt statue of Saite style giving a fragment of a title and the name '[the Master of the Shipping of] the whole [land], Semtutefnakhti[1].' Another statue, more complete, was obtained by MARIETTE at Memphis[2]. It bears both the cartouches of Psammetichus I, and names 'his true servant, of the place of his heart, the hereditary prince, superintendent of the manning of the king's ship, Semtutefnakhti':

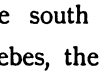
and, again, 'the hereditary prince, true acquaintance of the king whom he loveth, in charge of the secrets of the king in every department, Semtutefnakhti':

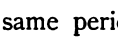


The titles on the Memphis statue are re-modelled to agree with the style of the Old Kingdom, which was so much affected in the time of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

It has already been remarked that Semtutefnakhti does not name Peteêsi in any of these records. If we fail to find Peteêsi upon the monuments, there are other officials who seem by their titles to have been in charge of the South country under Psammetichus I.

(1) The inscription of the adoption of Nitokri, already quoted, shows that in the ninth year large gifts were made to the princess by Mentemhê, 'fourth prophet of Amûn, prince of Ne (Thebes) and superintendent of the entire south ' ' and his family. This great official had held the same titles under Taracus, and is probably named in the list of governors recognized by the Assyrian conquerors. In his tomb at Thebes the same titles are ascribed to him, and he is even said to be 'the eyes of the king in the whole land[3].'

(2) In the reign of Psammetichus I Pabês dedicated a shrine to the hippopotamus goddess on behalf of the princess Shpeniopi and her adopted daughter Nitokri at Karnak[4]. Pabês is entitled 'prophet of Amenraʿsentêr, superintendent of the prophets of the gods of the south land, superintendent of the entire south  , chief steward of the Lady-Adorer of God' (i.e. the princess of Thebes, the titular wife of Ammon).

(3) At Abydos king Psammetichus, probably Psammetichus I, appears with the same Nitokri and Petehor(?) . . ., who is entitled the 'Prince of Ne (Thebes), superintendent of the entire south  and chief steward of the Lady-Adorer of God[5].'

There may have been others bearing similar titles at the same period. But none of these three is named in our papyrus. Mentemhê during the reign of Taracus was

[1] PETRIE, *Ehnasya*, Pl. XXVII, 4. The restoration is suggested by the title given to Peteêsi on the stelae of Teuzoi, below, p. 108.

[2] MARIETTE, *Mon. Div.*, Pl. 34*g*.

[3] *Mém. Miss. Arch. Franç. au Caire*, v. p. 613 et seqq.

[4] MARIETTE, *Mon. Div.*, Pl. 90, 91.

[5] MARIETTE, *Abydos*, i. Pl. 2. b.

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undoubtedly very influential. At Thebes he wielded much the same authority as the priests of the Twenty-first Dynasty, and a record of him has perhaps been found even in the Delta at Tell el Yahûdîye[1], while throughout Upper Egypt he was active in repairing and endowing temples[2], as is recorded upon his monuments in the temple of Mût. But it may be that under Psammetichus, though his wealth and titles were retained, his power was much curtailed. In the case of the stewards of the Theban princesses their titles may have been nominal. Or, again, it is possible that under Psammetichus these titles referred to the Thebaid only, while the Masters of the Shipping were of superior official rank, governing both the Thebaid and Middle Egypt.

It must further be observed that though the papyrus represents the two Masters as entrusted with the government of Ptorês, and attending to its prosperity in every direction, there is no trace of such an appointment in their titles, either in the narrative or in the copies of the two stelae; and herein the papyrus agrees with the monuments. On the other hand, Mentemhê, who constantly exhibits the title 'superintendent of the entire south,' records his own activity in religious matters, but gives little or no hint of solicitude in other departments, either in his tomb or on the monuments dedicated by him in the temple of Mût.

Hnês as the Seat of Government for Upper Egypt.

The narrative in the papyrus represents the two Masters of the Shipping as governing the whole of Upper Egypt, 'from the southern watch-tower of Memfe (Memphis) unto Suan (Syene),' from their residence at Hnês. This was not due to their being Heracleopolitans in origin, for though the Master Peteêsi established himself there, he was son of a priest of the Theban Ammon, and his nephew Peteêsi (I) had relatives and even a paternal dwelling in Thebes.

Hnês had always been an important city, at least to the extent of being capital of the XXth nome of Upper Egypt. In the obscure period between the Old and the Middle Kingdoms it was the metropolis of the principal dynasties, the Ninth and Tenth, who perhaps ruled the whole of Egypt for a time. In the Twenty-second Dynasty we find the heads of an Heracleopolite family for five generations of descent, from king Osorkon II, holding the titles 'prince, superintendent of the south , superintendent of the prophets in Hnês, captain of the host[3].' At the time of Pʿankhi's invasion Hnês was the capital of Peftuʿubasti, one of the four titular kings amongst the native princes, and it was the only city in Middle Egypt that held out against Tefnakhti till Pʿankhi arrived and relieved it. In the story of king Petubastis 'the island[4] of Hnês' is mentioned as the residence of one of the chiefs summoned to take part in the contest between two clans[5].

Yet there is great difficulty in recognizing the name of this great city in the

[1] Naville, *Tell el Yahûdiyeh*, p. 50.

[2] Benson and Gourlay, l. c., p. 352. Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 42–44.

[3] Mariette, *Serapeum*, iii. Pl. 31.

[4] Cf. Strabo, 789, 809; Ptolemy, pp. 124–5; and Naville, *Ahnas*, p. 4.

[5] Krall, *WZKM.*, vol. xvii; *Dem. Les.*, K. 7.

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Assyrian list of the twenty local governors of Egypt, Khininshi being in Lower Egypt to judge by the context. There is precisely the same difficulty with Hanês חנס in Isaiah xxx. 4, and with Ἄννσις in Herodotus. Otherwise there would be excellent reasons for identifying each of these names with Hnês.

The most striking fact, however, with regard to Hnês at this time is that Theban papyri dating from the reign of Taracus and Psammetichus I specify the standard silver as 'silver of the treasury of Harshafe,' this Arsaphes being the god of Hnês. Commonly there is no such definition. The papyri in which this occurs are dated in the 3rd year of Taracus, the 16th year of the same (?), the 30th year of Psammetichus I, and the 45th year. Two of the attestations, C and H, in the last papyrus substitute for it 'silver of the treasury of Ne,' i.e. Thebes, and the only other published example in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, dating from the 36th year of Amasis, uses the same expression. The papyri of Darius throughout substitute the expression 'silver of the treasury of Ptah, refined (?),' or in one early instance 'silver of the treasury of Ptah, of *kher*,' i.e. of taxation (?).

From these facts we gather that (1) under Darius the standard was Memphite and in the treasury of Phtha. Herodotus relates that Aryandes, the satrap of Egypt appointed by Cambyses, was put to death by Darius for having endeavoured to rival his new standard of highly-refined gold with a silver of extraordinary purity in Egypt, and that in his own day no silver was equal to the Aryandic[1]. Possibly the silver was coined, like the gold. (2) Before the Persian conquest, and at least as early as the 45th year of Psammetichus I, there was a standard of (uncoined) silver in the Theban treasury, perhaps in connexion with a temple of Arsaphes there. But it must be taken as almost certain that (3) in still earlier times the standard silver for the whole of the Upper country was under the guardianship of Arsaphes in Heracleopolis Magna. Evidence is scanty as yet, and cannot affirm anything about the standard for Lower Egypt, nor even for Upper Egypt before the reign of Taracus.

The suggestion has lately been made by Professor SPIEGELBERG that as cities appear sometimes to be practically duplicated in name and worship in Upper and in Lower Egypt, there may have been a Lower Egyptian Hnês in the north-east, corresponding to that in Middle Egypt, being that known to the Assyrians, Jews, and Greeks respectively as Khinenshi, Hanês, and Anysis[2]: also that Arsaphes (identified by the Greeks with Heracles) may have been worshipped there, so that Heracleopolis, the capital of the Sethroite nome, may be the place sought for[3]. If this conjecture be correct it will be very reasonable to suppose that the standard of silver was established in this second city of Arsaphes on the north-east edge of Lower Egypt, past which travelled all the wealth of the land-caravans from Syria, while the shipping on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile was also close at hand. We might further suppose that the temple of Heracles near Canobus, where slaves could claim their liberty[4], was

[1] Hdt. iv. 166.

[2] SPIEGELBERG, *Aegyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament*, p. 36.

[3] It is worth noting that Arsaphes occurs once at Tanis, which lay at no great distance from the Sethroite Heracleopolis, on a fragment of an obelisk that may be early. PETRIE, Tanis I, Pl. III, Fig. 19 E.

[4] Hdt. ii. 113, but 'Amûn of Karob' (Canopus) and not

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another temple of Arsaphes established at a great trade port: and we can recall that at a later date a certain Semtutefnakhti, the president of the Egyptian school of physicians, in a remarkable inscription, ascribed his safe return to Egypt from a sanguinary defeat of the Asiatics by the Greeks, perhaps at the battle of Marathon or of Issus, to the intervention of Arsaphes on behalf of his devoted worshipper. The 'Master of the Shipping' living at Heracleopolis Magna, and apparently acting as 'superintendent of the prophets of Harshafe[1],' was 'the Master of the Shipping of the whole land.' Probably they superintended not only the provision of the royal vessels, but also all the internal river trade of Egypt, if not the foreign trade likewise, and fanes may have been erected to the god of Heracleopolis Magna at the leading ports and entrepôts for the commerce of Asia and Hellas. As yet unfortunately all this must be treated as mere conjecture. The titles of Arsaphes contain nothing that suggests such a tutelage of trade and travel.

To return to Hnês, Heracleopolis Magna. Why was Hnês the leading city of Middle Egypt, the centre of government for Upper and Middle Egypt alike, and probably for a time the banking centre, if such an expression may be used, of all Egypt? If Arsaphes was really the protector of trade, this function of the god would be a result rather than the cause of the commercial importance of Heracleopolis. The alluvial soil in the district where Heracleopolis lay was broad and rich: the city was hard by the passage to Lake Moeris and the roads to the Libyan oases, and at this time the entrance to the Faiyûm must have been included in the nome of Heracleopolis[2]. Professor GOLÉNISCHEFF has shown that the invading hosts of Libyans in the Nineteenth Dynasty came by way of the oases to the Nile valley in the region about Hnês[3]. Heracleopolis would thus be the key to the main line of communication with Libya, and for many centuries Egypt had been ruled by chiefs of Libyan descent. Moreover, the memory of the great services rendered by Heracleopolis to Pʿankhi may have led the Ethiopian kings to show special favour to it, while its strenuous loyalty to Ethiopia in return for this may have caused the Assyrians to pass it over in framing their list of governors. Again we are plunged in conjecture.

(**5**/13) Oh, may Amûn prolong his existence!
To inform the Governor of the events (14) that happened unto my father[4].
In the 4th[5] year of Perʿo Psammêṭk the elder[6], Ptorês was in the charge of Peteêsi[7]

Arsaphes must have been the chief deity there, if not the equivalent of Heracles, according to the tablet of Canopus.

[1] See below, 22/14, p. 108.
[2] See note 5 on p. 85.
[3] *Ä. Z.*, xl. 103.
[4] See p. 69, note 3.
[5] c. 660 B.C. According to KRALL, *Grundriss der Alt-orientalischen Geschichte*, p. 160, the date of the capture and plunder of Thebes by Assurbanipal may be fixed by an eclipse to 661 B.C., which is the precise date of this fourth year in his chronology (ibid., p. 176). If the history in this papyrus could be trusted, it would at any rate make it almost impossible to place any disruption such as was caused by the invasion of Tandamane and the counter-invasion of Assurbanipal later than the fourth year; Peteêsi might have had his appointment extended over the south immediately after the flight of Tandamane. But there are too many reasons for doubting its accuracy.
[6] Or 'the great.'
[7] Peteêsi is a very common name: his father's name ʿAnkhsheshonk, 'life of Sheshonk' or 'as Sheshonk liveth,' is found in texts of the 34th year of Darius from the Serapeum, belonging to one or two families, and in one case extending through nine generations, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxiii. 78; LIEBLEIN, no. 1230. A statue at Stockholm represents a certain Peteêsi, son of ʿAnkhsheshonk and T . . ., nomarch of Coptos and priest (LIEBLEIN, no. 1026): his titles do not at all agree with those attributed to our Peteêsi on the stela (cols. 21, 22).

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son of ʿAnkhsheshonk, (15) the Master of the Shipping[1], from the southern guard-house (?) of Memfi[2] unto Suan[3].

(Now) Peteêsi son of ʿAnkhsheshonk, the Master of the Shipping, (16) was son of a priest of Amenraʿsentêr[4]. He had been brought to Perʿo's house before he became priest of Amûn; he became (17) priest of Harshafe, and he became priest of Sobk[5]. And he had a colleague[6], son of his father's younger brother, named Peteêsi son of Ieturoü, who (18) was a second unto (?)[7] Peteêsi, the Master of the Shipping: he it was that inspected from the southern guard-house unto Suan.

(Now) in (19) the 4th year of Perʿo Psammêṭk, Peteêsi son of ʿAnkhsheshonk, the Master of the Shipping, went before Perʿo, and said: 'My great lord, (20) Oh, may he make the duration of Prêʿ![8] I am grown old[9]: may this good thing be done unto me before Perʿo. I have a colleague named Peteêsi son of (6/1) Ieturoü; he it is that administers (?) Ptorês, and fosters[10] its silver and its *bôti*-corn[11]: and it hath come to pass that Ptorês is very

[1] Or 'Master of Harbours.' In the hieratic of 21/15, the title is given as 'the Master of the Shipping of the whole land,' and whereas here his appellative title is 'the Master of the Shipping,' in that artificial composition he is referred to by another of his titles as 'this Captain of the host.' The title has previously been noted only as belonging to Peteêsi's son Semtutefnakhti, and the evidence of this papyrus does not carry it outside the reign of Psammetichus I. There being no roads in Egypt all the internal traffic was by the river and canals: hence the supreme importance of the post to the reorganization of the country by the founder of the flourishing Saite dynasty.

[2] The southern guard-house (?) of Memphis is not mentioned in any other text.

[3] Suan, Συήνη, Heb. סְוֵנָה, is the southern boundary of Upper Egypt. It was a town on the east bank, opposite the island of Elephantine, and close to the granite quarries, but the latter seem to have retained popularly the older name of Iêb, i.e. Elephantine, see 7/13. To judge by Herodotus, the name Ἐλεφαντίνη was more familiar to the Greeks than Συήνη, but the latter, well known to the Hebrew prophets, is regularly named סְוֵן as the seat of the garrison in the Aramaic documents of the Persian period from Elephantine; cf. *Comptes Rendus Ac. Insc.*, 1903, 270.

[4] Here, as elsewhere in the papyrus, 8/4, &c., the god of Thebes in particular, not of Teuzoi (6/14, &c.). Peteêsi (I), the nephew of the Master of the Shipping, had an ancestral house at Thebes, 9/20. The Theban priesthood was clearly the most notable of all in Ptorês, owing in part to its ancient glory, in part to its still remaining wealth; cf. 8/5.

[5] Arsaphes god of Hnês, Suchus god of Crocodilopolis on the edge of the Lake of Moeris in the Faiyûm.

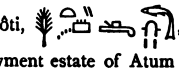
[6] Lit. 'brother.'

[7] Or 'who was a second Peteêsi, the Master of the Shipping.' Peteêsi son of Ieturoü shared the duties of Peteêsi son of ʿAnkhsheshonk; but he did not hold the title of Master of the Shipping.

[8] i.e. endure like the Sun, eternally. Pharaoh is saluted in these words also in the first story of Sethon Khamois.

[9] From this it would appear that Peteêsi was born under the Twenty-third Dynasty, the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth having lasted together about fifty years. If this is authentic history he would have served in the court of some native prince or of the Ethiopian kings, and obtained territorial offices in Heracleopolis and the priesthoods of Arsaphes and Suchus (l. 16).

[10] Or 'obtains,' i.e. collects the taxes for the government.

[11] The collocation 'silver' and 'corn' is frequent, e.g. in I/5 above, in the Rosetta and Canopus decrees corresponding to ἀργυριον and σιτος. In Egypt these were naturally the principal media of exchange. In this papyrus the more precise expression 'silver and bôti' is used: from many passages in cols. 10, 11, 16, 17 it is evident that bôti was the main crop of the land and the representative cereal. So also in each of the old marriage contracts (Nos. 16 and 18) the dowry paid consists of 2 teben of silver and 50 (?) measures of bôti, and in the sale of a slave in the reign of Taracus (No. 1) the expression 'debt (?) of silver and debt (?) of bôti' occurs. Again in the inscription of the Adoption of Nitokri (l. 24), in the reign of Psammetichus I, two *khar* or bushel measures of bôti,  , are given to Nitokri from the endowment estate of Atum in the nome of Heliopolis, 'after it has been offered as daily offering and the deity has enjoyed it.' In all these instances bôti is the *only cereal named*. The Coptic ϩⲱϯ translates ὄλυρα of the Septuagint. We thus have a remarkable illustration of the passages in Herodotus which indicate the great importance of ὄλυρα in Egypt: 'Other people live on wheat and barley, but among the Egyptians heavy disgrace attaches to the man who makes these his food. Their grain-food is ὄλυραι, the same which some call ζειαί,' Hdt. ii. 36. And again, 'They

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prosperous: (2) its silver and its bôti have made one into one-and-a-half[1]. Let him be brought before Per'o, let a good thing be said unto him before Per'o, let it be said unto him, (3) "Ptorês is committed unto thee," it being committed unto me also,—he being able to make levy (?) thereby.'

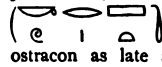
Peteêsi son of Ieturoü was brought before Per'o, and Per'o said unto him: (4) 'The Master of the Shipping hath told me what a marvel of a man thou art.' And Per'o said, 'Let a ship be given him, let a chariot (?)[2] be given him.' (5) And Per'o said unto him, 'Thou goest inspecting to Ptorês: I will cause it to be reckoned with thee.' Said Peteêsi, 'My great lord, it hath been committed (6) to Peteêsi, the Master of the Shipping.' (But) Per'o said unto him, 'It is committed unto him also together with thee: except that they shall tell its account with thee[3].' And they gave him gold and byssus (7) before Per'o.

Peteêsi son of Ieturoü came southward, inspecting, from the southern guard-house unto Suan; (8) (but) Peteêsi son of 'Ankhsheshonk, the Master of the Shipping, settled in Hnês[4], and report was rendered to him of everything that happened in Ptorês.

(9) Peteêsi son of Ieturoü reached Teuzoi: he went to the temple and inspected every place that was in the temple of (10) Teuzoi. And behold he found the temple of Teuzoi to be in the style of a very large House[5], but that it was short (11) of men: he found not a man in the temple except one aged priest and a (shrine)-opener[6]. And Peteêsi son of Ieturoü caused (12) the priest to be brought, and said to him, 'Behold, since thou art not deficient in age, tell me, I pray, the manner in which this town hath been destroyed.'

are bread-eaters, making bread of ὄλυραι, and they call the loaves κυλλήστις,' ibid., 77. In both these passages he is describing the customs of the agricultural part of Egypt as opposed to those of the marsh-lands.

Bôti must be some poor kind of cereal such as spelt, or starch-wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*).

If *bôti* was the main cereal from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and through the Persian period, it was not so always. In the Old and Middle Kingdom, , *yôt*, i.e. ειωτ, 'barley' (of different varieties) had been the leading cereal, , *bôti*, being second, to judge by the common expression *yt bdt* 'barley and bôti' for 'corn,' and much other evidence. In the New Kingdom the same traditional expression occurs: Bito 'loaded himself with barley and bôti' in the Story of the Two Brothers, 3/3, but the relative importance of the two cereals was already reversed, as can be seen from Bito's reply to Anup's wife immediately following, 'I have 3 khar of bôti and 2 khar of barley on my shoulder,' ibid., 3/4. Ολυραι or κυλλησταις made of ολυραι were to be provided for the sacerdotal 'twins' of the Serapeum in the reign of Philometor (see the papyri published by Peyron, Leemans, Kenyon, &c.) and κυλλησταις ( *kleshte* in N. K.) occur on an ostracon as late as A.D. 4 (Wilcken, *Ostr.*, no. 1305). Ολυροκοποι or millers of ὄλυραι are mentioned in an inscription of the time of Philopator; Dittenberger, *OGIS.*, no. 729. But better cereals were driving this out. In the Ptolemaic papyri of Tebtunis, ὄλυρα plays but a small part amongst the products of agriculture, πυρός being at that time by far the most important of the grains. No trace as yet has been found of bôti having been cultivated in Coptic times: see the philological note.

[1] Cf. 8/15, 'one into two.'

[2] Lit. 'a pair (of cattle),' hardly 'a horse.'

[3] From 10/10 this must mean that the reports will be officially made to him.

[4] Peteêsi had perhaps lived in the capital at Memphis until his retirement from the more active part of his duties. The administration of Egypt may be supposed to have been reorganized by Psammetichus after the Assyrian invasions and Ethiopian counter-strokes from which the country suffered in the later years of the Ethiopian rule: but presumably Memphis remained throughout the centre of the administration, Sais being the only possible alternative. The relative positions of the old Master of the Shipping and his nephew, the active partner, reporting to him and receiving his command, is parallel to that of Amenemhat I and his son Usertesen, associated with him on the throne, as described in the Story of Sinuhe.

[5] The remains of the temple, if it be the main temple of Teuzoi, show that it was quite small; cf. above, p. 40.

[6] See p. 55, note 5. From the present passage it would seem that a shrine-opener is not necessarily a *we'eb*-priest, .

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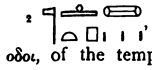
(13) And the priest said unto him, 'The thing hath happened (in this wise?): No man was priest here except the priests of Amenraʿsentêr[1]; (14) but your ancestors were priests here, and they made this fane glorious with all things: endowment-estates[2] in abundance (15) were appropriated to Amûn of Teuzoi, and this House was spoken of as the first (?) seat of Amenraʿsentêr. (16) When that evil time[3] came the great fanes of Kêmi were made to pay taxes, and this town was burdened with (17) heavy taxes: the people could not pay the taxes with which they were burdened, and they departed away. And behold, though discharge hath been made (18) unto the great fanes of Kêmi, they come to us, saying, "Produce (your) taxes" until now.'

(19) Peteêsi son of Ieturoü went down to Hnês, he stood before Peteêsi, the Master of the Shipping, and told him the whole condition which he had found (20) to have befallen Teuzoi, and he told him all the events that the old priest whom he found in Teuzoi had told him, and he said unto him, 'This priest said unto me, "No (21) man was priest here except the priests of Amenraʿsentêr."'

And Peteêsi, the Master of the Shipping, said unto him, 'As Amenraʿsentêr liveth, this hath all happened (indeed): (7/1) everything that thou tellest me I used to hear from the mouth of our[4] notables.' He caused the scribes of the nome and the agents[5] to be fetched, (2) he caused the men to be fetched whom he could question, and they were all questioned before the Master of the Shipping, saying, 'Teuzoi, were taxes wont to be paid (3) from it before that evil time took place?' And they all agreed, saying, 'Nothing on earth used to be paid therefrom: it is one of the great Houses (4) of this nome.' And the Master of the Shipping caused them to receive a severe beating on account of it, saying, 'Ye did never tell me, saying, (5) "We are causing it to be (?) paid."' And the Master of the Shipping said to Peteêsi son of Ieturoü, 'Go, let a writing be taken[6] for the things that have been paid from Teuzoi since discharge was made to the (6) great fanes of Ptorês; let the (amount) be given to the priests of Amûn of Teuzoi.'

Peteêsi son of Ieturoü came to Teuzoi, (7) he caused the men to be brought who did handicraft, and gave them 200 pieces[7] of refined (?)[8] silver and 20 pieces of gold, he caused

[1] Thus the priests of Teuzoi were Theban in origin.

[2]  , lit. 'divine offerings,' is rendered by *προσοδοι*, of the temples (Hess, *Inschrift von Rosette*, p. 91); but it is met with mainly in connexion with the land-estates of the temple-endowment.

[3] The Coptic equivalent means 'famine,' but at this time the meaning may have been wider and the expression may refer to some of the disasters that had lately overtaken Egypt at the hands of invaders, which might well have produced famine also. The exaction of tribute by the Assyrians probably involved the taxation of the temples. Teuzoi, as devoted to Ammon, may have sided with the Ethiopians against Necôs and his son Psammetichus, who were nominally supported by the Assyrians, and this may have led to the contribution from Teuzoi not being remitted. But historical facts do not count for much in this part of the narrative.

[4] Apparently the younger Peteêsi is delicately included in the pronoun.

[5] 'Nome-scribe' and 'agent' are both common titles. The latter is the Egyptian , often translated 'inspector.' He seems to have been a 'factor' or responsible manager, whether employed as a government official or by private owners of land.

[6] Meaning, probably, 'let a statement be framed of the payments.'

[7] That is teben. 200 teben = 4,000 drachmae or over 600 oz.: 20 teben = 400 drachmae or about 30 oz., if the same weights are used for each. Unfortunately there are no means of ascertaining how many years' taxation these sums represent.

[8] The earliest instance of the word 'refined (?)' in this connexion is in the thirty-sixth year of Amasis, c. 535 B.C., 'I will give thee 1 teben of silver of the treasury of Ne

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them to make them into cups of silver and gold for Amûn, he caused them to make (8) the shrine[1] of Amûn upon-the-great-place[2]. He caused the priests, the shrine-openers, and the other classes (?)[3] of men who (are qualified to?) enter the temple to be brought to Teuzoi; (9) (even) if there was a man among them who had gone as far as Ne[4] he caused all to be brought. He caused the endowment-estates which he found to have been appropriated to Amûn to be given[5], (10) and he caused 1,000 aruras[6] to be added to the endowment-estates of Amûn. He caused offerings and linen to be laid before Amûn and before Usiri of Ieruoz(?)[7]. He made (11) Teuzoi glorious like one of the great fanes of Ptorês. He made his children priests[8] of Amûn of Teuzoi, and he caused (12) a house to be built measuring 40 divine cubits[9] by 40 divine cubits, with a rope of land[10] about it for (its) courtyard; and he caused (13) his temple-place to be built.

He went to Ptorês, inspecting, and reached Iêb[11], he caused (14) a tablet of stone of Iêb to be quarried and the blocks for two statues of *temgy*-stone[12], and caused (15) them to be brought to Teuzoi. He came north and reached Teuzoi, he caused the granite-workers, the (16) engravers, the scribes of the House of Life, and the draughtsmen[13] to be brought. He caused the good deeds that he had done in Teuzoi to be put upon (17) the tablet[14], and he

refined (?).' In Coptic the verb means 'melt,' 'mould' of metal, and it might be taken here to mean 'coined,' but 'refined' is more probable since coining involves stamping, and there is no sign of coins being authorized as currency in Egypt before the Persian conquest.

[1] ναος on the Rosetta stone. The determinative implies that the shrine was of wood, and apparently it was portable, 24/1.

[2] The expression might seem to imply that the figure was seated on a throne, but this interpretation would be wrong. In Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, Pl. XLV, Phtha with this title is standing in his wooden shrine. The Great Place is therefore the shrine of the deity.

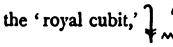
[3] Or 'families.'

[4] They would naturally drift back to their cousins and friends in Thebes. [5] i. e. confirmed by the king?

[6] 1,000 aruras = 2¾ sq. kilometres or about 2 sq. miles. That this is the real meaning, and not 10 aruras, which is expressed as 1,000 cubits of land in old texts (*PSBA.*, June, 1902), is shown in a subsequent passage, 16/7, where an island in which lies a piece of 484 aruras is stated to be in all fully 1,000 aruras, but proves to be 929. The same amount, 1,000 aruras, was given by Peftu-uneît to Osiris in restoring and beautifying the temple of Abydos, in the reign of Amasis (Statue A 93 of the Louvre, *Ä. Z.*, xxxii. 118). It is worth while to compare his inscription with the account of the restoration of Teuzoi by Peteêsi.

[7] Probably until now Osiris had not been greatly honoured at Teuzoi, but in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty it was natural that he should take a position by the side of the principal god. The name of the locality assigned to him here is doubtful. Perhaps it was Ier-uzai, 'Eye of prosperity,' or T-uzai, 'land of Prosperity': it can hardly be the *Me-kk* or *A-kk*, , of 22/7.

[8] We have no information as to the formalities to be observed in the initiation of priests. Peteêsi was of course of a priestly family. To judge by Pap. I and II it would seem that this act belonged to or was completed in the year 21, when Peteêsi's eldest (?) son Essemteu was made prophet of Harmakhis in Teuzoi, and Essemteu and his brothers Ieturoû and Paibês were assigned a 'place' in the temple. Nominally the king inducted new priests (Can.).

[9] The cubit employed in the Ptolemaic temple of Dendera is the ordinary Egyptian 7-palm cubit of 28 digits, 20·6 in. = 0·522 m. Presumably this is the 'divine cubit' of the demotic documents (see p. 228), though on cubit rods it is marked in hieroglyphs as the 'royal cubit,'  .

[10] See p. 228.

[11] i. e. Elephantine. The vocalization of the word is shown by Χνουβω (var. Χνομω, Χνουμω) νεβιηβ, 'the great Khnûm, lord of Iêb' in the Greek inscriptions of Elephantine, Ditt., *OGIS.*, i. p. 192; Aram. ב׳ in title of Khnûmis, Euting, *Pap. Égypto-Araméen Strasb.*, l. 3, as read by Cl. Ganneau. Cf. p. 78, note 3. [12] Unknown.

[13] This list of craftsmen is interesting. The first were probably rough-cutters and sculptors of hard stone, cf. 18/17; the second, engravers in the hard stone; the third, the ἱερογραμματεῖς who would compose and write the hieroglyphs; and the fourth the designers (the demotic word corresponding to ζωγλύφος p. 229) who would settle the lines of the figure and sketch upon the stone for the engravers.

[14] The first of the two tablets of which copies are given (see p. 106). It bears the date of Athyr of year 14. This may be taken as the time of the completion of Peteêsi's work of restoration at Teuzoi, nine or ten years after Peteêsi's appointment as assistant to his uncle, which took place after the harvest of year 4.

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caused his two statues of *temgy*-stone to be made, kneeling (?)[1] on their feet, a figure (18) of Amûn being in the lap of the one and a figure of Usiri in the lap of the other statue; he caused one to be placed (19) at the entrance of the shrine of Amûn, he caused the other to be placed at the entrance of the shrine of Usiri.

Peteêsi son of (20) Ieturoü went down to Hnês and stood before the Master of the Shipping, and made report to him of everything that he had done in Teuzoi. (8/1) And Peteêsi, the Master of the Shipping, said unto him, 'Harshafe, king of the Two Lands[2], praise thee! Amûn shall give thee its requital in benefit! Thou knowest the fact that the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi (2) and his Ennead of deities[3] belongeth unto me[4], and since thou hast chosen it as a dwelling I will write a title for thee to the share[5] of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi and his Ennead of deities.' And the Master (3) of the Shipping caused a school-scribe[6] to be fetched, and wrote a title for him to the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi and his Ennead of deities.

Peteêsi son of Ieturoü came south, (4) he reached the nome of Pemze[7], inspecting. And he found a priest of Amenraʿsentêr[8] who had been sent by the priests of Amûn for the pasturing (5) of cattle and geese which are furnished by the nome[9]: his name was Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti. And it happened that 'steward of the treasury[10] of Amûn' was the title given to the priest who was sent for the pasturing, (6) during the time he was sent for the pasturing. Peteêsi son of Ieturoü brought Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti, the steward of the treasury of Amûn, with him to Teuzoi, (7) he caused him to purify himself with him[11] in his house which he had caused to be built in Teuzoi: he caused his wife and her female children to be brought (8) up, and they drank beer[12] before them.

And Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti saw a girl belonging to Peteêsi named Nitemhê (?).

[1] The words may perhaps mean crouching or even embracing their legs. Statues holding shrines or deities are either standing or kneeling, e.g. in PETRIE's Turin Photographs, 371, 375. No. 159, by exception, shows the deity standing in front of the legs of a square crouched figure.

[2] The commonest title of the god whose name occurs as Ἀροσαφής in Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.*, cap. 37.

[3] Ennead stands for the old expression which nominally restricted the number of deities accompanying a chief god to nine. At Teuzoi we learn that there were sixteen, but their names are not given; see 3/15, 13/7 and p. 42.

[4] Nothing previously said has indicated any personal right of Peteêsi son of ʿAnkhsheshonk to the comprehensive office of prophet of Ammon and his accompanying deities at Teuzoi: probably his claim was official as governor of Ptorês, he being also resident in the capital of the nome in which Teuzoi was situated. In 15/3 the priests contend that the office of prophet of Ammon, i.e. the principal prophetship in the temple, belonged rightfully to Pharaoh, and through him to the official ruling in Hnês at the time; and from 1/3 it appears that in the reign of Darius it was actually held by 'the Governor,' i.e. the satrap (?). It does not necessarily follow that the corresponding offices in all other temples were in the gift of Pharaoh or of his principal representatives. Special circumstances connected with the foundation and endowment of Teuzoi may have led to these conditions.

[5] The share was a fifth of the whole endowment of the temple priesthood, see 9/13, 11/4, 7, and cf. p. 90, note 5.

[6] The school-scribe seems to have been employed regularly like his modern successor the *fiqy* to write legal documents. *Stories H. P.*, p. 36.

[7] Pemze, i.e. Oxyrhynchus, situated at Behnesa, 20 miles south-west of El Hîbeh on the western edge of the valley. The nome of Oxyrhynchus was the next southward from the Heracleopolite.

[8] i.e. of the Theban priesthood, as is more clearly shown in 9/9 et seqq., where Peteêsi undertakes to settle Haruoz's account for him at Thebes.

[9] It is interesting to find that a nome so distant as this still furnished contributions to Ammon at Thebes.

[10] Cf. the functions of the steward of the king's treasury in *Stories H. P.*, p. 18 = I Kham. 3/5.

[11] 'Purify oneself' is equivalent to 'take a meal'; see *Stories H. P.*, p. 44, and compare the remarks of Herodotus on the cleanliness of Egyptians, more especially of the priests, Hdt. ii. 37.

[12] Cf. above, p. 67, note 9.

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And Haruoz (9) son of Peftuʿubasti said to Peteêsi, 'Let his Honour[1] cause me to find my employment. Behold his Honour is a priest of Amenraʿsentêr; (10) my father used to be priest here in Teuzoi[2], and I will show unto his Honour that he used to be priest here, I will bring the patents of my father (11) before his Honour. Let his Honour cause the girl Nitemhê(?) to be given to me to wife.' And Peteêsi said to him, 'Her time(?) hath not yet come. But act as priest of (12) Amenraʿsentêr, and I will give her unto thee[3], and on every occasion on which the pasturing in Pemze is committed unto thee thou shalt stay at Teuzoi: (13) behold it is a wonder of a House, a House for a priest. There are not two classes(?)[4] of men in it beside priests and men who enter the temple.' And (14) Haruoz blessed (him)[5] and said, 'It is well.'

In year 15[6] of Perʿo-Psammêṭk Ptorês was exceedingly prosperous. Peteêsi son of Ieturoü was taken to the House of (15) Record, and its silver and its bôti made one into two. Peteêsi son of Ieturoü was taken before Perʿo: he was anointed with lotus-(oil?)[7], and Perʿo said unto him, 'Is there a good thing (16) of which thou sayest "Let it be done unto me"?' And Peteêsi said before Perʿo, 'My father was priest of Amenraʿsentêr, he was priest in the temples of the province of Ne[8], (17) he was priest of Harshafe, he was priest of Sobk[9].' And Perʿo called to the scribe in charge of letters, saying, 'Write a letter to the temples of which Peteêsi son of Ieturoü shall say (18) "My father was priest in them," saying, "Let Peteêsi be priest in them if it were fitting[10]."' And letters were written to the temples of which Peteêsi said (19) 'My father was priest in them.' And Peteêsi son of Ieturoü was dismissed from before Perʿo, and came south: he became priest of Harshafe, priest of Sobk of Sheti, priest of Amenraʿ(20)sentêr, priest of Usiri, lord of Ebôt, priest of Anhûri of Tîn, and priest of Mîn[11].

And Peteêsi son of Ieturoü came north, inspecting, (9/1) and reached Pemze, and found Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti, the priest of Amûn who was sent for the pasturing; he

[1] This honorific appellation is of the same form as the ancient , 'his majesty'—lit. 'his sceptre(?)' or 'his service(?)'—for the king, which was now obsolete. The signs composing it are uncertain, but seem to mean 'his superior .....(?).'

[2] Thus each belonged to the priesthood of the other, at Thebes and at Teuzoi.

[3] Or 'But so surely as I have acted as priest of Amenraʿsentêr, I will give her unto thee.' The only other description of a betrothal is the royal one in *Stories H. P.*, pp. 17, 18. Girls were married from 12½ years upward. See Max Müller, *Liebespoesie, Einleitung*, p. 3.

[4] Or 'families,' hardly 'persons.' [5] i.e. 'thanked him.'

[6] The next year after the completion of the work at Teuzoi, according to the date on the stela.

[7] For lotus-oil see *Dem. Mag. L. and L.*, p. 85, note.

[8] In Ptolemaic and Roman times 'the province (nome) of Ne' means the Thebais, not the Diospolite or Hermonthite nome (*Stories H. P.*, p. 23, note). Here we have priesthoods of Arsaphes of Heracleopolis and Suchus of Crocodilopolis specified, in addition to those of Ammon of Thebes and in the temples of the province of Ne. Subsequently (l. 20) we find Peteêsi made priest of Arsaphes and of Suchus, and of Ammon of Thebes, Osiris of Abydos, Onuris of This, and Min (of Coptos). The last three were in the Thebais and are evidently those referred to as 'in the province of Ne.' The separate mention of that of the Theban Ammon is due to its great importance. Thus the Thebais was called 'the nome of Ne' at least as early as the reign of Darius, and the writer of the papyrus represents it as having been so called as early as the fifteenth year of Psammetichus I.

[9] Cf. the priesthoods attributed to his uncle Peteêsi, 5/16.

[10] Here and elsewhere in the papyrus, 8/10, &c., &c., the father's priesthood is appealed to as an argument for the son to claim it (cf. Hdt. ii. 37, where, however, the reference is rather to the prophetship, , than the priesthood,). But from this passage it is clear that it did not constitute an absolute title.

[11] i.e. of Coptos or of Panopolis (Ekhmîm). The long list of his titles on the stela enumerates many prophetships, &c.; but none of these simple priesthoods, no doubt salaried, are certainly recognizable in it.

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came (2) to Teuzoi with Peteêsi son of Ieturoü, and Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti brought the patents of his father unto Peteêsi, (3) and showed him the fact that Peftuʿubasti his father used to be priest of Amûn of Teuzoi. And Peteêsi caused (4) Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti to be made priest of Amûn of Teuzoi[1], and gave him Nitemhê (?) his daughter to wife.

And Peteêsi son of Ieturoü went down (5) to Hnês[2]; he caused his women[3] and children to be brought on board (ship), and caused them to be brought to Ne. He reached Teuzoi, (6) and found Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti in Teuzoi. Peteêsi went up to his house which is in Teuzoi, and said to Haruoz, 'It is (7) fitting to let us spend to-day in drinking beer before Amûn in Teuzoi, before we go to Ne.' (8) Peteêsi spent the day in drinking beer with his women and children and with Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti.

And Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti said to him, (9) 'Behold, his Honour goeth to Ne: what are the things which his Honour biddeth me do?' And Peteêsi said unto him, (10) 'Settle here in Teuzoi. I will go and cause the priests of Amûn to make thine account, and I will give them the amount (11) that shall remain against thee: and (any) balance (due to thee) beyond the amount that reacheth thee when the pasturing is committed to thee I will cause to reach thee while thou art settled (12) here in Teuzoi, without thy suffering fatigue. Behold, mine is the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi, together with other sixteen shares. (13) But thou art he that shall perform service to Amûn and his Ennead of deities, and the fifth part[4] of the endowment revenues of Amûn shall be given to thee. But thou shalt pay unto me the amount that (14) shall remain against thee[5].'

And Nitemhê (?) daughter of Peteêsi wept, saying, 'Take me to Ne with thee.' And Peteêsi said unto her, (15) 'Wherefore wilt thou go to Ne? I will leave thee with thy life good beyond (?) all the girls. (16) Take to thee this house which is here in Teuzoi, and name a prophet's share for which thou desirest me to write thee a title.' And Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti, (17) her husband, said, 'Let his Honour write her a title to the share of the prophet of Khons[6].' And Peteêsi wrote her a title to the share of the prophet of Khons.

Peteêsi (18) sailed to Ne with his women and his children, and Haruoz son of Peftuʿubasti settled in Teuzoi with Nitemhê (?) (19) daughter of Peteêsi, doing service to Amûn and his cycle of deities, while the fifth part of the endowment revenues were given to him. And Peteêsi son of Ieturoü reached Ne, (20) he caused his women and his children to go up to Ne, and placed them in the house of his father which was in Ne.

In year [1]8[7] of Perʿo (10/1) Psammêṯk Peteêsi son of ʿAnkhsheshonk, the Master of

[1] This does not mean that he became prophet of Ammon, but only that he joined the *Ueʿb* priesthood of Teuzoi. The prophetship remained in Peteêsi's possession, 9/12, and was ultimately given to his son Essemteu, 14/8.

[2] It seems that Peteêsi did not remove his family from Hnês when he built his houses at Teuzoi, since he now brings them thence to Teuzoi en route to Thebes.

[3] This does not in any way imply a plurality of wives. A man's household might include mother, aunts, and sisters, as well as wife and children, as is seen from the households of the Middle Kingdom enumerated in the papyri from Kahûn.

[4] i.e. 4 stipends for the prophet of Ammon and 1 for each of the 16 deities of the Ennead, making 20 out of the 100 shares; see 13/7.

[5] i.e. his debt at Thebes on the pasturing account.

[6] Chon was the third member of the trinity of Thebes, the son of Ammon and Mût, and as such no doubt held a place in the Ennead of Teuzoi. Presumably Nitemhê did not act as prophet of Chon (cf. Hdt. ii. 35): she only received the stipend while the duty would be performed by her husband. In early times women were often entitled 'prophet' of a goddess, but never even then of a god.

[7] The date of the [1]8th year contradicts an inscription which shows Semtutefnakhti as Master of the Shipping in the 9th year, see p. 72. But it is impossible to read 8

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the Shipping, went to his fathers[1]. And Per'o caused Peteêsi son of Ieturoü to be brought, and said unto him, 'Ptorês (2) is committed unto thee; it is thou that shalt be able to administer it.' And Peteêsi said before Per'o, 'As thy face liveth, I shall be able to administer it if there be also a noble[2] (3) to whom it is committed together with me.' And Per'o said unto him, 'Tell me, pray, the noble of whom you say, "Let it be entrusted to him."' And Peteêsi said, 'My great lord, (4) Peteêsi son of 'Ankhsheshonk, the Master of the Shipping, hath his son; he is a man of the household of Per'o, and a marvel of a man exceedingly; his name is Semtutefnakhti: (5) Per'o will find that he is a marvel of a man. Let Per'o cause the office of his father to be committed unto him.' And Per'o questioned the nobles concerning (6) it, and they agreed (?), saying before Per'o, 'Let it be done, he is a marvel of a man.'

And Per'o made Semtutefnakhti Master of the Shipping, and Ptorês was committed to him (7) again even as it had been to his father. And Semtutefnakhti the Master of the Shipping was dismissed from before Per'o, and came to Hnês. (8) And he said to Peteêsi son of Ieturoü, 'Depart south, inspect in the province, and let nothing spoil: I will stay here in Hnês (9) until the Master of the Shipping be buried.'

And Peteêsi son of Ieturoü came south inspecting again according to his (former) manner. And Peteêsi the Master of the Shipping remained (10) seventy days[3] lying in state (?)[4], and was buried in his tomb in Pusirer . . .[5]. Now Peteêsi son of Ieturoü was administering Ptorês, (11) its account was made with him yearly, and it did not deteriorate (?), for what he did was to add silver and spelt to it each year.

In year 19 of Per'o (12) Psammêṭk the account of the land was made with Peteêsi, and its account was good. And Per'o said unto him, 'Is there a thing of which thou sayest "Let

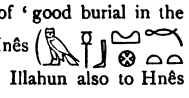
here owing to the succession of dates 15, [1]8, 19. The dates preceded by 'became,' follow each other in their natural order throughout the narrative, and are only broken by one reference back from the 15th year of Amasis to the 13th year of Apries in 18/11, which is marked by a sentence totally different from the formula. Thus it appears that the petitioner Peteêsi has made an error of at least 10 years in his dating of Semtutefnakhti's succession to his father. A simple alteration would be to alter the date of this section from the 18th year to the 8th, and to insert it before that relating to the 15th year: but it would then contradict the date of the year 14 in the copy of the stela.

[1] This expression, reminding one of the Biblical 'was gathered to his fathers,' is found also in Ptolemaic demotic, PETRIE, *Denderah*, Pl. XXVI B, no. 48; *Rec. de Trav.*, XXVI. p. 160, ll. 2, 3; and SPIEGELBERG, ibid., p. 162.

[2] This might be taken to imply that Peteêsi (I) was not a noble, but on the stelae (p. 108), he is designated by the phrase 'this noble (notable).'

[3] The standard time for the embalming or lying-in-state of important persons as well as of the Apis bull; see *Stories H. P.*, p. 29, note, and cf. Hdt. ii. 86; Gen. l. verse 3.

[4] Lit. 'seventy days of (?) *sȳḫ* (),' the *sȳḫ* being the Egyptian , and probably meaning a tent or kiosque under which the body was placed during or after the process of embalming.

[5] Pusîre, 'the House of Osiris,' becomes Abûsîr in Arabic nomenclature. At Abusîr el Meleq, at the north end of the sandy stretch of Gebel Abusîr, and not less than 30 kilom. NE. from Hnês (Ehnasiye), RUBENSOHN has found tombs of priests of the Heracleopolite Arsaphes (SCHÄFER, *Mysterien*, p. 20; *Ä. Z.*, 41/1). Coffins name it the 'northern Ebôt (Abydos),' probably with reference to the worship of Osiris (*Illahun*, Pl. XXVIII, Usirnekht and Tzeb, bought from man working at Abûsir, W.M.F.P.), and a coffin from Illahûn, of the Saite period, speaks of 'good burial in the northern Ebôt, the Great (?), of (?) Hnês (),' thus attaching Illahun also to Hnês (*Kahun*, Pl. XXVI, from tomb on hillock of rock NW. of the pyramid, W. M. F. PETRIE). A Pusîre, probably the same, is named on papyri from Gurob of the Eighteenth Dynasty (GRIFFITH, *Hier. Pap. of Kahun and Gurob*, pp. 93, 94). The later coffins from the passage into the Faiyûm, both at Hawara and Illahûn, have many references to Osiris-worship, but attach the priesthoods of the Faiyûm to those of Aphroditopolis on the NE. instead of Heracleopolis.

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it be done"?' And Peteêsi said (13) before Per'o, 'Let this good thing be done unto me before Per'o. I am aged in years, let me be dismissed from before Per'o, (for) I shall not be able to endure (14) fatigue.' And Per'o said unto him, 'Hast thou a son who knoweth how to administer?' And he said before Per'o, 'Many are the servants of Per'o who shall be able to administer; (15) they will administer under the hand of the Master of the Shipping, and will not allow a thing to spoil.' And Per'o said to him, 'Is there property that thou desirest?' And Peteêsi said, 'May (16) Per'o be enriched! There is no good thing that Per'o hath not caused to be done unto me.' And Per'o said unto Semtutefnakhti the Master of the Shipping, 'Consider this that Peteêsi (17) saith, saying, "I am old in years, let me be dismissed." If I shall have sent him away wilt thou be able to administer Ptorês?' And Semtutefnakhti said to him, (18) 'Let him be dismissed, my great lord—he is our father—spending the balance of his life resting: but he shall yet be our guardian[1].'

(19) Peteêsi son of Ieturoü was dismissed from before Per'o, and came south and reached Teuzoi. He went up and prayed before Amûn, and caused burnt sacrifice (20) and drink-offering[2] to be made before Amûn, and was conveyed to his house which was in Teuzoi. He purified himself therein with Haruoz son of Peftu'ubasti, and detailed the affair (21) unto Haruoz, saying, 'I have caused myself to be dismissed from before Per'o.' And Haruoz said, 'Let [not] these priests who are here know it, they are rascals.' And Peteêsi said unto him, 'Behold (11/1) I will take thee to Semtutefnakhti the Master of the Shipping, and the thing that is unseemly unto thee thou shalt go and tell it unto him.' And Peteêsi sent for the elder brethren of (2) the priests, and caused them to purify themselves before him; he spent days(?) purified[3] in Teuzoi, and sailed to Ne.

In the 31st year[4], Pamenhotp[5], the bôti (3) that had resulted to the endowment-estate of Amûn of Teuzoi was brought up and turned out in front of the temple. The priests assembled at the temple. They said, 'Tell (us) pray, as Prê' liveth! (4) Shall he still take the fifth of the divine endowment? this outcast(?) of a southerner[6] is in our power(?).' They charged some youths, rascally(?) fellows, saying, 'Come ye with (5) your staves in the evening, lie down on the face(?) of this bôti, and bury your staves in it till the morning. Now it happened that there were two boys of (6) Haruoz son of Peftu'ubasti who were grown up: and in the morning the priests came to the temple to divide the corn(?)[7] unto the orders, and the two boys of Haruoz son of Peftu'ubasti (7) came to the temple, saying, 'Let the fifth part be

[1] Lit. 'charged with us still.'

[2] This is probably the earliest occurrence of the words in an Egyptian text. Cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 99. The scenes and texts of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms show no signs of burnt-offerings (beyond the mere burning of incense, which was an indispensable adjunct of worship and sacrifice), but Herodotus (ii. 38–40) professes to describe the rite in detail, and the present phrase is common in later demotic. A Ptolemaic inscription at Edfu prescribes a burnt-offering of oxen and goats disembowelled and the belly filled with aromatic herbs and wine. ERMAN, *Aegypt. Relig.*, p. 215.

[3] This apparently means 'feasting,' see p. 82, note 11.

[4] In the interval between the retirement of Peteêsi in the 19th year and the events about to be related of the 31st year, may be placed the appointment in year 21 of Peteêsi's son Essemteu, accompanied by two of his brothers, at Teuzoi, recorded in Papyri I and II. It may be that the narrative is not to be interpreted in the light of actual facts; but the name of Haruoz son of Peftu'ubasti seems recognizable among the witnesses to Pap. I (p. 47).

[5] Phamenoth, the harvest month, see p. 65, note 8. The next month Pharmuthi is the one named after the goddess of the granaries.

[6] 'Southerner' as living at Thebes. But in 16/19 the men of Teuzoi themselves are called 'southerners' by a Memphite official.

[7] Or perhaps 'the bôti,' as before.

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measured'; then the young priests (?) drew out their staves from the corn and surrounded the two sons of Haruoz, and gave (8) them a beating. They fled up to the holy place before them, (but) they (also) ran up after them: and lo they caught them at the entrance of the shrine of Amûn, and slew (9) them with beating and cast them into a store-chamber in the interior (?) of the stone platform (?)[1].

Now it happened that Haruoz son of Peftuᶜubasti was not in Teuzoi; (10) he was on the west in the villages of Tkohi[2]. But Nitemhê daughter of Peteêsi, the mother of the two boys, made fast her house upon her. And when (11) Haruoz son of Peftuᶜubasti heard that his two children had been slain he made his raiment into mourning[3], and went to the Chief of Police[4] of Tkohi and informed him of it. The Chief (12) of Police collected the soldiers (?)[5] of Tkohi and took them to Teuzoi, armed with their shields (?) and spears, and he set a watch about (13) the house in which Nitemhê was.

And Haruoz hastened to Ne in his mourning-raiment. And when Haruoz came to Peteêsi, Peteêsi embarked on his ship (14) with his children and his people, and came down (the river). And when he reached Teuzoi he found no man on earth in Teuzoi except the men of the Chief of Police who were on guard (15) around the house in which Nitemhê was. And Peteêsi went to the temple, (but) found not a man in the temple except two (16) aged priests and one shrine-opener. They fled to the holy place from Peteêsi; and Peteêsi put men to guard them, and sent to Hnês to Semtutefnakhti the (17) Master of the Shipping concerning all the events that had happened while Peteêsi was in Teuzoi.

And the Master of the Shipping caused a Captain of the host to come, saying, 'Go, seize every man of whom Peteêsi shall (18) say to thee, "Let them be seized."' The Captain came to Teuzoi, and Peteêsi caused the two priests to be seized, and he went down the river with them to the house of Perᶜo[6]. (19) And Peteêsi told before Perᶜo everything that had been done. And Perᶜo caused punishment to be inflicted on the two priests.

Peteêsi was dismissed from before Perᶜo, and reached Hnês, (20) and stood with the Master of the Shipping. And Semtutefnakhti the Master of the Shipping said to him, 'I have heard the things that have been done unto thee by these outcasts (?) of evil men, scum (?) of men of Teuzoi, whom thou didst make (21) rich.' And Peteêsi said unto him, 'Hath not the detector of crime (?) heard that he who nurtures the wolf (?) shall die by it? As Prêᶜ liveth, this is what hath befallen me with the priests of Amûn (12/1) of Teuzoi.'

Now it happened that Haruoz son of Peftuᶜubasti was in Hnês with Peteêsi, and Peteêsi

[1] This store-chamber was in the 'holy place' (ἄδυτον in the Rosetta stone), see 14/3. Apparently the blocked inner end (see plan, p. 41) formed the 'platform' containing store-chambers (they are not sculptured), the staircase thus leading to the shrines upon this platform.

[2] Or 'the territory,' which might mean the country parts of the nome. The word is usually accompanied by the name of a nome-capital, see p. 233, note.

[3] Or perhaps 'rent his clothes,' and in l. 13 'with his clothes rent.'

[4] Lit. 'Chief of the Mezi,' the Mezi being a Nubian people who furnished soldiers and police to Egypt. As early as the reign of Akhenaten we meet with 'a Chief of the Mezi of Akhetaten Mahu,' whose tomb is at El Amarna. In *Stories H. P.*, p. 139 = I Kham. vi. 13 et seqq., the 'house of the Chief of Police of Kebt (Coptos)' seems to be in question.

[5] καλασίριες (?).

[6] This is instructive. The chief of police only guards Nitemhê's house, and on Peteêsi's information the Master of the Shipping, Semtutefnakhti, gives orders for the seizure of the criminals by a captain of the host; but Pharaoh punishes them, probably putting them to death. Possibly these acts correspond to their respective powers in regard to priests. In 3/8, &c., the 'Governor,' i. e. the satrap (?), is the personage who orders punishment of the priests (p. 68). See also 19/8 et seqq. (p. 103).

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took the hand of Haruoz and brought him (2) before the Master of the Shipping, saying, 'Behold, my brother who is in Teuzoi; let the Master of the Shipping charge the Chief of Police of Tkohi (3) and the commissary of Tkohi to cause him to be protected.' And Semtutefnakhti said to him, 'I will charge every man belonging to me, saying, 'The man of Teuzoi (4) that ye shall find, let him be brought to me that I may cause him to die in the prison in Hnês.'

But Peteêsi said unto him, 'Let not the Master of the Shipping do so: (5) as Amûn liveth, and the breath of the Master of the Shipping prospereth! I will not go to Ne without having furnished Teuzoi and brought its (6) people again into it.' And the Master of the Shipping said, 'I have caused Harshafe, king of the two lands, to be named (?)[1] when it is said "Thy love that thou hadst to Teuzoi (7) it hath not yet ceased."' And Peteêsi said to him, 'Thou hast imagined (?) to thyself. As thy breath prospereth! exceeding great gods are they that are in it, it is a house to which cometh (8) Amenraʿsentêr the great god: many are the divine things that I have known in it.'

The Master of the Shipping dismissed Peteêsi. He came southward, and reached (9) Teuzoi, and spent (some) days in Teuzoi. And it befell that the Chief of Police came to Teuzoi with fifty fighting men: and he came (10) before Peteêsi and did obeisance. And the Chief of Police said to Peteêsi, 'What grievous thing is this, that his Honour, the detector (?) of crime (?), hath caused the Master of the Shipping to send to me, saying, (11) "Let a guard be kept over the people of Peteêsi who shall happen to be in Teuzoi." Is not his Honour he that hath nurtured us? From the time that I heard that (12) these priests had done injury did I not come instantly and have a watch set about this house, because they were (13) molesting this great lady? If his Honour say to me, "Come even unto Ne," can I refuse to come?'

And Peteêsi said unto him, 'Amûn shall make thee live! (14) I caused the Master of the Shipping to send to thee to prevent another task (?) being laid upon thee. Do this business for me: depart, go round in the nome (15) of Pemze and the nome of Hartai[2] seeking for the men of Teuzoi whom thou shalt find[3]: gather them unto the place (16) to which they shall desire me to come in order to make oath unto them not to cause anything to be done unto them; and tell them[4], saying, "The injury that ye have done, I have caused (17) its requital[5] to be done unto you." Is it right to cause Amûn to slay the rest of these youths and let his town be destroyed?'

And Peteêsi took the hand of the Chief of Police (18) and took him into the dromos (?)[6] of Amûn. He bound himself by oath before him, saying, 'All men that thou

[1] 'To be named,' perhaps in an oath of asseveration: the meaning is obscure.

[2] , 'Horus is here,' Hartai (Brugsch, *Dict. Geog.*, pp. 510, 1259) with the worship of Anubis, is Cynopolis, towards the east side of the valley, but on an island according to Ptolemy. The name seems not to be ancient, its earliest occurrence being perhaps in Prof. Golénischeff's papyrus of the Twenty-first Dynasty, *Â. Z.*, xl. 102. The Cynopolite nome, of which it was the capital, appears to have been enlarged from the old xviiith nome of the temple lists; see end of note on next page.

[3] Thus the priests of Teuzoi feared to remain in their own nome and fled southwards. Doubtless Upper Egypt afforded a safer refuge than the neighbourhood of Memphis, and one more congenial than Lower Egypt,

[4] Or 'when I have told them.'

[5] i. e. the punishment of the two old priests, in revenge for the two youths slain.

[6] Possibly 'into the presence of Amûn.'

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shalt bring me, if they come to Teuzoi, I will not allow a mischief to be done unto them: (19) I will bind myself by oath unto them not to cause a mischief to be done unto them. I have bound myself by oath before thee, because they would have said, "The chief of police hath sought for (20) us to cause a mischief to be done unto us."'

The Chief of Police prostrated himself upon the ground and did obeisance. And the Chief of Police went out to the places of the nome of (21) Pemze, the nome of Khmûn[1], the

[1] Hermopolis Magna; its nome was the southernmost in Ptolemy's Heptanomis. We have seen that the province of Ne or Thebais was already recognized at the time that this papyrus was written. As to the nomes of Middle Egypt, the series, Heracleopolite (in which Teuzoi itself was situated), Oxyrhynchite, Cynopolite, Hermopolite, implied by ll. 15 and 21, agrees so far as it goes with the accounts of Greek and Roman writers.

The Revenue Papyrus, written in year 27 of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 259–8 B.C., enumerates the following nomes in Upper Egypt (see GRENFELL, *Revenue Laws*, Introd., p. li):

Ερμοπολιτης, Οξυρυγχιτης, Κυνοπολιτης, Λιμνη, Ηρακλεοπολιτης, Αφροδιτοπολιτης, and then only Θηβαις for the rest.

Μεμφίτης goes here with Lower Egypt, but in one of the two lists it appears a second time next before Θηβαίς.

Strabo, whose travels in Egypt date from 24 B.C. (xvii. pp. 809–13), furnishes the same list with two differences: he gives the later name Ἀρσινοίτης to the Faiyûm province; and while he places the Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ φυλακὴ τελώνιόν τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαίδος καταφερομένων and the Θηβαικὴ φυλακή between Cynopolis (with Oxyrhynchus opposite it) and Lycopolis (Asyût), he somewhat strangely omits to mention the Hermopolite nome; it would be wrong, however, to infer from this silence that the Hermopolite nome was then included in the Thebais.

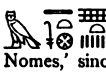
Ptolemy, writing in the second century A.D. (iv. 5, § 55 et seqq.), makes the Θηβαὶς καὶ ἄνω τόποι begin immediately above the Hermopolite and Antinoite nomes, which he includes in the Ἑπτὰ Νομοὶ ἢ Ἑπτανομίς, the φυλακαί being on the west bank in the Hermopolite nome. His Heptanomis comprises eight nomes:

West.	*East.*
Memphite	
Heracleopolite	Aphroditopolite
Arsinoite (see p. 235)	
Oxyrhynchite	
Cynopolite	
Hermopolite	Antinoite

The cultivable land on the east bank of the Nile is very scanty, hence the paucity of nomes on that side. The two Oases were also comprised in Ptolemy's Heptanomis. There are several ways in which his eight nomes can be reduced to seven to agree with the name of the Heptanomis. The Antinoite nome was an invention of Hadrian's time, and was formed out of that portion of the Hermopolite nome which lay on the east bank. The Arsinoite or Lake nome was constituted by the draining of the Lake of Moeris in the Ptolemaic age; and in the traditional temple lists the Memphite nome is counted distinctly to Lower Egypt. These temple lists, however, show at least eight ancient nomes in Upper Egypt corresponding to those of the Heptanomis:

xv. The Hare nome, cap. Ḫmn-nw (Khmûn, Hermopolis).
xvi. The Oryx nome, cap. Ḥbnw.
xvii. The Jackal nome, cap. Qȝ-sȝ or Ḥ.t-stn (= Hartai, Cynopolis?).
xviii. The *Sep*-nome, cap. H.t-bnw (= Hartai, Cynopolis?).
xix. The *Waḥ*-nome, cap. Pr-Mzd (Pemze, Oxyrhynchus).
xx. The nearer Atef-tree nome, cap. H.t-nn-stn (Ḫnês, Heracleopolis).
xxi. The further Atef-tree nome, cap. Smn-Ḫr.
xxii. The Blade-nome, cap. Pr-tp-iḥ (Petpeh, Aphroditopolis).

Most of these names are found also on monuments of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Hermopolis was the eighth nome-capital starting from Memphis, and is therefore named Ḫmn-nw, 'the Eighth,' at least as early as the Middle Kingdom. This numerical name seems to show a very ancient tendency to mark off the nomes which belonged to the later Heptanomis. But the Bahr Yusif, see map, p. 37, may have formed the natural boundary of the Heptanomis: in this case a 9th nome, the old xivth (Lower Tree nome), cap. Kôs, was united with the Hermopolite, in addition to the xvith; otherwise it was joined with the Lycopolite (Upper Tree) nome, cap. Siowt, as part of the Thebais. The Hermopolite nome (with its offshoot the Antinoite) was no doubt enlarged by uniting xv and xvi, the Cynopolite by uniting xvii and xviii. No. xxi, opposite the entrance to the Faiyûm, was also absorbed by one of its neighbours, probably the xxth. In the time when our papyrus was written the Hermopolite, Cynopolite, Oxyrhynchite, and Heracleopolite nomes evidently followed each other without a break, as in the Revenue Papyrus.

No Egyptian term has yet been identified as equivalent to the Greek Heptanomis. In the inscription of the Installation of Nitokri (ninth year of Psammetichus I) it is tempting to translate in l. 17, 'That which his majesty gave to her,'  , 'in the South Country (and the) Seven Nomes,' since only six nomes and nome-capitals are mentioned in the list. But on the analogy of the list of lands in Lower Egypt, ll. 26, 29, the phrase should be rendered 'in the South Country—(in) seven nomes,' and as a matter of fact the seventh nome is to be found at the end of the inscription (l. 31), having been omitted from its proper place. The list for Upper Egypt is, however, instructive in

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nome of Hartai: he gathered the men of Teuzoi to Hartai. The Chief of Police came to (13/1) Teuzoi and reported to Peteêsi son of Ieturoü, saying, 'I reached as far as Khmûn, and I left not a man of Teuzoi, as far as Khmûn, until I brought him to Hartai, the place to which they agreed (2) in saying, "Let an oath be sworn to us in it. Let Essemteu son of Peteêsi[1] come and bind himself by oath to us, or, if not (him, then) one of the youths that is with his Honour."' And Peteêsi said, 'As Amûn liveth! it is I (3) myself that will come.' Peteêsi sailed to Hartai, and sware an oath to the priests and the shrine-openers and every man that had come to Teuzoi, saying, 'I will not cause a thing to be done unto you on account of a thing (4) that is past.'

Peteêsi came to Teuzoi with the men of Teuzoi whom he had found, and all their women and children came. Peteêsi caused the priests to be assembled (5) at the temple, and said to them, 'Oh, may they live![2] Have I done unto you a thing beyond a thing that ye desired? Behold, when I was sent (officially) did I do a thing in the manner of one in authority? (6) Ye said unto me, "Four stipends is that which is given to the prophet of Hôr[3], lord of Hnês, and the prophet of Anûp, lord of Hartai," and I said unto you, "That is what ye shall give unto me[4]." Ye said (7) "One stipend is given as the share of a prophet," and I said unto you, "That is what ye give." I have stipend of (?) four in the name of the share of the prophet of Amûn, and I have besides sixteen stipends in the name (8) of the gods to whom I have been prophet, making in all twenty stipends. Twenty is the number of priests which ye make up for one order: and one order of priests makes the fifth part of the divine endowment[5].'

The priests placed their clothes (9) to their necks[6], they prostrated themselves on the

another point: it mentions land in the country of Hnês (Heracleopolis), of Pemze (Oxyrhynchus), of the xviiith nome, (Cynopolite), and of the xvth nome, (Hermopolite), also of the xth (Upper Aphroditopolite) and the viith (Minor Diospolite), besides one which is uncertain. It will be observed that the first four names are the last four in the Heptanomis and give the same succession that we have met with above, showing that the badge of the old xviiith nome represents the Cynopolite, the xviith nome having probably been absorbed by the xviiith. Hartai was thus the capital of the enlarged xviiith nome.

[1] i. e. his son Essemteu (II).

[2] A friendly greeting or interjection to equals or inferiors found in a familiar letter of the time of Amasis, also in the first tale of Khamois (wrongly rendered, 'O king! live for ever,' *Stories H. P.*, p. 21), and frequent in the conversations of the Cat and Monkey (Kufi).

[3] At first sight Hôr would seem to be a mistake for Arsaphes, who was the principal god of Hnês; but the mistake would be strange, and the actual reading seems to offer an explanation of the actions of Ahmosi the prophet of Hôr as shown in the first petition (p. 70). Can Arsaphes have been treated as a form of Horus in late times? His name might be falsely etymologized as Hôr-shafe 'the terrible Horus,' and his title 'king of the two lands' would be easily confused with 'uniter of the two lands,' the title of a common form of Horus. But as yet there is no evidence of such an identification beyond this puzzling title.

[4] The passage seems to reproduce the heads of a discussion or formal arrangement held after the prophetships were assigned to Peteêsi (I) by his uncle, the Master of the Shipping; above, 8/3, p. 82.

[5] Borchardt, *Ä. Z.*, xxxvii. pp. 93, 94, shows that in the Middle Kingdom the four orders of priests took turns in officiating for the period of a lunar month. The papyrus from which this fact is learnt contains much information as to the management of a temple. The proportional shares of the different priests are noted in it (cf. *Ä. Z.*, xl. p. 113), and when fully published it may show how far the arrangement indicated here agrees with that of the Twelfth Dynasty. The 'days of the temple,' in the contracts for the tomb of Hepzefa at Siût (Middle Kingdom), is probably a division by Hepzefa of the income received from the temple and does not belong to the internal administration of the temple revenues. The present passage seems clearly to show a division into the 100 stipends, one-fifth of which went to each of the 4 orders, numbering in each 20 people, and the remaining fifth to Peteêsi as prophet of Ammon and of his Ennead of 16 deities; see note to 8/2. Some of the officials may have received fractions of 'stipends,' as seems to have been the case at Kahûn, but 20 stipends were apparently assigned at Teuzoi to the 20 members of each order.

[6] Does this mean that the priests drew their robes up over

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ground before Peteêsi, and said, 'Know we not that his Honour is he that hath made us to live, when his Honour established our (10) city, and thou didst cause it to be equal to the great Houses of Kêmi. These youths who left the path, let his Honour cause them to be brought, let (11) them be cast into a furnace[1]. The good things that his Honour hath done unto Amûn remain to eternity.'

And Peteêsi said, 'The good deeds that I have done before Amûn, I know the fact: it is not that I (12) did them unto your fathers: I did them unto Amûn. These priests who slew my boys, shall I not be able to cause them to be brought? Except that I have caused (13) punishment to be inflicted upon their fathers, and have let them go, (I?) together[2] with the god. Behold, since I am overcome by you (even) while my strength existeth and while I live, (14) a time may come when the son of mine who shall be here shall be weaker than you, so that ye shall be able to exclude him and take his shares which are in this city. (15) Doth any know the event?[3] This tablet[4] which I caused to be made and taken to the holy place, I had it made before I became priest, before (16) a title had been written for me to those shares of prophets which are in this city; and ye will be able to say, 'Thou wast not priest upon it[5].'

And the priests said unto him, 'What is the thing of which his Honour (17) saith "Do it[6]"?' And Peteêsi son of Ieturoü said unto them, 'I will cause a tablet to bè made upon the stone platform on the way by which Amûn goeth to the cleansing-place (?)[7], (18) I will set the good deeds which I did to Amûn upon it, and I will set my priestly offices upon it.' And the priests said, 'All things that are (19) favourable to the affairs of his Honour let them be done. We shall know the fact that we are alive by means of his Honour, if his Honour cause it to be done.'

And Peteêsi caused the scribes of the House of Life (20) and the draughtsmen[8] to be brought, he caused the tablet to be written upon the stone platform[9], saying, 'In case the priests and the notables who shall come to inspect in the temple shall see (**14**/1) it.'

Peteêsi son of Ieturoü rode (?) to the shore, saying, 'I will sail to go to Ne.' (2) But Nitemhê his daughter wept before him, saying, 'The boys who were slain they are in the temple, they have not been brought out.' (3) And Peteêsi went to the temple and caused them to seek for the two boys; they found them in a store-chamber in the holy place[10], and he had them (4) brought down, linen (?) was put upon them[11], and a great lamentation took place in the city, and the boys were buried.

their necks, leaving the body bare as a sign of complete submission?

[1] In the Middle-Kingdom story of Ubaaner and the crocodile, the priest's wife guilty of adultery was burned: and MASPERO has noted an instance of the extermination of an heretical sect or tribe in Ethiopia by slaughter and burning. MAR., *Mon. Div.*, Pl. X, l. 8. But probably burning was not in the code. It was of course one of the chief terrors of the Underworld.

[2] Or possibly 'have left them to settle their account with God.' There are several difficult expressions here.

[3] Evidently a proverbial expression for the uncertainty of the future.

[4] The granite stela of the year 14, described in 7/14 et seqq. (p. 81) and copied in cols. 21, 22.

[5] i. e. '(according to the inscription) on the stela.'

[6] The same form of expression in 15/13; cf. 10/12.

[7] Probably the path of the sacred ram to the cleansing-place (?), or of the priests carrying the shrine.

[8] Cf. 7/16.

[9] This is the inscription of Athyr of year 34, afterwards erased, 18/15, of which a copy is given in cols. 22, 23. The date is two and a half years after the outrage, and that although the inscription was engraved before the boys were buried, 14/2.

[10] Cf. 11/9.

[11] Sacred *menkhi* linen for the burial. The rich man in

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And Peteêsi (5) was about to go on board ship: but Nitemhê wept before him, saying, 'Take me to Ne with thee; otherwise (6) these priests will cause me to be slain.' And Peteêsi said unto her, 'They cannot. As Amûn liveth, never again shall they cease to fear you.' (7) And Nitemhê said, 'If it be that thou wilt cause us to be here, let Essemteu son of Peteêsi stay here with me[1], doing service (8) to Amûn.' And Peteêsi caused Essemteu son of Peteêsi to stay in Teuzoi, and said unto him, 'Take to thyself the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi and his Ennead of gods.' (9) And Peteêsi caused a papyrus to be brought, and wrote (a title) for Essemteu son of Peteêsi to the offices of prophet of Amûn in Teuzoi and his Ennead of gods[2]. (10) And Essemteu stayed in Teuzoi with Nitemhê his sister and Haruoz her husband.

And Essemteu son of Peteêsi dwelt in Teuzoi (11) doing service to Amûn and his Ennead of gods, and the fifth part of the divine endowment of Amûn was given to him. And Essemteu son of Peteêsi went and stood before (12) Semtutefnakhti, the Master of the Shipping, and said unto him, 'I am he whom Peteêsi set in Teuzoi to do service to Amûn and his Ennead of gods. He wrote me (a title) to (13) the share of the prophet of Amûn and his Ennead of gods.' And the Master of the Shipping caused a seal-ring of gold . . . . to be given to Essemteu, and said to him, 'I have not caused (14) byssus to be given thee because the succession to the linen of Amûn belongeth to thee[3]. Do not fail to tell me thy business on [every] occasion[4]. Essemteu son of Peteêsi spent the (15) days that he spent in life doing service to Amûn and his Ennead of gods, and they gave him the fifth part of the divine endowment of Amûn.

And Essemteu went to his fathers, (16) and Peteêsi son of Essemteu, his son, succeeded him. He performed service to Amûn and his Ennead of gods, and the fifth part of the divine endowment of Amûn was given to him likewise.

(*b*) At the end of the reign of Psammetichus II, Peteêsi (II), absent on an Expedition to the land of Khor, loses his office of Prophet; 14/16–16/1.

The Expedition of Psammetichus II.

The following section gives us the information that Psammetichus II visited 'the land of Khor' in his 4th year, accompanied by a number of priests, and that soon after his return he was sick and died. We already knew that he died after $5\frac{1}{2}$ years of reign, but an inscription found in 1904 by M. Legrain shows that the date of his death was the 23rd Thoth of his 7th year[5]. Herodotus, who calls the king Psammis, tells us that his death occurred almost immediately after a military expedition to Ethiopia[6].

the second story of Khamois was 'wrapped in menkhi and byssus'—sacred linen and royal linen.

[1] Apparently Essemteu was not settled in Teuzoi, in spite of the arrangements made in Pap. I and II of year 21.

[2] From this and subsequent passages it seems that the office and emoluments of a prophet could be easily transferred, though the title might be disputed (18/6). In this case it was transferred from father to son, for Peteêsi had retained the prophetship and Haruoz was only priest of Ammon, 9/4. It is unfortunate that the papyrus has not come down to us with the other family papers: but possibly it never existed.

[3] An interesting confirmation of what might be surmised from other texts. Probably the divine linen, *menkhi*, was of much the same quality as the royal linen, *shens*, or byssus.

[4] This, some time after year 34 of Psammetichus I, is the latest record known of a 'Master of the Shipping.'

[5] *Annales du Service*, v. 86.

[6] Hdt. ii. 161.

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Although there is nothing in the papyrus to prove that the expedition to the land of Khor was military, it seems most probable that it was so, and it is tempting to suppose that both statements refer to the same expedition. But if so one or other of the authorities must be in error, for the 'land of Khor' cannot be Ethiopia, but must either be Phoenicia or, in a more general sense, the coast regions of Palestine and Syria.

At the same time it is possible that both authorities are correct, and that the two expeditions really took place as they are represented; there is just room to place the Ethiopian expedition between the king's return from Syria and his death, and Peteêsi does not mention matters that do not concern the subject of his petition. Herodotus also, who is surprisingly accurate as to the succession of the kings and length of the reigns of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, may be given some credence in regard to what he records of their acts, although it can hardly be taken as evidence against the probability of an expedition to Syria that he has not noticed it. For instance, he records Necôs' success in Syria, but makes no mention of any subsequent loss of territory, although there is fairly good evidence elsewhere to indicate that it was brought about by a disaster in which Necôs himself with his army was involved.

Unfortunately so little is known of the history of the time that there is seldom any possibility of checking the statements by incontrovertible evidence. In his account of events under Psammetichus I Peteêsi has shown himself a most untrustworthy guide, his statements being at variance with facts, and sometimes scarcely to be reconciled with the copies of documents which he appends to his narrative. But his accuracy ought to increase as he approaches nearer to his own day. The narrative has leaped forward to about 590 B.C., and the petitioner is now dealing with matters little removed from the reach of his own recollection, as will appear from the following considerations:

Shortly after the 15th year of Amasis Peteêsi was a scribe and priest of Ammon, and treated at least as grown up[1]. He must therefore have been born not later than the first year of Amasis, B.C. 570, only 20 years after the expedition to Khor. Again, Peteêsi is represented as 'old' in the 9th year (512 B.C.) of Darius[2]. According to the last calculation he would then be at least 57 years old, agreeing sufficiently with this datum. But further, the Peteêsi who made the contract No. VIII, in the 8th year of Amasis, c. 562 B.C., is in all probability identical with Peteêsi (III), the petitioner. This would necessitate an earlier date for his birth than that just suggested.

The papyrus was probably written not long after the 9th year of Darius, say, 80 years after the date of the expedition, when the event would be still within the recollection of the oldest contemporaries of Peteêsi. For the petitioner himself, the injury inflicted on his grandfather while absent on the expedition was a turning-point in the family fortunes, and it must have been constantly kept in his memory by his father, and had been brought up by himself and his patron in the courts of law.

The monuments afford some evidence which favours the Ethiopian expedition. The cartouche of Psammetichus II is engraved in large characters and conspicuously on several rocks in the region of the First Cataract. His short reign is very notable for

[1] Col. 19. [2] 1/15 (p. 66).

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the abundance of fine work in hard stone. He may then have visited the granite quarries of Syene merely as a patron of the arts. But there is also the famous series of inscriptions in Phoenician, Carian, and Greek upon the leg of one of the colossi at Abusimbel, 170 miles south of the First Cataract, the most important of which states, 'When king Psamatikhos had come to Elephantine this was written by those who sailed with Psammatikhos (*sic*) the son of Theokles. They went above Kerkis as far as the river permitted. Potasimto was leader of the foreigners and Amasis of the Egyptians. Arkhon son of Amoibikhos and Pelekos son of Eudamos wrote me.' Another graffito states, '[I came here] with Psameitikhos when the king made his first expedition[1].' Evidently this was an armed force sent by the Pharaoh: but it is still an open question to which of the kings named Psammetichus it is to be referred. The name Psammetichus may have been adopted by an adult, more especially if he was a foreigner, in honour of the king whom he served, and in the long reign of Psammetichus I there was time for new generations to grow up bearing his name; but the words 'the first expedition' are in favour of an early date in the reign. The only other significant name is Amasis (Ahmosi), which was very common in and after the reign of Amasis II at the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. It is common also in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but rare in the interval. So far this name, therefore, would point to the reign of Psammetichus III, who may have had occasion to visit the Nubian frontier in his reign of six months before meeting the invading host of Cambyses. Psammetichus I also appears to have sent an expedition into Nubia (see above, p. 73). But altogether the balance of evidence seems to be in favour of the expedition having taken place under Psammetichus II[2], palaeographical considerations alone being almost conclusive against an attribution to Psammetichus III in 525 B.C.

With regard to Phoenicia, &c., there seems no reason why Psammetichus II should not have made an expedition in that direction to renew the contest for it with the prevailing power in Mesopotamia. Assurbanipal, after his triumph over the Ethiopian Tandamane in Egypt (661 B.C. or earlier), besieged Tyre, and, without capturing it, compelled it to pay tribute. Thenceforward he seems to have paid little attention to the west, though Syria and Egypt were long considered officially as provinces of the Assyrian empire. For many years Assurbanipal was engaged eastward in wars and in crushing revolts in Elam, Babylonia, and Arabia, with unvarying success. From the Assyrian records we learn that certain correspondence of Pisamilki or Tusamilki (Psammetichus I) with Gugu (Gyges) the king of Lydia was regarded as treasonable; but probably no trace of real suzerainty over Egypt then remained. The drain of constant war had told fearfully on the fighting population of Assyria, and in the later years of Assurbanipal hordes of Scythians overran his empire. Herodotus tells us that Psammetichus I turned back the Scythians from the frontier of Egypt by gifts and entreaties[3], and that he took Azotus after a siege of twenty-nine years[4]. Of Necôs' bold bid for Syria we have more certain evidence. In or about 608 B.C. Pharaoh-Necoh slew Josiah king of Jerusalem

[1] Cf. MALLET, *Les premiers établissements grecs en Égypte*, p. 83 et seqq.

[2] See WIEDEMANN, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXV. 372; MASPERO, *Les Empires*, p. 538.

[3] Hdt. i. 105.

[4] Ibid., ii. 157.

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at Megiddo, and penetrated to Carchemish on the Euphrates[1], driving any remnants of Assyrian domination before him: returning thence he deposed Jehoahaz, who had succeeded his father Josiah at Jerusalem, after three months' reign, placed his brother Eliakim (Jehoiakim) on the throne, and put the land of Judah under tribute[2]. Herodotus, too, says that Necôs defeated the (As)Syrians at Magdola, by which he means Megiddo, and took Cadytes, which may be Gaza or some city in northern Syria. For a few years Necôs' power must have been supreme in Syria, but meanwhile the Babylonian kingdom had become firmly established in the hands of Nabopalassar, whose son Nebuchadrezzar was ever pushing towards the Euphrates to win from the Scythians and the Egyptians the empire that the Assyrians had lost; and soon after we are told that 'the king of Egypt came not into the land any more, for the king of Babylon had taken, from the brook of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt[3].' The book of Jeremiah[4] and Josephus[5] place the decisive battle at Carchemish, and represent the Egyptian forces as led by Necôs himself. Berosus represents the cause of Nebuchadrezzar's expedition as the rebellion of the 'satrap' in charge of Egypt, Syria, and Phoenicia[6]: if this is not a sheer mistake it shows that the old view of the Egyptian Pharaoh as a tributary prince had been perpetuated from the time of the Assyrian domination. The date of the Babylonian expedition is about 605 or 604 B.C. It is by no means certain that Nebuchadrezzar obtained a hold on Phoenicia at this time. Josephus preserves a fragment of annals, according to which the almost impregnable fortress of Tyre, under its king Ithobal, was besieged by Nebuchadrezzar for thirteen years; but this was probably about 585–570, in the reign of Apries of Egypt. In the meanwhile, for all we know, Phoenicia may have been under Egyptian suzerainty[7]. At any rate, the Pharaohs could intrigue and send expeditions, as Apries (Hophra) undoubtedly did; there is, therefore, nothing inherently improbable in the idea of an expedition to Phoenicia or Syria under Psammetichus II. The conquest of Jerusalem took place in the 19th year of Nebuchadrezzar[8], i.e. in 586 B.C.: the year to which this would correspond in Egyptian annals could scarcely be earlier than the first or second of Hophra (Apries). The siege began a year and a half before this[9], and was interrupted at one time by the approach of Pharaoh's army[10]. This event would hardly fall in the 4th year of Psammetichus II, but rather belongs to the reign of Apries. Herodotus[11] tells us that Apries marched by land to attack Sidon, and fought the king of Tyre by sea. It would now seem that each Pharaoh, from Psammetichus I to Apries, warred in Syria. The capture of Gaza by Pharaoh, referred to in a heading to one of Jeremiah's prophecies[12], cannot be identified with certainty, and the authenticity of the heading is thought to be very doubtful.

(14) And in the 4th year of (17) Per'o Psammêṯk Nefrebrê'[13] messages were sent to the

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 29.
[2] Ibid., vv. 31–5.
[3] Ibid., xxiv. 7.
[4] Jer. xlvi. 2.
[5] *Ant. Jud.*, x. 6, 7.
[6] Frag. 14.
[7] A fragment with the cartouche of Necôs was found in Phoenicia, perhaps at Sidon, *PSBA.*, xvi. 90.
[8] 2 Kings xxv. 8.
[9] Ibid., v. 1.
[10] Jer. xxxvii. 5–11.
[11] Hdt. ii. 161.
[12] Jer. xlvii. 1.
[13] The last date in the narrative, year 31 of Psammetichus I (p. 86), was about 630 B.C. The 54 years of Psammetichus are now ended, and the 15 of his successor Necôs. The 4th year of Psammetichus II falls about 590 B.C.

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great temples of Upper and Lower Egypt, saying, 'Per'o goeth to the land of Khor[1]: let (18) the priests come with the bouquets (?)[2] of the gods of Kêmi to take them to the land of Khor with Per'o.' And a message was sent to Teuzoi, (19) saying, 'Let a priest come with the bouquet of Amûn to go to the land of Khor with Per'o.' And the priests assembled and agreed in (20) saying to Peteêsi son of Essemteu, 'Thou art he that art meet to go to the land of Khor with Per'o: there is no man [here] in this city who (21) can go to the land of Khor except thee. Behold, thou art a scribe of the House of Life[3]: there is not a thing that they shall ask thee to which there is not a suitable answer (?)[4]. (22) For thou art the prophet of Amûn, and the prophets of the great gods of Kêmi are they who are going to the land of Khor with Per'o.' They (15/1) persuaded Peteêsi to go to the land of Khor with Per'o, and he equipped (?) himself (for the journey).

Peteêsi son of Essemteu went to the land of Khor, no man (2) accompanying him except his servant and one guard (?) named Usirmose. And when the priests knew that Peteêsi had gone to the land of Khor with Per'o (3) they went to Haruoz son of Harkhêbi, a priest of Sobk, who was ruler of Hnês[5], and said to him, 'Doth his Honour know the fact that the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi is Per'o's share, and it belongeth to (4) his Honour[6]? Now, Peteêsi son of Ieturoü, a priest of Amûn, took it when he was Ruler in Hnês, and behold it is held by his son's son until now.' And Haruoz son of Harkhêbi said unto them,

[1] At the time of the New Kingdom Khor was the name of south-western Palestine, but it obtained a more extended meaning: see W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, pp. 148–56. In the decree of Canopus of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, when the Egyptian Empire extended far into Western Asia, Συρια is rendered in demotic 'the province of the Amor,' (ibid., p. 219), and Φοινίκη 'the province of the Khor (or Khors?)' (see also additional notes). If the plural is correct in the latter case it may refer to the different cities or portions constituting Phoenicia. Hence 'the land of Khor' probably means the trading coastland of Phoenicia, though it may also include other and less wealthy and important parts of Syria which are distinguished as the province of (the) Amor in the decree of Canopus. In the 'Demotic Prophecies' the 'land of Khor' is mentioned as the rival of Egypt, which might refer to any event from the time of Esarhaddon to Antigonus, and in the third century A.D. (*Pap. Mag. L. L.*, xxi. 34) apparently as a source of wine symbolized by the blood of a wild boar; cf. Hdt. iii. 6.

[2] The word clearly means a bouquet in a scene, where one that has been offered to Ammon is afterwards given to a man as a mark of favour (p. 223). On the stela of Tanutamûn, the fact that the 'bouquets (?)' of Amenrê' and the 'bouquet (?) of him whose name is hidden' were brought to the king by the priests at Gebel Barkal and at Thebes is thought worthy of record. In the present case a 'bouquet (?)' belonging to each important god was taken by a special priest to accompany Pharaoh on his journey or expedition—perhaps as an amulet. But the bouquets were presumably made of fresh flowers, and it seems likely that the priest would be in charge of plants and trees from which bouquets were made according to prescribed methods. Undoubtedly certain trees and plants were sacred to or deemed to be specially grateful as an offering to particular divinities. A good deal of information regarding the sacred trees is available in the temple lists, but practically nothing is known of the plants, beyond what can be gathered from their demotic and Greek names in texts of the first centuries A.D., and from a single statement in the Magical Papyrus just quoted (*Pap. Mag. L. L.*, ix. 8). A made-up garland might be taken as an amulet (or as a means of divination? cf. l. 21), but it seems more probable that the growing trees or plants were carried to Syria or Phoenicia to be offered to the images accompanying the expedition or to be introduced and cultivated in the Egyptian temples, which had been founded or were to be founded in the coast-towns of Syria or Phoenicia.

[3] i.e. a trained ἱερογραμματεύς, familiar with the sacred writing and literature.

[4] Perhaps referring to the inquiries as to his claims and qualifications for the post.

[5] The connexion of Hnês with Crocodilopolis was probably kept up until the draining of the Lake of Moeris created the Arsinoite nome. The xxth (Heracleopolite) nome embraced at this time the Gebel Abusîr and Illahûn (see p. 85, note 5). The Lake of Moeris on the one hand, and the xxist nome on the other, may have been practically included in it. This priest of Suchus came no doubt from the former: possibly the prophet of Horus in 4/16, &c., from the latter.

[6] Thus the nomarch had a claim to Pharaoh's share.

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'Where is he, his son?' (5) and the priests said to him, 'We have caused him to go to the land of Khor with Perᶜo. Let Ptahnûfi son of Haruoz come to Teuzoi, that we may write him a title to the share of the prophet of Amûn.' And Haruoz made (6) Ptahnûfi son of Haruoz, his son, come to Teuzoi, and they wrote him a title to the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi. They divided the other sixteen shares unto the four orders, four shares to each order. And they went to fetch (7) Ptahnûfi son of Haruoz, and brought him and caused him to anoint the hands[1] and to perform service to Amûn.

Peteêsi son of Essemteu came down from the land of Khor (8) and reached Teuzoi, and everything that the priests had done was told to him. Peteêsi hastened northward to the gate of the House of Perᶜo[2], but he was treated contemptuously (?)[3], and they said unto him, 'Destruction! Perᶜo is (9) sick, Perᶜo cometh not out.' And Peteêsi made plea unto (?) the judges (?). They brought Ptahnûfi son of Haruoz, and their declarations were written[4] in the House of Judgement, (10) saying, 'This share which Ptahnûfi hath taken, his father being Master in Hnês, is Perᶜo's share.' Peteêsi son of Essemteu spent many days (?)[5] in the House of Judgement (11) (striving) with Ptahnûfi son of Haruoz.

And Peteêsi was worsted in the House of Judgement, and came south; and he went away to Ne, saying, 'I go to let my brethren (12) who are in Ne know it,' and found the sons of Peteêsi son of Ieturoü[6] who were priests of Amûn in Ne; and he told them every event that happened to him with the priests of Amûn of (13) Teuzoi. And they took Peteêsi and made him stand before the priests of Amûn, and the priests of Amûn said unto him, 'What is it of which thou sayest "Do it"? It hath befallen that report hath been sent (14) to the priests of Amûn, saying, "Perᶜo Psammêṯk Nefrebrêᶜ hath deceased (?)[7]." Behold,

[1] One of the ἀγνεῖαι referred to in the decree of Canopus, l. 32, as a source of income to the priests. Another is mentioned in 18/4–5, q. v. Whether this purification was for the laity or for priests at initiation remains to be ascertained. Ptahnûfi was priest of Suchus by inheritance and Psammeṯkmenempe below was priest of Horus in Pe, but neither of them was priest of Ammon. It seems probable that the ἀγνεῖαι mentioned are those that they had respectively to undergo for initiation into their new priesthoods before they could act as prophets of Ammon, and not those which they practised on others.

[2] Gate of Pharaoh's House, perhaps the North Gate of the palace, was the place at which petitions were presented to the king, cf. 16/14 and p. 149, note 3. The royal city of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty was Sais. Herodotus speaks of the palace of Apries in Sais taken over by Amasis (ii. 169). But Memphis was undoubtedly the capital of the country, and probably the kings mainly resided there. In this passage there is no indication of the city in which the palace of Psammetichus II stood; but in 16/14 the priests going to Pharaoh's house, the palace of Amasis, stay in the house of a shrine-opener of Phtha, who was the god of Memphis, and Memphis is named apparently as the place where they were, 17/1. It is thus clear that Amasis' court was in Memphis.

[3] Or possibly 'a shameful thing had happened to him,' perhaps meaning that the king had been wounded or defeated, or 'misfortune happened' (to Peteêsi). 'Destruction!' appears to be an angry exclamation 'Woe to you,' cf. 2/18.

[4] Perhaps the declarations of the two suitors, but from l. 15 it seems rather to mean those of the 'judges (?).' Diodorus (i. 75, 76) describes how pleadings were always written in the Egyptian courts, in order that justice might not be obscured by eloquence. It would of course be unreasonable to accept his account of legal procedure without ample proof. See the proceedings in A. H. GARDINER, *Inscription of Mes*. The word translated 'judge' evidently means some kind of legal expert; see 18/6.

[5] Or 'weeks' (?), lit. 'eight-day periods' (?) ثمانية ايّام in modern Egypt, a lunar quarter which might be observed by priests (cf. p. 166, note 1). But there is no ancient parallel for such an expression.

[6] His grandfather's descendants and other relations.

[7] 'Hath deceased' is only a guess at the meaning of an unknown word, the general import of which is shown to be evil by its determinative. Psammetichus II reigned 5½ years, ascending the throne between the 7th of Paophi and the 9th of Epiphi (WIEDEMANN, *Geschichte Aeg. v. Psamm. I*, p. 119). He died on the 23rd of Thoth of his 7th year (*Ann. du Service*, v. p. 86), so that more than two full years elapsed between the announcement of the expedition into Syria in his 4th year and his death. That his death took place

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when they said "Per'o hath deceased (?)" we were about to send to the House of Per'o concerning everything (15) that these priests of Amûn have done unto thee: thou shouldest (?)[1] make plea (?) unto these (judges?) who have given their declarations in writing in the House of Judgement against this priest of Sobk who taketh of (?) thy share, (16) for they will not be able to have leisure to finish an affair of thine in this length of time (?).'

The priests caused 5 pieces of silver to be given to Peteêsi, and his brethren gave him five more, in all 10 pieces of silver, and they said to him, 'Go to the House (17) of Judgement against this man who taketh of (?) thy share; when thou spendest this silver, come that we may give thee other silver.'

Peteêsi son of Essemteu came north (18) and reached Teuzoi, and the men with whom he stood said unto him, 'There is no profit in going to the House of Judgement; thy adversary in speech is richer than thou. If (19) there be a hundred pieces of silver in thy hand he will defeat thee.' And they persuaded Peteêsi not to go to the House of Judgement. The priests did not give stipend (20) for the sixteen shares which the priests had divided to the orders, but the priests who happened to enter[2] did service in their name, and stipend of four was given to Ptahnûfi (**16**/1) in the name of the share of the prophet of Amûn, from the first year of Per'o Uehabrê'[3] unto the fifteenth year of Per'o Ahmosi[4].

(*c*) Events in the Reign of Amasis II and down to that of Cambyses, Essemteu (II) and Peteêsi (III) being the Representatives of the Family. 16/1–21/9.

This section tells of a serious dispute between the administration and the priests of Teuzoi about an island which formed a large part of the endowment of the temple. The priests bribed a powerful courtier to intervene on their behalf by giving the prophetship of Ammon to his brother; but to make this gift effectual it was necessary that Essemteu (II) son of Peteêsi should renounce the rights which he claimed by inheritance to that office. To avoid this he fled from Teuzoi, and took his family to Hermopolis. Here his son, the petitioner Peteêsi, found employment under a government official, who brought the case to the notice of his superior officer, and eventually Peteêsi and his father were enabled to return to Teuzoi with partial compensation for the injury which the priests had done to the family property in the meanwhile.

The date at starting is the 15th year of Amasis, 555 B.C., about forty years after

now is shown by the statement (16/1) that Ptahnûfi received the stipend from the first year of his successor Apries, and the same statement makes it probable that the appointment of Ptahnûfi by the priests (and consequently the expedition to the land of Khor to which Peteêsi was attached) befell at the end of the reign. The announcement of the intended expedition may have been towards the end of the 4th year, the expedition itself may have lasted into the 6th year. In any case the death of the king seems to have taken place soon after Peteêsi returned, probably still accompanying the expedition.

[1] This part of the speech of the priests is very obscure.

[2] It is not clear whether this means priests who had been initiated, or those on duty in the rotation.

[3] Hdt. Ἄπρις, Manetho, &c., Ουαφρις, Ουαφρης, Heb. חפרע, Graeco-(?) Coptic Ⲟⲩⲁⲫⲣⲏ (Septuagint and *Berl. Kopt. Urk.*, i. No. 31). The personal name of this king is simply the prenomen or throne-name of the great Psammetichus I, his father having borne his personal name. The conferring of a throne-name of a former king on a child likely to succeed as king is almost unparalleled: in the Twenty-first Dynasty, however, the priest-king Menkheperrê' was so named after the great conqueror Tethmosis III of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

[4] The first year of Apries falls in or about 590–587 B.C., the fifteenth of Amasis closely 555 B.C.

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the events narrated in the last section. From this point onwards the petitioner is relating things of which he was an eye-witness or contemporary; the names, &c., should therefore be correct. The batch of original documents from the 2nd to the 8th year of Amasis (Pap. III–VIII) belonged to him and his father Essemteu, but the only name amongst the witnesses in those documents which can be identical with any in this papyrus is Zeubestefᶜônkh son of Aho (?), who signs in the 3rd year of Amasis (VI verso, l. 8), and seems likely to be the Iesonis of 18/10 in or after year 15. Nor do other records afford means of checking the narrative.

In the 15th year of Ahmosi[1] the Superintendent of farm-land[2] came (2) to Hnês, and caused the scribes of the nome of Hnês to be brought, and said to them, 'Is there a *sᶜanakh*[3] belonging to (?) Harmakher son of Ptahertais (3) in this nome? for the Superintendent of farm-land is ardent against Harmakher.' And Peftuᶜubasti son of Khepekhrat, a scribe of the nome, who was not a priest of Amûn of (4) Teuzoi, said to him, 'There is no *sᶜanakh* belonging to (?) Harmakher son of Ptahertais in this nome. But if the Superintendent of farm-land desires to cause mischief to be done (5) to Harmakher I can cause a thing to be done to him for which he will be more ardent (?) than for his *sᶜanakh*.' The Superintendent of farm-land said to him, 'Tell it,' and Peftuᶜubasti said to him, 'There is not a man (6) on earth belonging to Harmakher except (?) these priests of Amûn of Teuzoi: for he made his brethren into priests of (7) Amûn of Teuzoi[4]. There is an island[5] held by the priests of Amûn of Teuzoi in which 484 aruras are appropriated to them, (but) it will complete 1,000 aruras. (When) the statue of Perᶜo Ahmosi was brought to Teuzoi (8) he (Harmakher) caused Ptahertais son of Meibptah to act for him (?) as prophet of the statue[6], and he caused 120 aruras to be

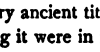
[1] The title Pharaoh is given to Amasis in the last line, but here and in 21/7 it is omitted, as it is with the name of Cambyses in 21/7, 9, while Apries (16/1, 18/11) and Psammetichus I and II always have the title. Herodotus relates that Amasis was of low birth: at any rate he was a usurper and not in the direct line of succession. It seems possible, too, that the memory of Amasis was not popular with the Egyptians. His name was erased from the monuments of Nebêsheh in the NE. Delta (Petrie, *Nebesheh and Defenneh*, p. 34) and from a shrine apparently from Lower Egypt, now in the Leyden Museum (Leemans, *Mon.*, i. 35, 36). A statue of Henaat (Henô) probably from Sais, in the British Museum, shows the cartouche mutilated in one out of two instances. Henô was priest of the deceased king Amasis (Schiaparelli, *Cat. Flor.*, p. 224), so this and the other mutilations were doubtless done after the king's death. But all this may be due to Cambyses, and certainly the name Ahmosi became common among the Egyptians. The attitude of the writer of the 'Demotic Chronicle' to Amasis is not easy to gather from the published text, but it seems to be favourable, and he entitles him Pharaoh while writing the name of Cambyses without title or cartouche, see above pp. 26, 27.

[2] A very ancient title, perhaps now revived, but the words composing it were in no way obsolete.

[3] Or perhaps 'Is Harmakher responsible for any *sᶜanakh*' (which he is not paying). This is the earliest occurrence of a word which is prominent in later papyri. It might perhaps mean 'revenue' of any kind, including stipend for office: or a fixed annuity on invested money, or the like. E. g. a man undertakes to pay a fixed annuity to a woman, perhaps his wife, as her *sᶜanakh*, in consideration of 6 *ṭeben* of silver paid down by her mother (below, p. 113).

[4] No sons of Ptahertais appear in the documents III–VIII. Very likely they were absentees.

[5] It was in the river at the centre of Teuzoi (17/12) and measured 929 aruras (16/11), i. e. about 2½ sq. kilometres. This description corresponds very accurately to the island on which the modern village of El Hîbeh stands, slightly over 3 kilometres long, 1 kilometre broad in the middle and tapering to a point at each end, containing slightly over 2 sq. kilometres. It lies in the middle of the river precisely opposite the ruins, and about 600 metres from the shore at the nearest point; see the map given by Kamal, *Annales du Service*, ii. 84 and the outline on p. 39. It seems wonderful that the river should have changed so little at this point in 2,400 years.

[6] A certain Pa-Sokhmi was prophet of the sphinx-statues of the deceased king  , i. e. Psammetichus I or Apries (*L. D.*, iii. 271 d), and Henô was prophet of the king

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appropriated to the statue of Per^{c}o, while not a single arura was given (9) to the statue of Per^{c}o which was brought to Hnês[1].'

The Superintendent of farm-land sailed southward and reached the island of Teuzoi. He moored at (10) its extremity, and caused two land-measurers to go up (on shore) and go round the island. They included the sands and the trees (?)[2] in the island, and (11) made it 929[3] aruras. He took away the island from (?) Teuzoi. The 120 aruras belonging to the statue were in the Field[4] of Shekeke, a place (so-called), and he took them away (12) also.

The Superintendent of farm-land called to the captain of the host Mananuehabre^{c}[5], saying, 'Let the priests of Amûn of Teuzoi give 4,000 measures of corn . . . . . of the harvest (13) of this island which was held by them.' The captain of the host came to Teuzoi, and took possession of the granary, and caused all the corn that he found in the granary and in the houses[6] to be carried (14) to the entrance of the temple. It was put under seal (?) at the entrance of the temple.

The priests hastened northward to the entry of the House of Per^{c}o[7], and (15) the shrine-opener of Ptah, in whose house they purified themselves[8], said unto them, 'There is no man belonging to Per^{c}o who can defend you except Khelkhons[9] son of Hôr, a man who petitioneth (?) (16) Per^{c}o (even) in the closet[10]. They do not say "there is a man (?)[11] within (?) the House of Per^{c}o who is hearkened unto in a thing like unto him."' They made (17) the shrine-opener of Ptah go to fetch Harkhêbi the eunuch (?) of Khelkhons, and they stood with him and said unto him, 'If Khelkhons defend us in our affairs and (18) cause this island which is appropriated to Amûn to be given to us, we will give him 300 artabas of bôti, 200 hins of *tekem* oil[12], 50 hins of honey, and 30 geese .... as his (19) stipend[13] yearly.'

Harkhêbi went and told it to Khelkhons, (but) Khelkhons said, 'These southerners, the gape (?) of their mouths is great (?)[14]. Let them give them (20) to me this year; (otherwise) when they know that I have saved them they will not pay me. Tell them that I act as priest of Hôr of Puto[15], and I have my brother a priest (21) of Hôr-in-Pe[16]. Write him a title to an office of prophet of your House, and write for him to give (him) these things as its levy each year, (**17**/1) that I may protect you in your affairs.'

Amasis who is said to be deceased, at least when the posthumous statue of the prophet was inscribed. But there is no clear instance, except the present, of a statue of a living king of this dynasty having a prophet attached to it. Endowments for services and priests of royal statues are found in the Old Kingdom (PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii, Pl. XIX), Middle Kingdom (ibid., XXIV), New Kingdom, Tethmosis III (PETRIE, *History*, ii. 142), &c., and priests of kings of the Fourth Dynasty occur in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, WIEDEMANN, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 185.

[1] The argument is that the priests of Ammon have possession of the whole island, while they had a right to only half of it, 484 aruras: and that in addition Harmakher, quite unnecessarily, had 120 aruras added to the endowment of the priests for the service of the royal statue, Ptahertais, probably the father of Harmakher, being made prophet of the statue. These 120 aruras were not in the island (l. 11).

[2] Or possibly 'dwellings,' 'villages.'

[3] Possibly 729, and so also in 17/13.

[4] Or *sôkhi*-land (p. 101, note 7).

[5] Meaning 'Uehebrê^{c} hath looked upon us.'

[6] Or 'in the granaries of the houses.'

[7] In Memphis; see note above, p. 97.

[8] i.e. dined.

[9] In spite of his importance this man is not otherwise known. A commoner name is P-khelkhons.

[10] i.e. the king's bedchamber or private chapel (?).

[11] Seems a curious inversion for 'it is said that there is no man equal to him.'

[12] i.e. castor oil, κίκι. The hin is about $\frac{7}{8}$ of a pint, ·5 litre.

[13] The same word that is used for $\frac{1}{100}$ of the endowment-revenue (see p. 90, note 5): perhaps it means precisely that here.

[14] Or 'the time of their promises is long' or 'the time of their declarations (in litigation) is long.'

[15] Buto.

[16] Pe, □⊗, is probably a quarter of Buto, but Horus of Buto apparently had a priesthood distinct from Horus of Pe.

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Now it befell that Nekumosi[1] son of Ptahnûfi, the priest of Sobk, who was prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi, was in Menfi. (2) The priests went to him, and said to him, 'Nekumosi, the endowment-estate of Amûn of Teuzoi has been taken back by the Superintendent of farm-land to the *u*-land[2]. (3) Art thou able to protect us? If not, behold, when we went to a (certain) magnate he said to us, "Write me a title to the share of the prophet of Amûn (4) that I may protect you in every affair of yours." For thou knowest the fact that we were they who wrote thy father Ptahnûfi son of Haruoz a title (5) to the share of the prophet of Amûn, when his father Haruoz son of Harkhebi was ruler of Hnês[3], though it is not a share that belonged to him. We (6) gave it to him, saying, "He will protect us."' And Nekumosi son of Ptahnûfi said to them, 'Go, write a title for any man that will protect you to the share of (7) the prophet of Amûn. Sobk is with you! bring me the document that ye shall make that I may subscribe to it.'

And the priests went to Harkhebi (8) the son of Ienharoü, the man of Khelkhons, and they wrote a title to the share of the prophet of Amûn to Psammeṭkmenempe son of Hôr, the brother of Khelkhons, (9) and they took the writing to Khelkhons. (Then) Khelkhons son of Hôr pleaded before Perᶜo, saying, 'My father used to act as (10) prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi[4], a notable House in the nome of Hnês. The Superintendent of farm-land went to it and took away (11) its endowment-estate[5], and caused everything that was in the city to be seized, saying, "I will make them give the harvest of the land," which he had taken away.'

(12) The Superintendent of farm-land was brought before Perᶜo, and said, 'My great lord, I found a river-island at the centre of Teuzoi, and (13) the nome-scribes said unto me, "It will make 1,000 aruras." I had it measured, and it made 929 aruras. As the face of Perᶜo liveth, (14) it is not fitting that it be given as endowment-estate to god or goddess, it will (?) be proper for Perᶜo[6]. It will come to 20 measures of bôti (15) . . . . . to one arura. I asked the scribes, saying, "Is it appropriated to Amûn of Teuzoi?" and they said to me, "484½ aruras (16) are appropriated to Amûn in it." I said to the priests of Amûn, "Come ye, that I may cause them to be given you adjoining your endowment-estate (17) which is in the Field[7] on the mainland of Teuzoi." But they did not hearken to me.

[1] Meaning 'Neko is born.' Neko seems to be a revival of an Old Kingdom name and perfectly good Egyptian. It was the name of the father of Psammetichus I, and was given to his son in accordance with the common custom of naming the eldest son after his grandfather.

[2] It may be conjectured that the *u*-land was the arable alluvial land which paid taxes in the ordinary way to the government: as opposed to the *sôkhi*-land which lay on the borders of the valley, and perhaps was especially appropriated to the temples, at least those of lesser rank, and paid little or no tax.

[3] See 15/3. The genealogy is therefore:

Harkhêbi
|
Haruoz (priest of Suchus, ruler of Hnês temp. Psammetichus II).
|
Ptahnûfi (made prophet of Ammon in Teuzoi in 5th(?) year of Psammetichus II, or 1st year of Apries) [afterwards priest of Suchus?].
|
Nekumosi (priest of Suchus, and prophet of Ammon in Teuzoi till the 15th year of Amasis).

In 16/1 it is said that Ptahnûfi continued to receive the salary of the prophet of Ammon of Teuzoi until the 15th year of Amasis: probably in reality he was then dead, as the matter is not referred to him here, but his son had succeeded to it.

[4] This statement was probably false: there is no other sign that his father was connected with Teuzoi.

[5] Not all, for they had glebe on the mainland, 17/17.

[6] It is not clear precisely on what ground the superintendent of farm-land bases his claim to the island for the king—whether it was that the land was too good for temple-endowment, or that it was separated by the river from the temple, or that it was not *sôkhi*-land. The minister seems to give Pharaoh a somewhat free version of his action at Teuzoi.

[7] *sôkhi*-land. In the Magic Papyrus of London and Leyden, verso 33/6, the gods are found eating the produce of the *sôkhi*-land. Cf. also p. 45, note 10. It seems quite probable that as temple-lands were generally free from taxation the crown assigned them poor *sôkhi*-land to be

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As to Amûn of Teuzoi, it was the endowment of (18) a very great House that I found in his occupation. I found 33 measures of bôti . . . . . appropriated to Amûn of Teuzoi daily. I will (19) obtain (?) them in full[1] from him (?).'

Much disputing took place between Khelkhons and the Superintendent of farm-land before Per'o: the (20) end was that the Superintendent of farm-land could not be dispossessed of the island of Teuzoi. But Khelkhons[2] caused him to make a letter (18/1) of divine inspiration (?)[3] to cause the $484\frac{1}{2}$ aruras to be given as the equivalent of the $484\frac{1}{2}$ aruras which had been found (2) appropriated to the endowment-estate of Amûn on the island of Teuzoi, adjoining the endowment-estate of Amûn which was (in) the Field of the mainland of Teuzoi, (3) and to cause remission to be made of the corn that had been brought out of Teuzoi, they saying that it would be taken from the harvest (4) of the island of Teuzoi, which had been confiscated.

Psammeṭkmenempe son of Hôr, the brother of Khelkhons, came to Teuzoi, he anointed (5) *khemen*[4], he performed service to Amûn, and the things were given him of which they had said to Khelkhons, 'We will give them to thee.' And Psammeṭkmenempe said unto them, (6) 'This papyrus which ye made me for the share of the prophet of Amûn, I took it to the House of Judgement, and a judge (?) said to me, "It is invalidated, (7) because of the fact that these priests will say to thee, 'Had this share no owner?' Its owner can come to thee (8) another time and say, 'It is mine,' and he will be justified against thee." Behold, I have heard saying, "This priest of Sobk in whose possession it was, the priests (9) wrote him a title for it likewise, when his father was Master in Hnês." Had it not an owner before him?' Then (10) Zeubesteſ'ônkh son of Aho (?) the *le-shoni* said unto him, 'I will bring thee its owner and make him write thee a title to it.'

Now it befell that Peteêsi son of (11) Essemteu had gone to his fathers in year 13 of Per'o Uehabrê'[5], and Essemteu his son was (living). A man came to Essemteu, (12) saying, 'They are coming unto thee to make thee write a title to the share of the prophet of Amûn for Psammeṭkmenempe son of Hôr by force.' And Essemteu went away (13) with his wife and children to a boat by night, and went to Khmûn.

And when the next day came the (14) priests and the *le-shoni*[6] heard it; they went to his house and took everything that belonged to him, and pulled down his house and his temple-place: they caused (15) a stonemason to be brought, and made him deface the tablet which Peteêsi son of Ieturoü had caused to be made upon the stone platform.

They went (16) to the other tablet, of stone of Iêb, which was in the holy place, saying,

cultivated by the priests for their own maintenance: and would only, under special circumstances, allow them to retain the richest lands. Besides this glebe the priests no doubt had an income from fees and the offerings of the pious.

[1] Or 'I will pay them in full from it.'

[2] Or perhaps 'could not be dispossessed of the island by Khelkhons. Then he made a letter,' &c.

[3] Probably an oracular command of the god, such as were notably used at Thebes from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty; Erman, *Aegyptische Religion*, pp. 166, 167 et seqq. But it might perhaps mean a 'furious letter' as opposed to the 'entreating' or 'friendly (?)' letter of 4/16.

[4] Or 'was initiated to *khemen*.' In 15/7 the anointing or initiation is 'to the hands.' Possibly *khemen*, lit. 'noblest of monuments,' means 'to the universe,' or 'to the whole (human) body.'

[5] This date seems to be the highest yet found in the reign of Apries, but he must have reigned about 19 years. The 13th year would be about 575 B.C.

[6] This is the correct order as in *Stories H. P.*, pp. 23, 39. It may be connected with the fact that the office of the lesônis, ἀρχιερεύς, was lay rather than priestly; see p. 65, note 3.

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'We will have it defaced,' (but) the stonemason said, 'I cannot (17) deface it: it is a granite-worker (only) that can deface (it): my tools will slip (?).' And a priest said, 'Let it alone: behold, no (18) man seeth it; moreover, he caused it to be made before he had acted as priest, before Peteêsi the Master of the Shipping had written him a title (19) to the share of the prophet of Amûn. We can repel him by means of it, saying, "Thy father did not act as prophet of Amûn."' (So) they left the tablet of (20) stone of Iêb and did not deface it.

They went to his two statues of *temgi*-stone, one at the entrance of the chapel (21) of Amûn, its figure of Amûn being in its lap, and cast it into the river; and they went to the other, which was in the House of Ustri at the entrance of the chapel of Ustri, (22) its figure of Ustri being in its lap, and cast it into the river.

And Essemteu son of Peteêsi heard everything that the priests had done to him in (**19**/1) Teuzoi. Now it befell that there was a scribe of accounts[1] belonging to the Superintendent of the treasury (?)[2] named Imhôtp son of Pshenêsi, whom the Superintendent of the treasury (?) had sent (2) to make account of the affairs of Khmûn. Essemteu son of Peteêsi said to his son Peteêsi[3], 'Behold, since thou art a scribe, go and write with Imhôtp son of Pshenêsi (3) this scribe of accounts belonging to the Superintendent of the treasury (?). When he knows thy necessity he will be able to make plea unto the Superintendent of the treasury (?) for thee, and cause us to be protected.

(4) Peteêsi went and wrote with Imhôtp son of Pshenêsi, and he finished the affairs which he had been sent to Khmûn to record in writing. I came to Menfi (5) with Imhôtp, and he caused the scribes of the Superintendent of the treasury (?) to write the affairs of Khmûn, and he made report of them unto the Superintendent of the treasury (?). And the Superintendent of the treasury (?) spake[4] a good word to him, (6) and Imhôtp made plea to the Superintendent of the treasury (?), saying, 'I have a brother, a priest of Amûn of Teuzoi. Zeubestefʿônkh son of Aho (?), the *le-shoni* of Amûn of (7) Teuzoi, went with his brethren to his house and his temple-place, and took everything that belonged to him, and pulled down his house and his temple-place.'

(8) The Superintendent of the treasury (?) caused a letter to be written to Harbês son of Hanef-êu (?), the (Sheikh) of Hnês[5], saying, 'The scribe Imhôtp (9) son of Pshenêsi, who is under (?) me, hath made plea to me, saying, "I have a brother a priest of Amûn of Teuzoi, whose name is Peteêsi son of Essemteu. Zeubestefʿônkh son of Aho (?), (10) the *le-shoni* of Amûn of Teuzoi, went with his brethren to his house and temple-place, and took everything that was in them, and pulled down his house and his (11) temple-place." The moment that this letter reacheth thee go to Teuzoi, and let every man be seized of whom Peteêsi

[1] 'A scribe who reckons' or 'numbers.' He is here employed on making a census or some such task at Hermopolis.

[2] 'Treasury' is a mere guess. This official, like the superintendent of farm-land in col. 16, evidently belonged to the central administration and was of great authority.

[3] This is the petitioner himself: from l. 4 he continues the narrative in the first person.

[4] *Ὁμοιοτέλευτον* led the scribe to omit the beginning of this sentence, and it was added as a correction. This is a sign, but only a very slight one, that our text is a copy.

[5] The change of title for what was probably equivalent in function is incessant. In the reign of Psammetichus II there was 'the Ruler of Hnês,' now it is 'the Sheikh (lit. 'He') of Hnês.' The latter is in Egyptian Pahnês which might easily be confused with *Φάνης*, the name of the Greek general who deserted to Cambyses. But here it is certainly a title, the name of the officer being given again in l. 15.

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son of (12) Essemteu this priest shall say to thee, "Let them be seized"; let them be brought bound to the place in which I am.' He caused its like to be written (13) to Psammeṭkʿaneït the Captain of the host that was in the nome of Hnês, and a young man was made to carry the letters. He came to (14) Hnês with me, and we reached the prince of Hnês and the Captain of the host, and stood before them in the House of Record, and the letters (15) of the Superintendent of the treasury (?) were read.

And Herbês the (Sheikh) of Hnês said, 'As Usiri liveth, Zeubesteferʿônkh the *le-shoni* of Amûn of Teuzoi is not in this nome. (16) I have heard that he went to Puto to mourn for Hôr the father of Khelkhons, who hath gone to his fathers.' He called (17) to Peteharshafe his attendant, saying, 'Go to Teuzoi, take 50 men with thee, let them seize every man of whom Peteêsi the priest shall (18) say, "Let them be seized," and bring them to me bound.'

And the Captain of the host called to his attendant, saying, 'Go to Teuzoi, take much men (19) with thee, let them bring the men of whom Peteêsi son of Essemteu shall say, "Let them be seized": let them be seized, and bring them (20) bound to me.'

We came to Teuzoi in two ships, we did not find Zeubesteferʿônkh the *le-shoni* in Teuzoi, (21) but his brethren whom we found were seized and brought to Hnês before the Sheikh of Hnês and the Captain of the host. They prayed before (20/1) the (Sheikh) of Hnês and the Captain of the host, saying, 'As Perʿo liveth, we have not taken property belonging to Peteêsi, we did not pull down a house belonging to him: (2) Psammeṭkmenempe son of Hôr, the prophet of Amûn, was he who pulled down his house and temple-place.'

The (Sheikh) of Hnês said, 'Peteêsi: behold, (3) since they found not Zeubesteferʿônkh the *le-shoni*, what is thy profit in having these priests taken to the Superintendent of the treasury (?)? They will go and say before the Superintendent of the treasury (?) (4) "We have not taken property of thine, we have not caused a house of thine to be pulled down."' I said to the (Sheikh) of Hnês, 'Did Imhôtp the (5) scribe of the Superintendent of the treasury (?) set me before the Superintendent of the treasury (?) and cause one to be sent to the (Sheikh) of Hnês and the Captain of the host before me[1], saying, "His Honour will cause (6) my affair to be despised (?) here in the nome"?'

And the (Sheikh) of Hnês seized my hand and took me apart, and said to me, 'As Usîri liveth, I love thee more than these priests. (7) It hath (?) happened that Khelkhons was gone to speak with the Superintendent of the treasury (?) on behalf of these priests, and cause them to be let go, and thy affair to (8) fail. Behold the mild (?) letter which Imhôtp caused to be brought to me about thee, that through which I am ardent (?) for thy rights (?)[2], saith, (9) "He is my brother: let him be taken care of, and let the affair for which he hath come to thee be made much of." These priests, I will cause them to give thee 10 *teben* of silver coin (?), (10) and I will cause them to make oath to thee besides before Harshafe and before Usîri of Naref (?)[3], saying, "We took no property of thine, we did not

[1] i.e. 'ahead of me' to announce my coming: or better 'in defence of me,' which is evidently the meaning in ll. 11, 19.

[2] He seems to say that Imhôtp's letter has influenced him more than the other to take up Peteêsi's affair.

[3] This was the place sacred to Osiris in Hnês, Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, 346. The vocalization of the name is uncertain, but the meaning seems to be 'he who is not bound,' or 'who cannot be bound,' i.e. by his grave-clothes, or by his enemy Seth.

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pull (11) down a house of thine," and I will cause them besides to pay the expense (?) of this man of the Superintendent of the treasury who is before thee.'

Harbês the (Sheikh) of Hnês (12) persuaded me to make remission to the priests: and the (Sheikh) of Hnês said to the priests, 'Behold, Peteêsi, I have persuaded him to make remission (13) unto you: ye shall give him 20 teben of silver.' But they cried aloud, saying, 'We cannot give him five pieces of silver.' I said to the (Sheikh) of Hnês, 'As the breath (14) of his Honour prospereth, they took (the worth of) ten pieces of silver in beams and binding from these houses that they pulled down, and spoilt another twenty pieces besides in stone-work[1] (15) in them.' And the (Sheikh) of Hnês said to them, 'As Usîri liveth, I have heard everything that ye have done unto him: if ye be taken to the Superintendent of the treasury, 50 pieces of silver shall not bring you (16) out. Let 10 pieces be given to him, and I will make him forgive you the other 10 pieces, and ye shall make oath to him, saying, "We took not property of thine, (17) we caused (it) not to be taken, we caused not thy house and thy temple-place to be pulled down."'

In the end it was arranged so that the hand (18) of the priests was taken[2] for the 10 pieces of silver, they made the oath to me before Harshafe and before Usîri of Naref (?), they gave one piece of silver to the man of (the) Superintendent of the treasury (?) that was (19) before me, remission was made to the priests, and the (Sheikh) of Hnês said to me, 'Converse not with thy heart. As Usîri liveth, if Zeubestefʿônkh (20) the *le-shoni* come southward I will make him give thee the balance (due to thee) of the property that these priests gave thee[3], and I will do unto thee my own benefit also. As Prêʿ liveth (**21**/1) I have heard the wrongs (?) they have done unto thee. I did not cause these priests to be taken to the Superintendent of the treasury (?), (for I) said, "Lest Khelkhons (2) cause thy word to be denied (?) and thy affair fail."'

The (Sheikh) of Hnês and the Captain of the host sent me away. I went to Khmûn, (3) and brought my father Essemteu, with my mother and my brethren and all my people, to Teuzoi: we caused bricks to be moulded, (4) and our house to be built. They finished (?) its street-front (?), and we dwelt in it. (But) its temple-place (is) (5) lying in ruins until now.

After a few days Khelkhons son of Hôr went to (his) fathers; (6) Psammeṭkmenempe son of Hôr did not come to Teuzoi until now, but what he did was to send men to fetch his property, (7) until year 44 of Ahmosi.

In year 3 of Kamʾôze[4] Hôr son of Psammeṭkmenempe, the prophet of Amûn, came to (8) Teuzoi, and stood with the priests: but they spake not with him as to any man on earth[5], and they did not let rations (?) be taken to him. They went to (9) Pshenah son of Ienharoü, the brother of Harkhebuesikem, and wrote him the title to the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi in year 4 of Kamʾôze.

[1] Or 'in labour and stone.' If any considerable quantity of stone was used in the houses they must have been of a very superior class.

[2] The literal meaning is almost certain. It would seem to express not the actual payment but a formal token of the bargain. The payment, however, was probably made at the same time, for nothing more is said about it.

[3] The other 10 teben claimed by him, in l. 13.

[4] Apparently no claim was made between the 44th year of Amasis and the 3rd of Cambyses, i.e. for one whole year; see p. 106.

[5] Probably meaning 'did not treat him as a man of any consideration whatever,' 'ignored him.'

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The 44th was the last year of Amasis' reign, c. 526–5 B.C. His death is believed to have occurred very near the end of that year, and Psammetichus III reigned for six months, covering portions of two years[1]. Cambyses appears to have reckoned his years of rule from the death of Amasis, ignoring Psammetichus III, so that the end of the year in which Amasis died was retrospectively counted as the first year of Cambyses. In his 'second' year, which was also in part the second year of Psammetichus III, Cambyses invaded Egypt and dethroned that unfortunate king. The temple-salaries were probably paid about the middle of the Egyptian year, in Phamenôth (July), after the harvest was finished. Psammeṭkmenempe received his remuneration as prophet of Ammon in Teuzoi down to and including the year of Amasis' death. In the next year, the second of Psammetichus III and of Cambyses, and the actual year of the invasion, he seems not even to have had the opportunity of sending for it. Living in the Delta he would be amongst those most harassed by the invasion; but the next year, counted as the 'third' of Cambyses, he sent his son Hôr to Teuzoi for the salary, but Hôr's mission was unsuccessful. Another year, the 4th of Cambyses, had at least begun before a fresh appointment was made. Unfortunately we cannot tell to what family the new prophet belonged.

In connexion with the partial settlement of the country in the 3rd year of Cambyses here indicated, we may note that the 'Demotic Chronicle' appears to speak of Cambyses giving Egypt to his satrap (i.e. Aryandes?) in the third year, unless this can be referred to Darius, who, according to Herodotus, was the organizer of the satrapies[2].

C. Copies of the Records set up by Peteêsi (I) in the Temple of Teuzoi. Cols. 21/10–23/9.

The earlier record (*A*) is dated in year 14, later than we might have anticipated. In the narrative 5/19 the 4th year is given as the date of the appointment of Peteêsi son of Ieturoû by the king as assistant to the Master of the Shipping, and his work at Teuzoi seems to follow on that directly. The next date mentioned, however, is year 15, and it is possible, though not quite easy, to fit the completion of the work at Teuzoi, and the setting up of the granite tablet, into the narrative at year 14. One might indeed correct the numeral in 5/19 from 4 to 14. As yet we do not know how long a time was required for sculpturing, polishing, and engraving statues and stelae in hard stone; but Queen Hatshepsut's obelisk, finished in seven months, though recorded as a marvel, seems to show that such work would not take years to complete. In *A* (p. 108) the Master of the Shipping has the title of 'prophet of Amen-Reʿ, the great of bleating (the god of Teuzoi), and of his Ennead of gods': in *B* the title no longer belongs to the Master of the Shipping, but is given to Peteêsi son of Ieturoû[3]. In the narrative, accordingly, we find this transfer to have taken place immediately

[1] Krall, *Grundriss der altoriental. Geschichte*, p. 181. Spiegelberg, *Die dem. Pap. der Strassburger Bibliothek*, p. 15.

[2] Above, p. 26.

[3] See p. 108 for both.

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after the restoration of Teuzoi and the setting up of the granite tablet *A* (8/3). In year 15, according to the narrative, Peteêsi son of Ieturoü obtained the priesthoods in Middle and Upper Egypt which his father had held, but it is difficult to recognize any of these precisely in the long list in *B*. The date of tablet *B* is the 34th year. According to the narrative (13/20) it was engraved in consequence of events that took place in the 31st year, including the murder of two grandchildren of Peteêsi (col. 11). It seems quite possible that several years passed after the murder before Peteêsi reinstated the priests, but it is then rather a shock to find that the bodies of the victims, hidden in the treasure chamber of the temple, had not been recovered (14/2).

That the two tablets are dated in the same month and are thus separated by an interval of precisely 30 years is of course due to a touch of sentiment, and may, perhaps, be compared to the τριακονταετηρις or *heb-sd* period, thirty years being also conventionally equivalent to a generation. But if these tablets are genuine and correctly copied it is a very serious matter to students of Egyptian history to find that the date on a tablet can have so little to do with the time of the events recorded upon it, as must be the case in *B*. The date turns out to be merely the date when the inscription was engraved, and the events recorded on it had taken place at least sixteen, perhaps thirty, years before.

The style of the text from the tablets is curious. It gives extraordinary prominence to the Master of the Shipping and his lieutenant, and it contains phrases that cannot yet be paralleled. If Peteêsi fabricated these documents in support of his petition he would probably have made them agree more strikingly with the narrative. But they cannot be accepted as necessarily genuine in view of the many difficulties raised by the narrative and by the Karnak stela of the Adoption of Nitokri[1]. Perhaps it would be best to throw over the narrative as far as regards the events in the reign of Psammetichus I: perhaps also the second stela with it, which was confessedly destroyed soon after the 15th year of Amasis, 45 years before the Petition was written. It is difficult to condemn the copy of the first stela, which, so far as we know, was standing in the temple for all to see who cared. We should then conclude, according to the mode of interpretation of such documents usual in Egyptology, that in the 9th year the Master of the Shipping was Semtutefnakhti (Adoption of Nitokri), while in the 14th this important post was held by Peteêsi son of ʿAnkhsheshonk. This conclusion would be directly at variance with the narrative *B* in the Petition.

The copies of the two tablets *A* and *B* are written in hieratic. As the texts are for the most part identical one translation serves for both, the few points of difference being shown in parallel lines.

(**21**/10) Copy of those two tablets which Peteêsi son of Ieturoü caused to be made.

A. (**21**/11) Copy of that tablet of stone of Iêb which is in the fronting (?) of Amûn[2].

B. (**22**/8) Copy of the tablet which was defaced, upon the mastaba of stone[3].

[1] Above, p. 72.

[2] Set up 7/14–16, referred to 13/15–16, attempt to destroy it 18/16–20. In 13/15, 18/16 it is described as being in the holy place. The word here rendered 'fronting' is translated δρομος in the decree of Canopus, but it may simply mean 'presence.'

[3] Engraved 13/17–20, destroyed 18/15, referred to 24/1.

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A. (**21**/12.) Year 14 } Hathôr, of the majesty of Hôr, Great of Heart: the Two
B. (**22**/9.) Year 34 }
Mistress-goddesses, Lord of arm: Triumphant Hôr, the valiant: the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Uehabrêᶜ: Son of Rêᶜ, Psammêṯk[1]; [*B. only*: the son of Êsi, beloved of Amûn[2],] (13) living like Rêᶜ for ever[3].

His Majesty was comforting the land, suppressing the rebels (?) in it, provisioning all the temples of the South (14) and North lands[4].

It was said before[5] the First Prophet of Harshafe King of the Two Lands: prophet of Usîri of Naref in his place: superintendent of prophets (15) of Sobk of Shet[6]: [*A. only*: prophet of Amenrêᶜ, the great of bleating, with his Ennead of gods[7]:] Master of the Shipping of the whole land[8], Peteêsi son of ᶜAnkhsheshonk[9].

(16) 'The temple of Amûn, the great of bleating[10], is going to ruin on account of imposts too heavy for it.'

Behold, the notable of his who dwelleth (17) in this city[11] [*B. only*: the divine father of Amenraᶜsentêr: prophet of Amenrêᶜ (**22**/13) in the Khent of User (?): the praiser of the *ka* (?): he who is in the chamber: the *ahaḃ* of Mût (?): the son whom he loves: the servant of Neït: the prophet of Amenrêᶜ, the great of bleatings, lord of the great Crag, with his Ennead of gods: (**22**/14) prophet of Usîri: prophet of Sokari: prophet of Êsi: prophet of Amûn the king of the two lands, *wanteḃ*, with his Ennead of gods: scribe of the *shoni*: scribe of the temple: lieutenant of this god[12],] Peteêsi son of Ieturoü, whose mother is Tetebheneït,—(this

[1] These full titles of Psammetichus I are perfectly correct.

[2] 'Son of Êsi, beloved of Amûn,' which is here given only in B, is regularly added to the name of Taracus in the Theban contracts, but it is not found with Psammetichus except on the fragmentary papyrus of the Vatican, which seems to be dated in year 31 and shows the beginning of such an appendage to the name (p. 18, No. 7).

[3] These words are customary on stelae.

[4] The description of the king's beneficence and activity is quite in character.

[5] This paragraph looks questionable. It is only very seldom that any one less than Pharaoh himself is credited with the initiative in acts of this kind: one would expect the stela to represent that the report was made to the king. Altogether the exaltation of the two officers strikes one as quite unusual. A parallel to some extent is furnished by the inscriptions of Mentemhê in the temple of Mût at Karnak, written in the reign of Taracus.

[6] The Master of the Shipping was thus chief prophet of Arsaphes and prophet of Osiris at Ḥeracleopolis, and besides, superintendent of the prophets of Suchus at Crocodilopolis in the Faiyûm; cf. the narrative, 5/17.

[7] The narrative shows that the Master of the Shipping handed over this prophetship of Amenrêᶜ at Teuzoi to his nephew after Tablet *A* was set up, when he had finished the reorganization of the temple. In re-endowing the temple as Pharaoh's representative the Master must have obtained the right to the office of prophet of the chief god, at least for his own lifetime (15/3, &c.), and perhaps with less right he took the prophetships of all the cotemplar gods.

[8] Doubtless the titles of Semtutefnakhti found by Prof. Petrie at Heracleopolis (above, p. 74) may be restored on this model: if the text of the stelae is a fabrication, these titles may have been copied from a record of Semtutefnakhti at Heracleopolis.

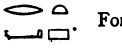
[9] It has been pointed out above that Semtutefnakhti was Master of the Shipping in the 9th year, while the narrative represents that he succeeded Peteêsi in the 18th year.

[10] Or 'bellowing,' referring to the sacred animal, presumably a ram.

[11] He built a house in Teuzoi but apparently did not dwell there permanently; see note to 9/5.

[12] Peteêsi (I) bears no title on the earlier stela. According to the narrative he was priest of Amonrasonther to begin with, and received the prophetships at Teuzoi from the Master of the Shipping after he had finished the reconstitution of the temple, 8/2. These he handed over to his son Essemteu after the second stela was engraved, 14/8; he received many other priesthoods by order of the king in year 15 (8/19). The titles here are:

a. Divine father of Amenraᶜsentêr, at Thebes (see p. 78, note 4).

b. Prophet of Amenrêᶜ in the Khent, of Usir (?)  . For a place called 'the Khent,'

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notable I say) caused him to hear it; and (**21**/18) this notable comprehended (?) the matter to its foundation (?) [1], saying,

'If thou do away the imposts of the temple of Amenrêʿ, the great of bleating, then (**22**/1) will this whole city serve thee: it shall have nought amiss.'

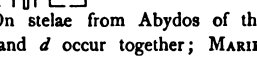
This notable put it in his heart [2] to set this city in his service. (Wherefore) this Captain of the Host [3] discussed this impost with every scribe of every city belonging unto him, (2) and every agent and the like: and (they) said, 'It did it not (so) aforetime (?).' Then was he wroth thereat [4]. Then this Captain of the Host dispatched southward this notable of his who dwelleth in this city, Peteêsi (3) son of Ieturoü, saying, 'Let not impost be put upon the temple of Amûn, great of bleating, unto eternity and everlasting; for it did it not aforetime. Every priest, every serf (?) (4) is protected and guarded from impost for ever, from every notable, every commissioner, every agent, every 'son of a house [5].'

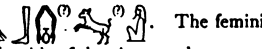
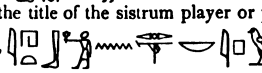
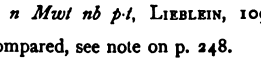
This he did to protect this temple and those who are in it, that they might act to him as calves in (5) the meadow [6].

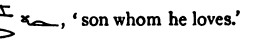
He who establisheth this tablet hath the favour of [*B.* Amenraʿsentêr,] Bai [7], his

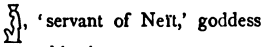
cf. Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, 1281; *Usir* (?) is unknown unless it be only a variant spelling of *Uis*, 'Thebes.'

c. 'Praised (?) of the *ka*,' perhaps in connexion with a tomb.

d.  , 'He who is in the sepulchral (?) chamber.' On stelae from Abydos of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, *c* and *d* occur together; Mariette, *Catalogue d'Abydos*, 1240, 1276, 1280; but *d* also occurs separately, ibid., 1285.

e.  . The feminine form of this occurs with the title of the sistrum player or priestess of Min at Panopolis,  . Lieblein, No.;  *n Mwt nb p·t*, Lieblein, 1097, 1102, may perhaps be compared, see note on p. 248.

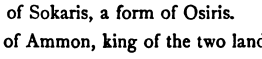
f.  , 'son whom he loves.' This is the title of the priest of Arsaphes at Heracleopolis Magna (Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, 1361), but is also found in connexion with funerary ceremonies.

g.  , 'servant of Neït,' goddess of Sais, a very common title at this time.

h. 'Prophet of Amenrêʿ of Teuzoi, great of bleating, lord of the great Crag, and his Ennead.' Compare 'the Crag, the very strong' in the inscription of Pʿankhi, above, p. 40.

i. Prophet of Osiris—doubtless the Osiris of Teuzoi, for which see 7/10, 18.

k. Prophet of Sokaris, a form of Osiris.

l. Prophet of Ammon, king of the two lands,  *wanteb*, and his Ennead. The first title of Ammon here is probably a late version of -ϵμϵστους, 'Amûn, lord of the thrones of the two lands.'

m. Scribe of the *shoni*, cf. p. 45, note 7.

n. Scribe of the temple.

o. Lieutenant (*wakîl*, agent) of this god, i. e. of Ammon (?). Compare '*wakîl* of Amûn' Devéria, p. 88, '*wakîl* of Khnûm,' ib. 98. The expression is probably to be connected with the title 'deputy,' 'wakîl' in Pap. I/2. An Heracleopolite priest is entitled 'Son whom He loves (*f*) and *wakîl* of the house of Harshafe,' *AZ.* xli. 21, evidently a variant form of the corresponding title.

[1] The rendering of this phrase is conjectural.

[2] The meaning is 'this notable *persuaded* this Captain of the host to set,' &c.

[3] This is not in the list of titles given above to the Master of the Shipping, and in the narrative the 'Master of the Shipping' is his appellative title. But 'Captain of the host' is one of the titles in the inscriptions of Semtutefnakhti (pp. 72–3), and is no doubt quite appropriate here in this artificial composition.

[4] Compare the account in 7/1–5 of the consultation, the answers of the officials concerned and the wrath of the 'Master of the Shipping.'

[5] i. e. 'person with hereditary rights' to service?

[6] Perhaps meaning 'enjoy life' without fear of taxes: or the translation might be 'they acted to him as calves in the meadow'—can this be the name of a joyful dance?

[7] Bai 'the Soul' or 'the Ram' is a name of the ram-god Arsaphes as of other ram-gods, whose sacred animals were, properly speaking, the ancient horizontal-horned ram of Egypt: but not of Ammon whose ram was of a different species with curled 'Ammon' horns. Thus Hôr gave two

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name shall be made good, and his son be established on his seat, his house being established on its foundation.

He who attacketh this tablet (6) is for the cutting up of sins in the great circle[1] of those that are in Hnês, he is for the knife of Henb[2] residing in Naref: his son passing away, his house existing not, his flesh being taken (7) to the fire. He is for the furnace of Usîri in Mekek[3], his name is not among the living, for ever.

D. Hymns inspired by Ammon.

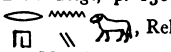
The following is described as a copy of the songs made by Ammon when passing the defaced tablet. The songs are three in number: in none of them does Ammon appear as the speaker, in fact in all he is referred to in the second or third person, and the last terminates with an appeal to him for aid. The idea seems, therefore, to be that they were oracular psalms inspired by Ammon. The impression is confirmed by the words in l. 2. At this period oracles were given in Egypt and Ethiopia by the *nodded* (?) *assent* of the dumb deity: e. g. in selecting a candidate for the throne, in approving a written document, or in replying to a string of (inspired?) questions.

The subject is the wickedness of the evil-doers and their eventual punishment at the hands of the gods. They contain rare words and expressions, and as yet little can be translated with any certainty.

It would be interesting if we could tell the precise origin of these psalms. They might have been composed by Peteêsi (I) or by the penitent priests of his time; but they may have been the undisguised composition of the petitioner, adding a religious touch and embellishment to the somewhat sordid pleadings.

(**24**/1) Copy of the songs which Amûn was making when he had (?) reached those tablets (?)[4] which were (?) defaced, while he went to the cleansing-place (?) in his august shrine[5] (2) and returned down, and (then) made signs (?)[6] to the superintendent of song[7].

The proofs (?)[8] of evil men are in the bellies (?) of their children. He of them whose

plots of land (Pierret, *Inscr. du Louvre*, i. 16, statue A 88), 'unto the god, he beneficent (?) Bai in [Hnês?], and Henb and (?) the living Bai'; compare the title of Arsaphes or a separate Heracleopolite god , 'the beneficent Bai in Hnês' (Naples stela of Semtutefnakhti, Sethe, *Hieroglyph. Urk.*, ii. 5), also at Hnês in the Edfu list, Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 1360, xx. The Ammon ram was called  , Rehni, in the New Kingdom.

[1] Meaning 'tribunal.' Chap. xviii of the Book of the Dead names the tribunal of Naref, but not that of Hnês itself.

[2] The sacred snake? or Agathodaemon of the inundation in the Heracleopolite nome, see the Edfu list in Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 1364, also the quotation from the Louvre statue in the note above.

[3] An unknown locality ('place of darkness,' cf. Devéria, p. 13?), probably at Hnês. It will be seen that the text *A* puts the stela under the protection of the Heracleopolite gods alone, while *B* rather clumsily adds Amonrasonthêr. If the petitioner had fabricated them or reproduced them from vague recollection he would probably have made more of the local god.

[4] This is of course inaccurate, as only one was defaced.

[5] i. e. the figure, probably not the living ram, being carried in his portable shrine: see 7/8.

[6] by nodding (?), cf. Wiedemann, *Religion*, 122; Erman, *Religion*, 166.

[7] Singers are enumerated amongst the employés of the temples.

[8] The uncertainties in the translation of these 'poetical' compositions are endless. Many of them are indicated by the sign of interrogation. Possibly the meaning is 'The fate (?) of the evil is set before (?) their children.'

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hand (3) attaineth saith not 'God unto thee (?)[1].' They[2] of Ebôt cast stones (?) at them, they of Khmîn (say ?) 'By no means!' They have gone up (?). They grow (?) hot, they have abounded in doing (4) mischiefs (?) while they say 'Amûn will (?) do nought to us,' but he doth not nought unto them. They are as wild-fowl; they have found a field of herbage, but they have not put (5) coolness[3] in their hearts. Groaning unto thee, O mother of the wild-fowl! they shall be caught on account of their bellies.

Another song:—Amûn, they call (6) unto thee, 'do not return to rest in the fountains (?)[4].' Their hearts are wicked, their hearts are evil: their evil men are many, pleasant are (7) their mouths in oppression, they are sinful and escape (?). He of them whose hand attaineth saith not 'god unto thee.' They have built them (8) houses in new building, thine being as the materials (?) for house-building. They have made thine into shares[5], and every man, he taketh spoil for himself. (But) their houses unto which they have taken spoil, (9) they shall perish (?) while thine is established. Thou hast cut them off from every office (?) with which they were provided. He that remaineth of them (10) thou shalt leave him to be shut up (?). Their hearts, thou hast not made them perceive (?) their time of paying interest (?), their bellies have not been robbed (?). That which they have made, a crocodile (?) (11) shall attain it, the mighty have (?) taken it from them by force. That which they have not given to thy divine endowment, the mighty shall enjoy. They have not done for thee (12) in time of doing; wherefore (then) hast thou considered them? They have not done for thee when their hands succeed, being as ox-herds[6] without watching (?). They have not done for thee (13) when they are in their place (?), when as yet the mighty have not wrecked (?) them. Thou hast done unto them a thing for an example (?) in their hearts, thou hast set the mighty after them, thou hast set the mighty (14) after them. Every man (?) to whom they have not . . . . . they are doing unto them wrongs daily, in the place of those things that they had done. Thou hast made them lie down[7] in their (15) miseries, thou hast made them to wake in them also: thou hast made them to speak humbly unto those humbler than they: thou hast caused them to render their service: thou hast made them lie down (16) in their prison-houses: thou hast caused them to wake in their snares. Thou hast caused the death[8] to be repaid daily in that which befalleth (17) them. Thou hast caused them to lie down in the hands of the guards (?); they have been raised up to entreat (?)[9], but no plea of theirs shall be hearkened to. Thy Will (?) is (18) that which is upon them, for that they say not 'God unto thee.' But they have said 'God unto thee' since thou hast given them into the hand

[1] Perhaps 'God (sendeth) unto thee' as a pious phrase in giving to the poor; but more probably a blessing, or ascription of power to God.

[2] Probably the deities or spirits of Abydos and Khemmis are meant, not the people.

[3] i. e. moderation (?). The idea seems to be of wild-fowl in a good feeding-ground where a net has been laid, snared by their own greediness. The reference to the 'mother' suggests that a brood of young birds is being taken.

[4] On a stela in the Brighton Museum, WEIGALL, *PSBA.*, xxii. 272, the ram of Ammon is shown before a bed of papyrus. Probably he was provided with a field with marshy edges to disport in.

[5] Or 'have pulled them to pieces.' The materials of decaying temples were probably often utilized in house-building, even while the old religion lasted.

[6] The Egyptian equivalent of 'shepherds,' see *Pap. Mag. L.L.*, p. 24: the figure of speech is noteworthy.

[7] Or 'spend the night in their miseries . . ., spend the day in them also,' or for 'lie down' 'rise up' read 'spend the night' 'spend the day.'

[8] Perhaps referring to the murder of the two boys, 11/7 et seqq.

[9] Or 'thou hast caused them to lie down, wearied with the journeyings: they have risen to implore,' &c.

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of the mighty; they have turned them to implore in thy name since they have encountered (?) (**25**/1) wrath (?). Those things which thou didst declare are they that have come; those which thou didst arrange are they that have befallen, and they say, 'Just is that which Amûn hath done.' It is in their heart to say 'We will do,' it is in thy hand to prevent them doing. (2) They nourish (the) flesh, they make fair (the) skin. Amûn is the lord of slaughter (?); they are as just men in their own hearts: but they have walked with crime in their bosoms. (3) They have oppressed the weak in the presence of the strong. They have done thine abominations which thou hatest. They diminished thy bushel-measure, they took thy divine endowment [1]. (4) They entered into their houses, they opened not thy cell (?). Them who did stand in thy presence (?), slay them one by one, for they say not (5) 'Divine Will upon them!' Thou hast mocked at (?) their sons (?) before them (?), for they say not 'What is this that we have done?' though they said, 'Just is that which Amûn hath done,' since the rock (?) was put in (6) their hearts also.

Another song:—Revenge doth not lie still (when?) they are (?) slow; Amûn doth not cease from recompense. The robber doth not enjoy his robbery, (7) the oppressor (?) doth not prevent a protector. Amûn, in his hand hath remained the scourge [2], and it hath gone about amongst his slaves. He receiveth not bribe (?) at the hand of the mighty one, to overlook (8) his oppression. His bribe (?) stinketh more than fish [3], his . . . . . is offensive. The . . . . . that belongeth unto the just is that to which his eye (inclineth). Come unto us, O Amûn, (9) save us from their abominable disturbances (?).

It is evident that these songs can be divided into verses which in most cases consist of two phrases balancing each other: the verses themselves also sometimes fall into pairs [4].

[1] This corresponds to some of the items in the Negative Confession.

[2] The scourge raised aloft by the ithyphallic Ammon, a very important form of the god of Thebes. Possibly Петѣе, 'the avenger' = Κρόνος (Νέμεσις), inveighed against by the monk Shenûte of Akhmîm (Khemmis), may be connected with Min the god of Khemmis who had the same form. *Ä. Z.*, 33/47; *PSBA.*, xxii. 162.

[3] In the Middle-Kingdom Instructions of Tuauf-Pepy (or Khety), the bronze-worker is described as one who 'stinketh more than eggs or fish' (*Sall. Pap.*, II, 4/8).

[4] The divisions suggested in the transliteration, pp. 250–3, do not necessarily agree with the above translation.

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EARLY PTOLEMAIC PAPYRI FROM THEBES

UNTIL the last quarter of the nineteenth century the necropolis of Thebes was almost the only source of papyri; the older collections, in fact, contained hardly a single example that was not from either Thebes or Memphis. The famous capital of Upper Egypt still produces annually a few specimens, but Oxyrhynchus and the Faiyûm have yielded a far greater harvest of late papyri in Greek and demotic in a few years than Thebes has in a century, and many sites in Upper Egypt have become productive in a smaller degree.

The Theban papyri in the JOHN RYLANDS Collection are only five in number: they form a compact group, with a range of less than 40 years, from B.C. 315, the 2nd year of Alexander Aegus, to B.C. 280, the 5th year of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The last four refer to the same persons, and three are actually of one date. Only in the case of the first is there any difficulty in finding the connecting link which brought them all together into one group. While XI–XIV have the form of sales of houses, &c., X is a marriage contract, and a somewhat earlier document of the same family as X found its way into the Strassburg collection from Luxor in 1897, in the very year in which Lord CRAWFORD purchased these papyri.

Documents of this period are rare. Professor REVILLOUT has published a series of sales, &c., of houses, in the Louvre, dated as follows:

3rd year of Alexander the Great. Agreement (?) for sale of house[1].

? year of Alexander IV (?). Return of agreement for sale of house[2].

13th year of Alexander IV. Sale of the same house: (agreement for sale[3] and cession[4]).

? year of Alexander IV. Agreement for sale of shares in choachyte inheritance by aunt to niece[5].

13th year of Ptolemy I. Fragment of agreement for sale by Khelkhons of a house and all his other property to his wife[6], i.e. a will (?), similar to No. XI below.

Also, in the Bibliothèque Nationale:

8th year of Philip Arrhidaeus: contract with a man for payment of an annuity (*s'anakh*) to his daughter in exchange for a sum down[7].

In the British Museum:

6th year of Alexander IV. Cession of a house[8].

[1] Louvre, no. 2439. *Not.*, p. 485; *Chrest. dém.*, p. 290: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. V, no. 4.

[2] Louvre E 2442. *Not.*, p. 502: hand-copy of part in *Rev. Eg.*, i, Pl. 1; complete in *Chrest. dém.*, p. 217. A fragmentary cession of the same (?) property is numbered 2420 H; *Not.*, p. 502; *Chrest. dém.*, p. 225.

[3] Louvre E 2440. *Not.*, p. 503; *Chrest. dém.*, p. 222: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. VI, VII, no. 6.

[4] Louvre E 2427. *Not.*, p. 504: hand-copy in *Chrest. dém.*, p. 219.

[5] Louvre, no. 2412. *Not.*, p. 504; *Chrest. dém.*, p. 397: facsimile in *Corpus Louvre*, Pl. IV, no. 5.

[6] Louvre, no. 2429 bis: hand-copy in *Chrest. dém.*, p. 229. That the woman to whom the sale is made is the man's wife is clear from *Chrest. dém.*, p. 231.

[7] *Not.*, p. 499: hand-copy in *Rev. Eg.*, ii, Pl. 49.

[8] *Not.*, p. 500: hand-copy of part, ibid., i, Pl. 1.

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And from the Strassburg collection Professor SPIEGELBERG has lately published:

9th year of Alexander the Great. Donation of forecourt, &c., by father to son[1].

Several papyri of the reign of Philadelphus also are published, but they are later than those in the JOHN RYLANDS Collection. They are as follows:

Year 8. Cession of houses, &c.

Year 8 (?). Claim to enforce rights to house.

Year 11 (?). Cession of house.

Year 19. Agreement for sale of half a house by a mother to her son, with acknowledgement of his right to half the office of choachyte belonging to her.

Year 20 (?). Receipt for tax on sale of a house.

Year 21. Agreement for sale of half a house by a mother to her son. (British Museum.)

Year 33. Marriage contract.

Year 36. Contract to repay money borrowed by a man from his wife, mortgaging half a house and half of choachyteship.

We owe their publication also to REVILLOUT[2], and the originals of all except one are in the Louvre.

PAPYRUS OF THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER IV.

Pap. No. X. Contract of marriage.

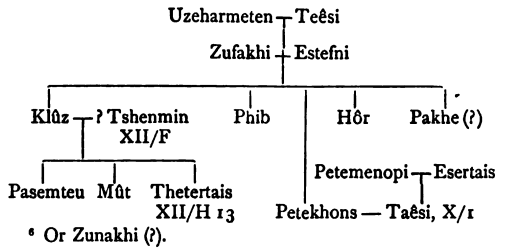
(1) Year 2, Hathôr, of King[3] Alexantros, son of Alexantros[4] the god.

The carpenter of the House of Amûn Petekhons[5] son of Zufakhi (?)[6], his mother being Estefni, saith to the woman Taêsi daughter of Petemenopi, her mother being Esertais:

I have made thee wife.

I have given to thee 2 (pieces of) silver, making 10 staters[7], making 2 (pieces of) silver again, (2) as thy woman's compensation[8]:

And I will give to thee 6 *x*-measures of corn (?)[9] daily, 1 (piece of) silver, and 2 kiti,



[1] *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 1, p. 18 and Pl. III.

[2] *Chrest. dém.*, pp. 214, 209, 227, 231, 288, 241, 246; *Rev. Eg.*, i, fasc. 1, Pl. 2, 3.

[3] Per'o, Pharaoh is still the expression for king in the later documents as in the earlier.

[4] The murder of Arrhidaeus took place in Macedonia in Oct.–Nov., 317. As the Egyptian new year began then on Nov. 10 it is not probable that the few days which may have followed the murder before the commencement of Thoth would be counted to Alexander II. His first year was, therefore, that which commenced on Nov. 10, 317, and Athyr of his second year would begin on Jan. 9, 315.

[5] The same individual is mentioned eight years earlier as the youngest of three sons of Zufakhi (?) in a papyrus at Strassburg of the 9th year of Alexander the Great, B.C. 324. The genealogy of the family, constructed from that papyrus by SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 19, can now be extended from the data given by Nos. X and XII.

[6] Or Zunakhi (?).

[7] The Athenian stater or τετράδραχμον. The amount is the same as in the marriages of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and in those which resemble the present one (see p. 117), except that of the reign of Philadelphus where it is only 6 staters. In the case of the 30th year of Darius it is one kiti, but the marriage was a poor one.

[8] The 'compensation' for the change from maidenhood to wife; hardly 'price' or 'value.'

[9] As in the marriage contract of the age of Philadelphus.

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making 6 staters, making 1 (piece of) silver and 2 kiti again[1], for thy clothing yearly: (also) two hins of oil each month, i.e. yearly 24 hins of oil[2]. These (?) are for thy corn (?) and clothing, and I will give them to thee each year.

If I abandon thee as wife, and hate thee, and love (?) another woman more (?)[3] than (3) thee, I will give [thee] 10 (pieces of) silver, making 50 staters, making 10 (pieces of) silver again[4].

My eldest son is thine eldest son[5], the owner of all of everything that belongeth to me and of those things that I shall gain, of house, land, revenue (?)[6], slave, female slave, silver, copper, clothing, ox, ass, small cattle, property in any chamber (?)[7].

And I will give to thee this corn (?) and clothing which is written above yearly. Thy agent is he who taketh surety (?)[8] (4) for the arrears of thy corn and clothing which shall be owing from me; and I will give them to thee yearly instantly without delay: without quoting any patent (?), any word in the land against thee[9].

Written by P . . . . . son of Useruêr.

On the back are the names of 16 witnesses: the first of them by exception writes his title 'Psesh (?) son of Mentemhê, the prophet of Mêi[10].' The sixth 'Petemenstô son of Pkhelkhons' attests the Strassburg papyrus also.

Amongst the witnesses are names which appear in the other papyri of this group, showing that their association is not altogether accidental.

The earliest marriage contract known from Egypt is the following[11]:

Year 5, Mesorêʿ 21, of Perʿo L.P.H. Psammêṯk L.P.H.

This day:

The entry made by the choachyte Kausenêsi son of Esten (?) into the house of the choachyte P . . . . . son of N(e)Menekhamûn to make his 'declaration (?) of wife' for the woman Tetenebf (?), her mother being . . . . . , his daughter, as wife to-day.

The compensation for the property of which he[12] said, 'I will give it unto her': the receipt of woman's compensation:—2 *teben* of silver, 50 (?) (measures of) bôti-corn.

Said he, 'As Amûn liveth! As Perʿo liveth! as he is in health, as Amûn giveth to him the victory! If I leave the woman Tetenebf (?), whose mother is . . . . , my sister,

The measure intended is uncertain. In the other allied contracts, apparently, 36 *y*-measures = 24 *z*-measures are given yearly: from which we may guess that the *y*-measure = 60 *x*-measures, *z*-measure = 40 *x*-measures. Brugsch's identification of the *y*-measure for grain with the κεράμιον for wine (*Aegyptologie*, p. 382) much requires proof, though results obtained by it seem reasonable; cf. Wilcken, *Ostr.*, i. 761. It may be the artaba.

[1] The allied contracts have double, 12 staters, i.e. one per month. In that of Philadelphus the 12 staters are: 6 for clothing (?) and 6 for charity (??).

[2] In the allied contracts 2 sorts of oil, castor-oil as well as (olive)-oil are specified, but the total amount is the same. That of Philadelphus, however, gives 36 hins of oil. For the hin, see note on p. 100.

[3] Or perhaps 'marry (?) another woman than thee.'

[4] As in the allied contracts.

[5] Elsewhere 'my eldest son, thy eldest son, (is?) the owner,' &c.

[6] Or 'investment,' 'money on loan,' 'annuity,' 'pension' (*sʿanakh*).

[7] Probably to include small chambers, niches, cupboards, and hiding-places of all kinds, in which miscellaneous property might be kept or concealed.

[8] Or 'hath the right to recover.' The allied contracts confer this right on the woman herself. See the later version below, p. 135 (18); and above, p. 59, note 6.

[9] i.e. without disputing the claim.

[10] The goddess of Truth.

[11] No. 16 in the inventory on p. 19.

[12] i.e. her father (?).

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who is mine own, and cause her to take the value (?) of (?) the burial[1], whether desiring to leave her from dislike (?), or desiring another woman than her, apart from the great crime which is found in woman, I will give to her the two *tebeu* of silver and the 50 (?) (measures of) bôti-corn which are written above, besides a share (?) of every . . . . . every . . . . . which I shall make with her: together with the paternal and maternal (?) property for her children which she [shall (?) bear to me].'

This is probably of the reign of Psammetichus II. Another, also in 'abnormal hieratic,' is dated on the 5th Epiphi of the 22nd year of Amasis[2]. It is verbally identical, even to the amount of the dowry: only the names of the parties differ, and the last phrase is altered to meet the case of a renewal of marriage, thus:

'Together with a share of the paternal property for my children which she hath borne to me.'

And the declaration here further proceeds:

'I will make this 'writing of wife' in year 22, Epêp 5, of Per'o Ahmosi in the stead of that 'writing of wife' which I made for thee in year 15 of Per'o Ahmosi, for I say unto thee "It is void."'

There are plenty of difficulties in the reading and interpretation of these two documents. The wording, inexplicit as it is at this early time, practically excludes the idea of a second wife being taken until the first is got rid of by divorce or otherwise; and it may be remarked that 'sister' here, as often elsewhere, is only an affectionate word for 'mate,' just as 'brother' is constantly used for 'colleague,' 'cousin.'

The reign of Darius furnishes a good example which is easily intelligible[3].

Year 5, Paopi, of Per'o Dariaush.

The choachyte of the Valley Pshenêsi son of Herirem, his mother being Enneutehts, saith to the woman Tsenhôr daughter of the choachyte of the Valley Esmin, her mother being Ruru:

'Thou hast given unto me 3 (pieces of) silver of the treasury of Ptah, current money (?) that is 2 (pieces of) silver plus 9 $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{20}$, $\frac{1}{60}$ kiti of the treasury of Ptah, that is 3 (pieces of) silver of the treasury of Ptah, current money (?), again.

'If I leave thee as wife and hate thee, I will give thee the 3 (pieces of) silver of the treasury of Ptah, current money (?), that thou hast given unto me, and which are (written) above: together with the third part of everything that I shall gain with thee, and I will give them unto thee.'

This seems to be a contract subsequent to marriage and in view of its complete ratification.

At Berlin there is preserved a batch of papyri which would seem to belong to a family of somewhat loose morals, as it comprises the only divorces known, 3 in number, and a wife's contract, quite unique, with provision in case she leaves her husband[4]:

[1] Perhaps of her own (?) funerary rites, but these people were choachytes in the necropolis.

[2] No. 18 on p. 20.

[3] No. 42 on p. 27.

[4] No. 57 on p. 30.

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Year 30, Thoüt, of Per'o Dariaush.

The woman Esenkhêbi daughter of the choachyte of the Valley Khepekhrat, her mother being Teteamon . . . ., saith to the choachyte of the Valley Ieturoü son of Pshutefnakhti (?), his mother being H . . . .

'Thou hast made me wife this day.

'Thou hast given unto me one kiti of silver of the treasury of Ptah, refined, as my woman's compensation.

'If I abandon thee as husband, and hate thee, and love another male more (?) than thee, I will give to thee ½ kiti of silver of the treasury of Ptah, refined, in addition to (?) this one kiti of silver of the treasury of Ptah, refined, that thou gavest unto me as my woman's compensation, I being without right to any of any property in the land which I shall produce with thee: without quoting any patent (?) (against it).'

One example of the divorces must suffice[1]:

Year 33 (or 34) Parmûti of P,er'o Dariaush.

The choachyte of the Valley of the Amenti of Uis Pete . . . . son of Esamenhotp, his mother being Ieturoü, saith to the woman Tahai daughter of the choachyte of the Amenti of Uis Unnofri, her mother being Kausenêsi.

'I have abandoned thee as wife, I am removed from thee. I have no [claim] on earth upon thee.

'I have said unto thee, "Make for thyself a husband in any place to which thou shalt go." I shall not be able to stand before thee in them (i.e. those places) from to-day onward for ever.'

The others are still more brief, though to precisely the same effect.

The next in date is that here published, which is the earliest of its type. Other examples include one of the 33rd year of Philadelphus[2] in the Louvre and a series[3] at Berlin extending from the reign of Ptolemy III to that of Harmachis, a rebel king at Thebes contemporary with Ptolemy V, about 200 B.C.; they are all closely allied, but the first shows important differences from the Berlin series.

The remaining 4 papyri (XI–XIV) are mainly concerned with a house in the northern quarter of Thebes, probably on the west bank in a place called The Residence of the Cow, i.e. perhaps the temple of Hathôr at Deir el Bahri. In No. XI the house is a leading item in the sale by a man to a woman of all his property, in a form which suggests that it was really a will in favour of his wife, for he 'belongs' to her 'alive and dead,' and to her is left the disposal of his remains. This document is dated in the last year of the reign of Ptolemy I. Four years later, at the beginning of the 5th year of Philadelphus, the house was sold separately by the woman. No less than three documents seem to have been necessary for this last act, the woman's father separately relinquishing his claim to the house, whatever that claim may have been, while in accordance with the legal custom now established the vendor herself

[1] No. 60 on p. 30.

[2] Louvre 2433. *Rev. Eg.* i, Pl. 3; *Chrest. dém.*, p. 241.

[3] *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, no. 3109, Pl. 6, 3075, Pl. 7, 3145, Pl. 37.

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gave two documents to effect the sale, namely, a 'writing for silver' (meaning made for a money consideration), i.e. agreement for sale, and a 'writing of abandonment,' i.e. 'cession[1].' Both of these are on a large scale, with witness-copies.

There are two remarkable points to be noted here: the will in favour of a woman, and the intervention of the father in the woman's disposal of part of the property. There is ample evidence in the marriage contracts to show that the natural heir of a man in Egypt was his eldest son. He was considered first, and his brothers and sisters afterwards. In the present case the man must have been childless, and therefore left all his property to his wife. The widow may have returned to her father's house. Herodotus says that the support of parents was not incumbent on sons, but it was so on daughters[2]. Probably, therefore, the father had a legal interest *per se* in the property of his widowed daughter.

Papyrus No. XI is in the form of an 'agreement for sale,' or *συγγραφὴ πράσεως*. The 'contract of cession,' or *συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίου*, which at this period was added to the sale is not with it: but it may exist or have existed on a separate papyrus. The formulae of a sale are long and complicated, and some of the technical terms present considerable difficulties of interpretation. But they vary little; the same formulae are found from the time of Alexander the Great down to the end of the Ptolemaic period, and the Roman papyri still retain many of them; in all probability they were established during the Persian epoch[3]. Happily, too, the demotist is able to guide himself by a number of Greek renderings of demotic sale-contracts. In these the formulae are reproduced or summarized with more or less accuracy and fullness.

The following extracts show how the formulae are rendered in all the translations of Ptolemaic date that have come to light as yet.

1. The Grey papyrus. KENYON, I, p. 44, and Pl. 27. 146 B.C.

αντιγραφ[ον συ]νγραφης Αιγυπτιας μεθηρμηνευ[μ]ενης κατα δυ[νατον]
ετους λς . . . . ιη̄ μετα τα κοινα ταδε λεγει χ[οα]χυτης των Διο[σπολεω]ς της μεγαλη[ς] Οννωφρις Ωρου [μ]ητρος Σενποη[ρις], &c. Ωρωι Ωρου μητ[ρ]ος Σενποηρις
ηυδοκησας με της τιμη[ς τ]ου ημισους του [τρι]του λογειας των κειμενων νεκρων &c.
σα εισιν
και εχω αυ[τ]ων παρα σου την τιμην
κουθεν σοι εγκαλω περι αυτων [α]πο της σημερον
εαν δε τις σοι επελθηι περι αυτων αποστησω αυτον
εαν δε μη αποστησωι αποστησω επαναγκον
εγραψεν Ωρος Φαβιτος ο παρα των ιερειων του Αμονρασονθηρ και των συνναων θεων μονογραφος
μα[ρτυ]ρες Ερινευς Φατρεους, &c. /μαρτυρες ις.

The demotic original (?) is at Berlin, *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, no. 3119: cf. Bibl. Nat. no. 218, in YOUNG'S *Hieroglyphics*, Pl. 31, 32, *Chrest. dém.*, 62; BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, 880.

2. Leiden P. LEEMANS, *Pap. Gr.* I, p. 82; BERGER, *Nouveau Contrat bilingue*, p. 45; and especially WILCKEN, *Archiv*, II, 143. About the same age as the last.

[1] The writing for silver, though appearing to hand over the property completely, was used for mortgaging, and hence the cession became necessary in any out and out sale.
[2] Hdt. ii. 35.
[3] See p. 49.

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[αντιγραφον συγγραφης Αιγυπτιας μεθ]ηρμηνευμενης [Ελληνιστι?] κατα το δυνατον
[ετους, &c. λεγει] Θαησις . . . . . [N.]
απηυδ[οκη]σας με [της τιμης των], &c., &c.
εδωκα σοι [σα εστιν], &c., &c.
[και ε]δεξαμ[ην] παρα σου την τουτω[ν τιμην εκ πληρους] ανευ παντος [υπ]ολογου
απ[ηυ]δοκησας με
ουκ ενκαλω σοι περι τ]ουτω(ν)
ουτ εγω [ο]υτ αλλος εκ το[υ εμ]ου γενους κυριευσει αυ[των απο της (σημερον[1]) ημε]ρας
εαν δε τις σοι επελθη πε[ρι αυ]των εκ τε του εμου ον[ομα]τος η αλλου (?) αποσ]τησω
και βεβα[ιω]σω σοι ταυτα απο συγγραφων [και συν]αλλ[αγματων] . . . . . .
[εγρα]ψεν Παη . . . .

Translates *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, no. 5507. So far as it goes the translation of the formulae is remarkably full.

3. Tebtunis papyrus published by GRENFELL, HUNT, and SMYLY, *Tebt.* I, p. 522, no. 164. Late second century B.C.

αντι[γραφον συγγραφης Αιγυπτιας] μεθη[ρμηνευμενης] κατα [το δυνατον]
[ετους . .]
[. . . . λεγει]
ομολογω . . . .
. . . . .
. . . . . και οι πηχισμοι προκεινται
και απο της μερονημερον (l. σημερον) ημερας μη επελευσεσθαι επι σε . . . . .

Very fragmentary.

4. Berlin, *BGU.*, III, no. 1002. Copied by SCHUBART. 55 B.C.

αντιγραφον συνγραφης πρασεως Αιγυπτιας μεθηρμηνευμενης κατα το δυνατον
ετους κς παυνι κβ βασιλευς (sic) πρεσβυτερος (sic) Πτολεμα[ι]ου νεου Διονυσου Φιλοπ[ατορ]ος Φιλαδελφου εφ ιερεως Αλεξανδρου και κοινων οντων εν Αλεξανδρεια
λεγει γυνη, &c., &c. Μηδοκωι, &c.
πεπεικας με τηι τιμηι του υπαρχοντο(ς) μου ημισους μερους αυλης, &c., &c.
γειτονες δε της αυλης ης πεπρακα σοι το υπαρχον μοι ημισυ μερος τιμης καθως προκειται, &c.
νοτου η αυτη οικια, &c.
βορρα και απηλιωτου ρυμηι (sic) δι ης εισοδος και εξοδος
λιβος ετερας (sic) αυλης (sic), &c.
(γειτονες of second house follow.)
σα δε εστιν παντα τα προγεγραμμενα
δεδωκα σοι αυτα τιμης απο της ενεστωσης ημερας
και βεβαιωσω σοι αυτα απο παντος απλως
εαν δε τις σοι επελθηι περι αυτων εκστησω αυτον απο σου

[1] WILCKEN (l.c.) remarks that there is no space for demotic idiom *n p-hw* ⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ. σημερον; απο της ημερας in fact over-literally render the

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σαι δε εισιν πασαι αι κατ αυτων κειμεναι συνγραφαι και ωναι και δικαια και βεβαια και νικος[1]

εαν δε τις σοι ορκος η επιδειξις επιβληθηι περι αυτων εγω αυτος επιτελεσωι (sic)
και παλιν βεβαιωσω σοι αυτα [απο π]αντος απλως
υπαρχει δε και την (sic) προς ταυτην αποστασιου συνγραφη
και επεγραφησαν εκ των οπισω μαρτυρω(ν) δεκα εξ

The demotic agreements for sale of this later period in the JOHN RYLANDS collection in every case concern real property, houses and lands, in the first place. They give the following form. (The property is put in the plural for the sake of clearness, and the Greek parallels are selected from the above, the Leiden translation giving the best equivalents so far as it goes.)

1. Year	ετους
2. Saith A to B	λεγει A. τῳ B.
3. Thou [2] hast caused my heart to agree to the silver of (the price of) ⟨my house and, &c.⟩	(απ)ηνδοκησας με της τιμης ⟨της, &c.⟩ var. πεπεικας με τη τιμη ⟨της, &c.⟩
a. ⟨its adjacent areas, &c.	⟨γειτονες δε της, &c.⟩
b. such (?) are the adjacent areas of the whole house, &c., &c.⟩	
4. I have given them to thee	εδωκα σοι
5. Thine they are, thy ⟨house, &c.⟩ above (written) are they [3]	[σοι εισιν], &c., &c.
6. I have received [4] their price in silver from thee, complete without remainder	και εδεξαμην παρα σου την τουτων [τιμην εκ πληρους] ανευ παντος υπολογου[5]
7. my heart is in agreement with it (?) [6]	απηνδοκησας με
8. I have no claim on earth against thee in their name	ουκ ενκαλω σοι περι τ]ουτων var. κουθεν σοι εγκαλω περι αυτων
9. No man in the land, nor I likewise, shall be able to exercise authority over them except thee from to-day onward	ουτ εγω ουτ αλλος (εκ του εμου γενους)[7] κυριευσει αυ[των απο της σημερον ημε]ρας
10. He that shall come unto thee on account of them in my name, in the name of any man in the land, I will cause him to remove from thee	εαν δε τις σοι επελθη περι αυτων εκ τε του εμου ον[ομα]τος η αλλου (?) αποσ]τησω var. εαν δε τις σοι επελθηι περι αυτων αποστησω (var. εκστησω) αυτον (απο σου) (εαν δε μη αποστησωι αποστησω επαναγκον)[8]

[1] = νικη, SCHUBART.

[2] In No. XXIII, preceded by 'Thou hast paid me in full,' but it is doubtful if this belongs to the form of an ordinary sale.

[3] No. XXIX omits 5.

[4] In No. XII, preceded by 'Thou hast caused my heart to agree to the silver.'

[5] The less literal texts summarize 5, 6 thus:
σα εισιν και εχω αυτων παρα σου την τιμην, and
σα δε εστιν παντα τα προγεγραμμενα
δεδωκα σοι αυτα τιμης απο της ενεστωσης ημερας.

[6] 'It' here seems indefinite, meaning the arrangement generally rather than the price in particular.

[7] Cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de trav.*, XXV. 6, for instances of this in demotic; there is no exact parallel among the JOHN RYLANDS papyri, but cf. XVII.

[8] This sentence occurs in demotic but not in this collection.

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11. And I will purge them for thee from every writing[1] every patent (?), every word in the land at any time.

και βεβαιωσω σοι ταντα απο συγγραφων [και συν]αλλ[αγματων ?] . . . . . var. *και βεβαιωσω σοι αυτα απο παντος απλως*

12. Thine are their writings[2], their patents (?) in every place in which they are

[η δε ομολογια η τε κυρια εστω πανταχη ου αν επιφερηται][3]

13. Every writing that has been made concerning them and every writing that has been made for me concerning them, and all writings in the name of which I am entitled to[4] them (the property): thine are they and the rights conferred by them. Thine is that to which I am entitled in their name (i.e. in the name of the writings)[5]

Σαι δε εισιν πασαι αι κατ αυτων κειμεναι συγγραφαι και ωναι και δικαια και βεβαια και νικος

14. The oath, the causing to stand[6] that shall be demanded of thee in the court of justice—in the name of the right conferred by the above writing which I have made unto thee, to cause me to make it: I will make it[7] without citing any patent (?), any word in the land against thee

Εαν δε τις σοι ορκος η επιδειξις επιβληθηι περι αυτων, εγω αυτος επιτελεσω—(και παλιν βεβαιωσω σοι αυτα απο παντος απλως)

15. Wrote it N.

Εγραψεν N.

The versions of Roman date follow the original very closely:

WESSELY, *Specimina isagogica*, pp. 4–5, tab. 6, no. 6; cf. 7, 5, 15–16, 24: SPIEGELBERG, *Pap. dem. Strassb.*, p. 10: WILCKEN, *Archiv*, ii. 145. 1st century A.D.

αντιγραφον Αιγυπτιας πρασεως Ελληνιστι μεθερμηνευμενης κατα το δυνατον.

1. *ετους*, &c.

2. *λεγει* N, &c.

3. *πεπεικας με αργυριωι . . . τηι τιμηι της υπαρχουσης μοι οικιας*, &c.
γειτονες, &c.

5. *σα δε εστιν απο της ενεστωσης ημερας επι τον απαντα χρονον*

9. *και ουκ εξεσται μοι ουδ' αλλω ουδενι απλως κυριευειν αυτων πλην σου απο της σημερον ημερας επι τον αει χρονον*

10. *εαν δε τις επελθηι επι σε περι αυτων εκστησω αυτον απο σου επαναγκον ανεπιεικεις* (sic).

[1] XII omits 'every writing.' 'Writing' means 'contract,' &c., *passim*; for 'patent' see p. 46, note 4: 'word' may mean 'thing.' [2] XII omits 'their writings.'

[3] This may well be equivalent to 12, see the example on p. 126.

[4] The word here translated 'entitled' is perhaps stronger in meaning, implying full justification (cf. *νικος*) in the courts of law.

[5] So Nos. XI, XII. The later (Gebelên) papyri, No. XV et seqq., have 'Thou art he that is entitled to them in my name.' In XV (?), XVIII, XIX, XXIII, 'them' means the writings, in XXIX it (falsely?) means the property.

[6] i.e. 'proof,' 'demonstration.' Mr. KENYON informs me that *επιδειξις* cannot mean production in court (of a person) which the demotic expression suggests. The later (Gebelên) papyri give 'standing.'

[7] This complicated sentence may be more freely rendered thus:—'If it be laid upon thee in the court of justice, to obtain an affidavit or to make me give proof, in virtue of the right conferred by the above contract which I have made with thee compelling me to do these things, I will make the oath or give the proof.

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11. και βεβαιωσω σοι αυτα απο συγγραφων πασων και συναλλαγματων παντων και παντος ειδους εαν δε αδελφος η αδελφη η υιος η θυγα[τηρ ῆ] παντος τωι καθολου

13. σαι δε εισιν αι γεγονυιαι κατ αυτων συγγραφαι πασαι και αι γεγενημεναι μοι κατ αυτων συγγραφαι πασαι και αι γεγονυιαι τωι πατρι και τηι μητρι μου κατ αυτων συγγραφαι πασαι και συγγραφαι πασαι και συναλλαγματα παντα εξ ων περιγεινεται μοι δικαιον απαντων

14. εαν δε τις σοι ορκος η επιδειξις προβληθηι ωστε (σε) συντελεσασθαι περι αυτων ποιησω[1]

The above text is restored from several imperfect examples by WESSELY, with the corrections of SCHUBART and WILCKEN.

We can now proceed to the first of these sales in the collection.

PAPYRUS OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY I.

PAPYRUS No. XI. Agreement for sale of a house and all other possessions by a man to a woman (i.e. a will in favour of a wife?).

(1) Year 21, Pamenhotp, of King Ptolemaios[2].

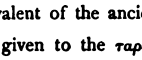
The lector[3] of the ape Pleehe, son of Thetertais and his mother Tshenkhomt (?), hath declared to the woman Teihôr, daughter of Harsiêsi and her mother Taubasti.

Thou hast caused my heart to agree to the silver for the price of all of every thing that belongeth to me, together with those things which I shall gain, house, open ground, land, revenue, slave, female slave, silver, gold, bronze, clothing, any (kind of) seed, ox, ass, any (kind of) small cattle, (2) any patent (?), any arrangement with a tenant (?), any negotiation (?) for a house, furniture of any chamber (?), any household instruments[4]

together with my house[5] which is built and covered in, which is in the northern quarter of Ne in the Residence of the Cow[6]. Its adjacent areas: its south the house of the shrine-opener of Amenopi[7] in the west of Ne[8], Petenefhotp son of Ieturoz; its north the house of the scribe Petemestu son of Pkhelkhons[9], and the house of the shrine-opener of Amenopi

[1] So WILCKEN, the reading uncertain.

[2] Phamenôth in the 21st year of Ptolemy I corresponds to May of 284 B.C. It was in the course of this 21st year that Soter either abdicated in favour of Philadelphus or associated the latter with himself on the throne; see STRACK, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 24; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Lagides*, i. 99. The present is the latest date known in the reign of Ptolemy I, but cannot be taken as decisive on the question of the abdication.

[3] The equivalent of the ancient  , but at this time the title given to the ταριχευτης, see this equation of 'lector' and ταριχευτης in the bilingual *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3116, 2/23 = Cas., 3/9. Pleehe was thus in charge of the embalming of the apes of Thoth at Thebes.

[4] The things enumerated are in the same relative order as in Pap. X, but with many insertions and additions. In the Greek wills we have similar lists, *Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 21 (Ptolemaic) τα υπαρχοντα μοι εγγαια και επιπλα και κτηνη και οσα αν προσεπικτησωμαι, followed by many other things particularly specified: and in Roman times, *Oxyrh.*, i. p. 171 σκευη και επιπλα και ενδομενειαν και ει τι αλλο εαν εχω; *Oxyrh.* iii. 194 ων εαν απολιπω οικοπεδων και εδαφων και δουλων σωματων; ibid., 197 κληρονομους οικιας και αιθριου και αυλης και χρηστηριων και ων εαν απολιπω δουλων σωματων και αλλων καθ ονδηποτουν τροπον παντοιων παντων; ibid., 202 α εαν απολιπω επιπλα και σκευη και χρυσια και ιματια και κοσμα και πυρον και οσπρα και γενηματα και ενδομενειαν πασαν και οφεληματα ενγραφα και αγραφα.

[5] This house is also the subject of the following contracts.

[6] Perhaps meaning 'the tomb of the cow,' but very likely the name of the temple of Hathor at Deir el Bahri, being in the northern part of Ne and on the west side.

[7] Αμενωφις, i.e. Ammon in Opis (Ωπις, Απις).

[8] The whole title is rendered χοαχυτης των Διοσπολεως της μεγαλης, Grey, ll. 3–4 = *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3119/2. See above, p. 55, note 5.

[9] This individual is often named among the witnesses to this group of documents.

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in the west of Ne (3), Petamenopi son of Esmin, which is occupied by the woman Unmin(?) daughter of Petamenopi, making 2 houses built and roofed, the king's way[1] lying between: its east the house of the lector in the necropolis of Zêmi[2], Harsiêsi son of Petamenopi, which is built and roofed, its (western)[3] wall making to me a supporting(?)-wall; its west the house of the woman Tahib daughter of Petenefhotp which is built and roofed, my window opening to the west (4) into the house named. Such (?) are the adjacent areas of the whole house

also my share of the mummies[4] which belong to me in the necropolis of Zêmi and my share of the mummies which belong to the lector of the Ape Thetertais son of Zeho, my father.

I have given them to thee, they are thine: thy property, thy house which is built and roofed, whose neighbours are written above, are they; also thy share of my mummies which are in the necropolis of (5) Zêmi, and thy share of the mummies of Thetertais son of Zeho my father, are they.

I have received their price in silver at thy hand, &c. (common form).

At the end, after 'I will make it,' there follows another paragraph:

I belonging to thee while I am alive, I belonging to thee when I am dead: and thou art[5] she that hath authority over my placing tent(?)[6] and my burial. Without alleging of any patent or any word in the land against thee.

Written by ..... son of .....

Four witness-copies follow, all complete.

B. begins: 'Peuhôr, son of Esmin and his mother Zeuêri(?), bearing witness in year 21 (&c., and ends) writes these things(?)[7].

The others are similar, the names being:

C. Petekhons, son of Kluz and his mother Esharpkhrat.

D. The divine father Khepekhrat, son of Petamenopi and his mother Setierboni.

E. Harpbêk, son of Zeho and his mother Tapetenefhotp(?).

On the back are the names of sixteen witnesses, including the above four.

This fine papyrus is the second known to date from the reign of Ptolemy Sôter. It is strange that the other should be of the same type, and that a very unusual one. It can hardly be doubted that these are really wills in the form of fictitious sales. Greek wills of early Ptolemaic age are to be found in MAHAFFY'S *Petrie Papyri*[8], later in *Gr. Pap.*, i. nos. 12, 21; *Archiv*, i. 63; and many are known of Roman age. They generally contain one or more specific legacies.

[1] i.e. the public way.

[2] Zêmi = Μεμ(νονεια) in Berl. 3116, 4/1, &c. = Cas., 7/2, &c. Cf. BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géog.*, 988–991, and CRUM, *Ostraca*, p. xii.

[3] 'Western' in text A only. 'Supporting,' since probably the houses rose in terraces against the cliff-slope on the west.

[4] Ape-mummies? E. converts the following into 'and my share of the mummy (sic) belonging to me in the necropolis of Zêmi, which belongs to the lector of the necropolis of Zêmi, Thetertais,' &c.

[5] This paragraph is found in the fragmentary papyrus of the 13th year (see p. 113), which evidently when complete was a close parallel to this document.

[6] Or 'lying in the kiosque (of embalming)': in any case it refers to funerary operations of some kind.

[7] Or 'Peuhôr, &c., bearing witness, &c. Wrote (it) the same person.'

[8] Now re-edited with additions, MAH.-SM., nos. I–XIX.

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Papyri of the Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The three following documents are all dated in Athyr of the 5th year of Philadelphus, i.e. November of 281 B.C., $3\frac{1}{2}$ years after the above will, No. XI. Apparently Pleehe is now dead, and the legatee Teihôr, whom we suppose to be his widow, sells the house which formed the chief item in No. XI to another woman, Ta . . . ., who seems not to be a relation. No. XII is the πρασις, No. XIII the cession. In a separate document, No. XIV, the father of Teihôr likewise makes a cession of the house to the same woman; from this it appears that he had a claim upon his daughter's property, she being a widow and childless.

Papyrus No. XII. Agreement for sale of a house.

Teihôr, described as in the last, sells the house to 'the woman Teiant(?) daughter of Zeho and her mother Tamin.'

The description tallies verbally with that in No. XI, except

'its east, the house of the lector of the necropolis of Zêmi, Harsiêsi son of Petamenopi, its west wall making *for thee*[1] a supporting(?)-wall: its west the house of the woman Tahib daughter of Petenefhotp, *the window-lighting being between them*[2].'

The scribe is Peuhôr son of Esmîn.

Six witness-copies[3] follow, complete. The names are:

B. Tuêt son of Pkhelkhons.
C. Thetertais son of Kluz.
D. Mentemhê son of Imhôtep.
E. Peteharprêᶜ, son of Esmîn and his mother Tshenamûn.
F. Thetertais, son of Kluz and his mother Tshenmin.
G. Tuêt, son of Pkhelkhons and his mother Tetenefhotp.

The signatures of sixteen witnesses are on the back, as usual, including the above four[4]. But in a column at the beginning of the document, on the recto, is a detailed list of these witnesses (H) written by a single scribe and possibly due to the double-signing of two of the witnesses in the witness-copies B, C and F, G.

H. Its 16 witnesses:

the scribe of the temple Peteharprêᶜ son of Esmin son of Peteharprêᶜ
the shrine-opener of Amûn, Shpemmîn son of Pabêk son of Phib . . . .
the . . . . . Theteu son of Theterkhs son of Pa . . . .

[1] The description of these two houses omits to say that they are 'built and roofed.'

[2] The meaning of this is clearer when the parallel is compared, 'my window (var. its window, its windows) opening westward into the interior of the house named.' This can hardly mean that he had a window opening into both houses, but evidently that they had windows overlooking each other, which would only be permitted by special arrangement.

[3] These papyri of year 5 may be the latest instances of the employment of witness-copies: but there appears to be one of the year 19 in Revillout's *Chrest. dém.*, pp. 231 et seqq. From Darius III to Soter they are usual in important sales and cessions.

[4] A comparison with the list of witnesses H and the signatures on the back show that the names in F and G represent the same individuals as B and C. Apparently 6 witness-copies was a desirable number, but there are only 4 in the cession.

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ditto (?) Nekhtubasti (?) called Paior son of Pauesi (?).
the scribe Esmin son of Thetertais son of Thetmên.
the priest of Amûn Zeho son of Ṯainûfi son of Zekhonsefonkh.
the scribe of design Haramûn (?) son of Zeho.
the shrine-opener of Amûn Pʿen son of Petamenopi.
ditto (?) Amenhotp son of Pshenamun.
the scribe [Tuêt] son of Pkhelkhons son of Es . . . . . .
the pasturer (?) Pamont son of Ṯieharpto son of Ienharoü.
the scribe Thetertais son of Klûz son of Zufakhi (?).
ditto (?) Mentemhê son of Imhôtp son of Mentemhê.
the goose-keeper (?) Hôr son of Klûz.
the caravan-leader (?) Petanûp son of Pate son of Petanûp.
the scribe Unnofri son of Phib son of Petemenstu.

The next two papyri are cessions, *συγγραφαι αποστασιου*, completing the above sale. The Egyptian name for such is very closely rendered by the Greek, and may be translated 'writing of renunciation' or 'of being distant.' There is only one Greek version known, and that is of Roman date, and very fragmentary.

WESSELY, *Specimina isagogica*, tab. 13, no. 29 (p. 6); cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Pap. dem. Strassb.*, p. 11. 1st century A.D.

[αντιγραφον Αιγυπτιου συναλ]λ[αγματος μεθη]ρμηνι[ευμενου] κατα το δυν[ατον].
1. ετους, &c.
2. N + M. γινονται σωματα δυο [λεγοντες ως εκ στοματος ἑνος? ?] (τῳ) Σ.
3. αφισταμεθα [της υπαρχουσης ημιν οικιας, &c.]
μετρα της προκειμενης σου οικιας, &c.
γειτονες της σημ[αινομενης] σου οικιας, &c.
η οι αν ωσι γειτονες &c.
και ουδεις [ημω]ν καταλε . . τωι καθολου ε[πι σ]ε . . . . . [απο της ενεστω]σης [η]μερα[ς επι τ]ον [συ]μπαντα [χρο]νον
10. και ουκ εξεσται [η]μειν ουδ [αλλωι] ουδενι απλως [κυριευειν αυτης πλην σου απο της ενεστ]ωσης ημερα[ς επι το]ν α[πα]ντα χ[ρο]νον
11. εαν [τε πα]τη[ρ η] μητηρ [η αδε]λφος [η αδελφη η υι]ος η θ[υγ]ατηρ . . . . . [η παντο]ς τῳ καθολου επελ[ευσομ]εν[ου] περι αυτ[ων] εκστησομεν [αυτο]ν απο σου
[εαν δ]ε [μη] εξισ[τωμεν] . . . . . .
και βεβαιωσομε[ν σοι τα]υτα απο τε συγγ[ραφω]ν πασων και συ[ναλλα]γματων παντων και παντ[ο]ς [ειδους
. . . . εξ ων περιγινεται ημει]ν δικαιον απα[ντ]ων
εαν δε τις σοι [αιτι]α η επιδιξις προ[βλ]ηθηι ωστε σε συντελεσασθαι . . . .
. . . . . .

Though no translations of cessions have come down to us from Ptolemaic times, a number of Greek cessions are known which to a great extent resemble the Egyptian

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model. All are of the end of the second century B.C.[1] The most interesting is one at Berlin, which follows upon a sale in the Greek style on the same sheet of papyrus, the two documents making a pair of the same date such as is constantly seen in demotic. It can hardly be doubted that the form of the cession in the Greek papyri is greatly affected by, if not derived from, Egyptian originals.

BGU., 998, col. ii. 101 B.C.

Ετους, &c. (εφ Ερμιου του παρα Πανισκου αγορανομου)
Ομολογει (ο) N., &c. αφιστασθαι απο της πεπραμενης οικιας, &c.
της γειτονες, &c. η οι αν ωσι γειτονες
την εθετο ωνην (τω) B. επι του αυτου αρχειου προς χαλκου x.
και μη επελευσασθαι μητ αυτος N. μηδ αλλον μηδενα των παρ αυτου επι τον B. μηδ επ αλλον μηδενα των παρ αυτου
ει δε μη η τ'εφοδος τωι επιπορευομενωι ακυρος εστω
και προσαποτεισατω ο επελθων επιτι(μον) παραχρημα χαλκου ταλαντα x και ιερα βασιλευσι αργυριου επισημου δραχμας y
και μηθεν ησσον επαναγκον αυτω εστω ποιειν κατα τα προγεγραμμενα
η δε ομολογια η τε κυρια εστω πανταχη ου αν επιφερηται[1]

Other cessions are to be found in GRENFELL's *Greek Papyri*, i. no. xxvii[2] (ομολογει παρακεχωρηκεναι απο); ii. no. xxxiii (ομολογει παρακεχωρηκεναι το μερος); ii. no. xxviii (αφισταται απο). The wording in all these is similar, the chief differences being that ιερας[3] appears for ιερα: also the two paragraphs την εθετο and η δε ομολογια are found only in the Berlin papyrus.

The demotic form of cession is more variable than that of the sale, but the variations are of little interest, consisting chiefly of the inclusion or exclusion of phrases taken from the sale. The earliest example known is that of the reign of Darius III[4]. It is of course possible that Greek influence even then had led to the introduction of the αποστασιου, but *a priori* it seems more probable that it was a native growth, perhaps stimulated by the presence of business-like and influential foreigners in the country.

The cessions of Ptolemaic age in the present collection are Nos. XIII, XIV (281 B.C.), and of a later type No. XV B (187 B.C.), while XXIV (113 B.C.) adopts more of the πρασις formulae, and almost agrees with the Roman scheme. Their type-form is:

1. Year 5, Thoth, of king, &c.
2. Saith *A* to *B*.
3. I am distant from thee from thy[5] house, &c.
   a. its adjacent plots, &c.

Ετους κ.τ.λ.
Ομολογει N.
αφιστασθαι (παρακεχωρηκεναι) } αφισταται
απο της οικιας κ.τ.λ.
της γειτονες κ.τ.λ.

[1] Cf. sale § 12, which is found in XXIV (113 B.C.) and other late demotic cessions.
[2] Correct επι του (col. 3, l. 4) to επι τί, i.e. επιτιμον (KENYON).
[3] Kindly verified by Mr. KENYON.
[4] No. 66 on p. 32.
[5] In the sale formula it was 'my house,' &c. In XXIV 'we are distant from thee from the right of that writing which thou madest,' &c.

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b. such (?) are the adjacent plots of this whole house, &c. — *η οι αν ωσι γειτονες*

4. I have given them to thee [1]. — = sale § 4

5. thine they are, thy house, &c. [2] — = sale § 5

6. for which I [3] made to thee a writing for silver in year 5, Thoth, of the king ever living [4]. — *ην εθετο ωνην* (*τῳ*) B. *επι του αυτου αρχειου προς χαλκου χ*.

7. Thine they are, thy house, &c., are they [5]. — = sale § 5 repeated

8. I have no claim in the land against thee on their account from to-day onward [6]. — = sale § 8

9. No man in the land, nor I likewise shall be able to exercise authority over them except thee from to-day onward [7]. — = sale § 9

10. He that shall come unto thee on account of them in my name, in the name of any man in the land [8], I will cause him to remove from thee [9]. — = sale § 10

11. Thou having claim on me by the right of the writing for silver which I made [10] to thee concerning them in year 5, Thoth, of the king ever living, to do unto thee its [11] provisions at all times, beside (those) of the writing of abandonment [12] which is above, making two writings.

12. And I will do unto thee their provisions at any time without a blow [13].

13. Wrote it N.

Of these fifteen paragraphs only 3, 6, 11 and 12 are distinctive. Moreover, 6 merely cites the sale: 11 merely affirms the contractor's liability to the provisions of the sale and the cession, and 12 is merely an undertaking to promptly perform these provisions. Thus the whole importance of the cession as against the sale lies in the

[1] XIII, XIV omit 4.

[2] XIII, XIV omit 6; XXIV omits 5, 6.

[3] XIV concerns the sale by another person, the form being 'for which the woman T. made thee a writing,' &c.

[4] *αιωνοβιου* in bilinguals: an epithet confined to the reigning king.

[5] XXIV omits 7–9.

[6] XV omits the words 'from to-day onward.'

[7] 9 is only in XIV.

[8] XIV has 'in the name of the woman T.'

[9] XXIV omits all the subsequent paragraphs, substituting paragraphs 11–15 of the 'sale' form: this was the form used in Roman times. In 13 it omits 'and every writing in the name of which I am entitled to them,' and in 14 'the right conferred by the above cession' is substituted for 'the right conferred by the above writing.'

[10] XIV has 'Thou having claim on the woman T. by the right of the writing for silver and the writing of abandonment which she made,' &c.

[11] XIV 'their.'

[12] XV omits 'of abandonment'; XIV omits the whole sentence from 'beside' as well as the following paragraph, and ends apparently muddled 'at any time, instantly (?), without delay (?), or a blow (?). Wrote it N.'

[13] Cf. p. 151, note 3. XV ends 'instantly, without delay, without a blow.'

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phrases 'I am distant from thee from thy (house),' '*αφισταμαι απο*,' in 3, and 'without a blow' in 12. Since 11 and 12 are omitted entirely from the late type, it would seem that all that mass of writing might have been saved by adding two or three words from 3 to the sale contract.

As to the precise meaning of 14, the 'blow' is capable of two interpretations, viz. either physical resistance offered by the vendor when bound to quit the property sold, or the application of the bastinado upon his person. The latter meaning seems the most probable. It is clear that in ancient Egypt the bastinado had as well-defined a position in all police-work and tax-gathering as it had in the days of Muhammed Ali. 'Without a blow' when interpreted therefore really means 'without the intervention of the police,' 'without official compulsion.' The vendor will quit *καθαπερ εκ δικης* as if he had already had the proper measure of bastinado which he would have considered the only honourable preliminary to eviction by the arm of the law.

Papyrus No. XIII. Cession of the last, by the same party.

There is little to note here. The date, the parties, the house ceded, and the scribe are all identical with those in the sale, and are described in the same terms. The 16 witnesses on the back are also identical and in the same order; and there are four witness-copies signed by the same four witnesses as in No. XII, in this case without any duplication of individual witnesses. There is no list on the front.

Papyrus No. XIV. Cession by the father of the vendor.

(1) Year 5, Thoüt, of king Ptlumaios son of Ptlumaios.

The lector of the necropolis of Zêmi, Harsiêsi, son of Petamenopi and his mother Tahib, saith unto the woman Tap'ane (?)-Ant (?)[1], daughter of Zeho and her mother Tamin.

I am without claim upon thee in thy house which is built and roofed, which is in the northern quarter of Ne. Its neighbours: south the house of the shrine-opener of Amenopi in the west of Ne, Amenhotp[2] son of Ieturoz, (2) its north the house of the woman Unmin daughter of Pana[3], the king's way being between, its east the house of the lector in the necropolis of Zêmi, Harsiêsi son of Pana[3], its west the house of the woman Tahib daughter of Amenhotp[2]: in all (?) the neighbours of thy whole house, for which the woman Tahôr[4] daughter of Harsiêsi, her mother being Taubasti, my daughter, made writing for silver and cession unto thee in year 5, Thoüt, of the king ever living.

It is thine, thy house it is. I have no claim in the land against thee (3) in its name. No man in the land shall be able, nor I likewise, to exercise authority over it, except thee, from this day onwards. He who shall come to thee on account of it in my name, in the name of the woman Tahôr, daughter of Harsiêsi and her mother Taubasti, my daughter, who is (written) above, I will cause him to withdraw claim from thee: thou having claim on the woman Tahôr, daughter of Harsiêsi and her mother Taubasti, my daughter, who is (written) above, for the right of the writing for silver, the writing of abandonment, which she

[1] In XII, XIII Teiant (?).
[2] In XII, XIII Petenefhotp.
[3] In XII, XIII Petemenopi.
[4] In XII, XIII Teihôr.

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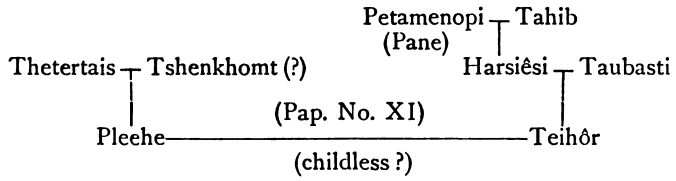
made to thee of thy house which is (written) above, in year 5, Thoüt, of the king ever living, to execute to thee their rights at any time (4) instantly, without delay or a blow.

Written by Mosi son of Ret . . . . .

On the back are the signatures of sixteen witnesses.

There are signs that the scribe of No. XIV was a careless writer, consequently where the names given by him differ from the corresponding ones in the previous documents it is not certain that the contracting parties intended them to do so. A new element is added to the name of the second party, perhaps correctly; Petenefhotp of the previous document is now twice given as Amenhotp; and apparently Harsiêsi's own father, who is named Petamenopi elsewhere and even in the first paragraph of this text, is afterwards twice named Pana. But it is possible that Pana was a second name used distinctively for a namesake of Harsiêsi's father, who happened to be the father of another Harsiêsi. The last phrase in the contract, before the scribe's signature, appears to be utterly muddled.

The genealogy of Teihôr is seen from this papyrus to be:



As usual, these papyri from Thebes concern almost the rank and file of those who dwelt not in the city itself but in the necropolis on the west bank. Their village of Zêmi was built on the edge of the desert, probably in the neighbourhood of the temple of Deir el Bahari. They followed the professions of choachytes and paraschistes, embalming the bodies and performing the services provided in perpetuity for the dead. The legal documents which they have bequeathed to us are interesting for the language and the history of the legal forms, and a survey of the whole of the Greek and demotic material concerning them must one day be made, enabling the historian to reconstruct a fairly complete picture of life in the Theban necropolis in the Ptolemaic age.

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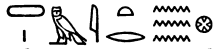
LATER PTOLEMAIC PAPYRI FROM GEBELÊN

IN recent years there has been much digging by the natives at Gebelên, and numerous papyri in Greek and demotic have been found, all of Ptolemaic age. Of the Greek papyri a large number have been published[1], but of the demotic only those edited by SPIEGELBERG from the Strassburg Library, comprising most of the Ptolemaic papyri in that collection. To those obtained by Lord CRAWFORD are here added a few papyri which had reached England separately: so closely were the two batches connected that some of the fragments of the second series actually fitted lacunae in the former[2].

Gebelên, 'the two hills,' is on the west bank of the Nile, about 35 kilometers south-west of Thebes, and 20 in a direct line from Hermonthis, the road being considerably longer. The locality is marked by a limestone ridge with two peaks approaching close to the river. According to MASPERO[3], this ridge was formerly an island between two branches of the Nile, but the western channel has long since been silted up. Here lay both Crocodilopolis, the ancient  'Island in the river,' in demotic Amûr, where the Crocodile Suchus was worshipped, and 'The house of Hathor,' [4] Phathôr, Παθυρις, where 'Hathor Lady of the two rocks,' , was worshipped[5]. The latter city gave the name to a nome for a time in the Greek period. In its Lower toparchy lay Hermonthis, in the Upper toparchy Crocodilopolis and Pathyris itself[6]. Strabo is perhaps the only classical author that mentions these two towns, and he names the second Αφροδιτοπολις, this being the literal translation of Phathôr, Παθυρις.

The papyri from Gebelên belonging to the JOHN RYLANDS collection are all of the period which appears to be most fully represented there, the second century and the beginning of the first century B.C. The earliest is of the year 163, in the reign of Ptolemy VI, Philometor, the latest of 89 in the joint reign of Ptolemy XI and Cleopatra Berenice. Since the latest of the Theban group just dealt with date from 281 B.C., there is a gap of over a century unrepresented in the collection, comprising most of the reign of Philadelphus, the whole of the reigns of Euergetes, Philopator and Epiphanes, and a good part of that of Philometor. Not that papyri of that

[1] Many in *Gr. Pap.*, i, ii, and *Amh. Gr.*, ii: also *BGU.*, iii. 992–1000; KENYON, ii. pp. 13–16; RICCI in *Archiv*, ii. 515; REVILLOUT, *Mélanges sur la métrologie*, 251 et seq.; GOODSPEED, *Chicago Decennial Publications*, No. V; GERHARD, Ωνη εν πιστει in *Philologus*, lxiii. 498: an account of battles fought between Hermopolis and Crocodilopolis, and a will, GRENFELL and HUNT in *Archiv*, i. 57. See also the Index of GRENFELL and HUNT's *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum*, p. 113, and especially nos. 10343–10391. Mr. KENYON has kindly allowed me to utilize others in the proofs of the third volume of the British Museum Catalogue.

[2] The Greek papyri from Gebelên have been scattered indiscriminately amongst at least ten collections, so that fragments of the same documents are found in the British Museum and at Heidelberg. RICCI, *Archiv*, ii. 520.

[3] *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, i. 211.

[4] It is now probable that this and not Denderah is the P(er)-Hathor mentioned in the tomb of Paheri: TYLOR and GRIFFITH, *Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, p. 6.

[5] See also KRALL, *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Blemmyer und Nubier*, p. 2.

[6] GERHARD, Ωνη εν πιστει in *Philologus*, lxiii. p. 522.

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century are exceptionally rare. The reason is simply that the chance which enabled Lord CRAWFORD to secure so many treasures of first-rate value in the course of his tour up the Nile brought no find of this particular period into the market at the time.

From the end of the reign of Philadelphus onwards Greek papyri come to the aid of the demotist in ever increasing numbers. The inscriptions on stone also, of little interest for the first century of Greek rule, become of the highest importance. Amongst them the first places are of course taken by the Canopic decree of the reign of Euergetes and the Memphite decree on the famous Rosetta stone in the reign of Epiphanes. Besides these great trilingual inscriptions in hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek, short demotic-Greek and hieroglyphic-demotic bilinguals are numerous, and the papyri afford aid of a similar character. Three documents exist of this period which are or were almost complete translations into Greek of demotic legal documents which have themselves come down to us: others are translated from or modelled on lost Egyptian documents[1], or otherwise furnish parallels in formulae and details, by the help of which the demotic texts can be interpreted with fullness and safety. Often a Greek receipt is written on a demotic sale of land or of a house, recording the payment of the tax, again giving evidence every scrap of which is worth utilizing in the present stage of demotic study. Several examples of such dockets are contained in this collection, namely, in Nos. XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

(1) PAPYRI OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY VI, PHILOMETOR.

PAPYRUS No. XV. Sale of land (the 'writing for silver' and 'writing of abandonment' on one papyrus).

A. The 'writing for silver' (with restorations from B).

(1) [Year 19], Thoüt 16[2], of [king Ptlomaios, son of] Ptlom[aios] and Kleopatra, the gods manifest who have done good things (?)[3], and them who are established in Rakoti[4].

The proclaimer (?)[5] of the altar (?) of Isis (?) in the Metne of Paharekôsh[6], Siepmû son of Harenuô[7] and his mother Tathoüt, saith unto the woman Kelhib[8] the elder, daughter of Harapahti and her mother Tbellê:

[1] Cf. pp. 118, 125. [2] Oct. 19, 163 B.C.

[3] This unusual title is found attached to the name of Ptolemy alone in *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3119, also of the reign of Philometor. It is no doubt to be connected with that of the king (Epiphanes) on the Rosetta stone, 'the god come forth, lord of good things,' θεος επιφανης Ευχαριστος, the second part of which is rendered in the demotic by 'whose beneficence is beautiful.'

[4] Ρακωτις, Alexandria. This phrase refers to the eponymous priest of the deceased kings and queens from Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I downwards: see the detailed list in the next document. It is curious that there is no mention of the cult at Ptolemais.

[5] 'Proclaimer' in *Berl.*, 5507/6 = Ισιον[ομου], *Leid. Gr.*, P/20. See also p. 146, note 1.

[6] Compare 'the Metne of Pamên,' *Berl.*, 3116, 4/18 = Τμοτνενφα., Cas., 33/5, cf. ibid. 37/7, &c., i. e. Τμοτνεμπαμηνις in PEYRON, *Turin*, no. VIII; 'The Metne of Thoüt,' *Berl.*, 3116, 4/20; 'The Metne of Eshaur,' ibid. 5/9, and Τμοτνεν-πιβηκ(ις) ('of the Hawk'), Cas., 23/4, 26/1, all in the neighbourhood of Thebes and Hermonthis. The word *Metne* is obscure; 'path' or 'resting-place' seem possible meanings.

[7] Siepmû, 'Death hath sated' or 'may Death be (?) sated,' would be very appropriate, e.g. to a child whose mother died at its birth. The personification of death is hardly found before Ptolemaic times. Harenûo means 'Hôr brings tidings' or 'is Proclaimer (of Isis?).' The Greek rendering of this by Αρομγους, in the receipt, looks curious; but ομ for *en* presents little difficulty, for the Greeks constantly substitute ο for an obscure vowel in transcribing Egyptian words (SETHE, *Verbum*, i. p. 6), and γ for *w* (at the beginning of a non-initial syllable) is frequent

[8] Καλιβις. Kal- (followed by *hib* 'ibis') is probably a

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Thou hast caused my heart to agree to the silver, the price of the half-share of corn-producing land, which makes $9\frac{1}{2}$ aruras, i.e. $9\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{2}{16}$ aruras, i.e. $9\frac{1}{2}$ aruras again—with their stretch of measurement[1]—(2) [together with its garden (?)] and water supply (?), and the [half] share [of the house that is built in] it, which is in [Tiaboni[2]], which is in the endowment-land of Hathôr, mistress of Gebelên[3].

The adjoining areas of the whole land: south the land of [Hara]pahti son of Khenhib, north the land of Pamûn son of Pakhnûm (?), east the northern boundary (?) of the island of Hathôr[4] the water-channel being between, west the king's way.

Such are (?) the neighbours of the whole of the above land which I bought (for myself as half share)[5] for silver in year 6, Thoüt 21 of King Ptlomaios son of Ptlomaios ever living[6], from (?) the Ueeinin[7], who receives rations (?) amongst the men of Eumenes, who is written (3) [to the . . . . of] . . . . .[8] Am[monios son of Patrô]n, who is called Harpaêsi, [son of Phib and his mother Tshen]êsi.

And I give thee the writing for [silver] and the writing of divestment which he made me for the half share of the above land which is undivided: the prophet of Urem, the prophet of Sem[9], ka-servant (?)[10] of the beneficent gods, the father-loving gods, the gods

foreign (Libyan?) word, and perhaps the same as in καλασιρις (σαλαψιρε). In *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 32 (101 B.C.), this Καλιβις πρεσβυτερα is owner of some land, and in KENYON, iii. 883/23 (88 B.C.), it is called γη Καλιβιος πρεσβυτερα(ς) ης κρατουσιν οι υιοι.

[1] i.e. 'more or less' (?).

[2] Τιαβωνις in KENYON, iii. 1206/18.

[3] The modern Arabic name, the reading of the demotic name (*Anî*?) being quite uncertain.

[4] νησος Αφροδιτης της εν Παθυρει, *Gr. Pap.*, ii. 31.

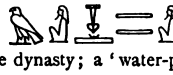
[5] The words between ( ) are added from the cession.

[6] Oct. 27, 177 B.C.

[7] i.e. the Greek, the name being doubtless derived from the Ιαfονες of earlier days, through an Aramaic plural; cf. MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, p. 370, note 3.

[8] The title is complete in B, but the reading of the last words is uncertain. In *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 7, Pl. V, from Gebelên, 111 B.C., we have a 'man who receives rations (or stipend) amongst the men of Haruoz (?) son of Nefhotp, being written to the territory of Tshosh (?),' and in the *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, no. 3097, Pl. 16, from Thebes, 150 B.C., a 'man who receives rations (?) amongst the men of Diodotus, who is written to Ne (Thebes).' Below, in Nos. XVII, XX, 118, 115 B.C., there is a 'man who receives rations (?) amongst the men of Lokhos (?), being written to (the hypaethrus of, in No. XVII only) Amûr (Crocodilopolis). Fragments of similar titles are in No. XIX, and in Nos. XXIII, XXIV the title is abbreviated to the 'man who receives rations (?), being written to Amûr.' Instead of 'being written,' 'writing,' i.e. making assignments of land (?) in the localities named might be the rendering: but evidently the expression means 'enrolled to,' 'assigned to.' These men were soldiers or veterans settled on the land, and Haruoz (= Αρυωθης), Diodotus, &c., their present or late commanders. Again, 'receive stipend (?)' might rather mean 'collect contributions' as commissariat officers, but this also is an improbable rendering. It is very tempting to identify the Ευμενης here with the commander of Illyrians in Μελεαγρος Ιλλυριος των Ευμενους πεντακοσιαρχος; MEYER, *Heerwesen*, p. 25, from *Petrie Pap.*, i. no. 13, but the date is 237 B.C., 60 years before the date of the transaction referred to here. But it is very noteworthy that the only instance from Gebelên of such an expression in Greek appears to be in GOODSPEED's Pap. VI, 129 B.C., Ωρος Ιμουθου Περσης των Βοηθου, Boethus appearing elsewhere (*Amh. Gr.*, ii. 36, c. 135 B.C.) as strategus and epistrategus of the Thebais. So also Lokhos (Lakhes?) of Nos. XVII and XX should be Λοχος Καλλιμηδου ο συγγενης και στρατηγος της Θηβαιδος in 127–6 B.C.; MEYER, *Heerwesen*, p. 80; DITTENBERGER, *OGIS.*, 135–9.

[9] Plural words, having a close resemblance to the titles of the chief priests of Heliopolis and Memphis respectively, who may in fact have been deified collectively. SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 25, note 3, has shown that one of these prophets appears in the Greek papyri as ιερευς Σουχου και Αφροδιτης. As No. XXXII connects the prophetship of Urem with the worship of Hathor at Pathyris, the prophetship of Sem must belong to that of Sobk at Crocodilopolis. The combined priesthood of Gebelên seems to have been mainly in the hands of the 'Persian' soldier-colonists; cf. MEYER, *Heerwesen*, p. 85.

[10] The Berlin papyrus, no. 3110 (Pl. I, l. 1), of the 35th year of Darius I (no. 62 on p. 30), seems to name a ka-servant (?) of  (?), i.e. Cambyses (?) the founder of the dynasty; a 'water-pourer' (choachyte) of this ka-servant (?) is also named. Ka-servant (?) is the old title

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manifest, Esmîn son of Thetertais and his mother Tauenbês, owning the other half, which makes $9\frac{1}{2}$ aruras, i.e. $9\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{2}{16}$ aruras, i.e. $9\frac{1}{2}$ aruras again, with their stretch of measurement, making (together) 19 aruras again (which are undivided)[1].

I have given them to thee: thine are they, their half share of fertile (?) land with the half of its (*sic*) house (4) [that is built in it (mentioned) above].

The sale-form continues as usual (p. 120, 6), ending:

Written by Thetertais son of Nekht-Min (?), who writes in the name of the priests of Hathôr Mistress of Gebelên, the brother gods, the beneficent gods, the gods loving their father, the gods manifest, of the 5 orders[2].

Messrs. GRENFELL and HUNT have kindly supplied the reading of the Greek docket:

(1) Ετους ιθ παχων ε̄ τετακται επι την εν Ερμωνθει τραπεζαν εφ ης Καλλιας εικοστης ενκυκλιου κατα την παρ Ασκληπιαδου του προς τηι ωνηι διαγραφην υφ ην υπογραφει Ζμινις ο παρα Πακοιβιος του παρα Διονυσιου του βασιλικου γραμματεως (2) Καλιβις πρεσβυτερα Αραπαθου γης σιτοφορου το ∠ ω̆ θ∠[3] και της προσουσης χερσου και της εν αυτηι οικιας ωικοδομημενης κατα το ∠ της ουσης εν τηι ιεραι προσοδωι της Αφροδιτης ης αι γειτνιαι δεδηλωνται δια της προκειμενης (3) συγγραφης ην ηγορασεν παρα Σιεπμουτος του Αρομγουτος χ̊ ⲡ δ̄ β̇[4] τελος ου α̊[5] χιλιας τριακοσιας /ἀτ[6] Καλλιας.

Year 19, Pakhon 5: paid[7] into the bank[8] in Hermonthis, over which[9] is Kallias, for the tax of a twentieth on sales[10]—in accordance with the report[11] of Asklepiades, tax farmer, subscribed to by Zminis the agent of Pakoibis, (the latter being) deputed by Dionysius the

of the priest (?) attached to the service of the ka or ghost of a dead man, but it is not certain that the demotic title is the same. Here the service is to the deceased predecessors of Philometor, but he, like most of the Ptolemies in the course of their reigns, was introduced into the cult as a living king. This ka-servant (?) cult of the Greek kings is at present only known in connexion with the prophetship of Sobk and Hathor at Crocodilopolis and Pathyris (Gebelên). From this it seems inseparable; for instances see *Dem. pap. Strassb.*, nos. 6, 8, and below, No. XXV. As the Greek documents do not name it distinctively, it seems probable that a similar cult was universal and taken for granted in every centre of native worship as a consequence of the ordinance in the decree of Canopus. The military priesthood of Gebelên was doubtless intended as a check on the natives of Thebes and Hermonthis, and was the more punctilious in its show of loyalty to the royal house.

[1] So cession, omitting 'which is undivided' above.

[2] This style of signature, in the name of the local priesthood including the priests of the divine kings of the 5 orders, is apparently not found in the contracts before the reign of Philopator. It will be recollected that the fifth order of priests was first established by the decree of Canopus in the 9th year of Euergetes in honour of the king and his wife Berenike, and it ordained, l. 21, και τους ιερεις (priests not prophets in the demotic) τους εν εκαστωι των κατα την χωραν ιερων προσονομαζεσθαι ιερεις και των Ευεργετων θεων. It will be observed that the earliest royalties named in this connexion, even in the papyri of the reign of Cleopatra III, are the Euergetae, while the Alexandrian priesthood begins with Alexander, that of Ptolemais with Soter, and that of the μονογραφος of Pathyris with the Φιλαδελφοι.

[3] = το ημισυ αρουρων εννεα ημισυ.

[4] = χαλκου ταλαντα δ̄' β, omitting δραχμας.

[5] = ου αλλαγη; see *Amh. Gr.*, ii. p. 37.

[6] = γινονται ἀτ.

[7] WILCKEN, *Ostr.*, i. 61.

[8] Ibid., 632. Hermonthis appears to have been in the lower toparchy of the Pathyrite nome, p. 130.

[9] Ibid., 636.

[10] Ibid., 183. In the reign of Psammetichus I there was a payment of $\frac{1}{10}$ of the price to 'the scribe of the account of the temple' at Thebes on the sale of land belonging to the temple as the overlord, according to nos. 6 and 9 in the inventory, pp. 17, 18. What royal taxes were levied in those days we do not know, but probably temple-lands were generally left untaxed. In the Ptolemaic period, the Greek dockets show a tax of 5% on sales, changing to 10% at the end of the reign of Euergetes II. Cf. GRENFELL and HUNT in *Amh. Gr.*, p. 63.

[11] Cf. *Amh. Gr.*, p. 34.

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royal scribe—by Kalibis the elder, daughter of Arapathes, on the half of $9\frac{1}{2}$ aruras of corn-land and of the dry land appertaining, and the house built in it according to the half share, in the sacred revenue-land of Aphrodite, the adjoining areas of which have been shown above by the preceding contract: which she bought from Siepmous son of Aromgous for 4 talents 2,000 (drachmae) of copper, the tax (of copper) on which an agio is charged[1] one thousand three hundred drachmae, total 1,300. (Signed) Kallias.

These receipts are not given by the tax-collector himself, but by the banker.

B. The cession *mutatis mutandis* is in the same words as the sale. Each document, though the two are united in one roll, is treated as distinct and separately witnessed on the back, the same 16 witnesses signing each in the same order except that the 13th and 14th are transposed.

The handwriting of this papyrus is as bold and fine as those of the reign of Philadelphus, and far superior to any that follow.

Papyrus No. XVI is a marriage contract of the later Ptolemaic type[2]. No less than eight of these contracts are in the collection, namely, XVI, XX (both complete), XXII (nearly complete), XXVII (injured), XXVIII (complete), XXXVII (a fragment containing most of paragraphs 5 et seq.), XXXVIII (nearly complete from paragraph 9), also XXX (not here collated), for which see p. 159. The dates of XXXVII, XXXVIII are lost: as usual, a gradual change of form can be detected in some parts, and there are large variations, induced by variable circumstances of persons, dowry, &c., but the paragraphs 3 and 12–20 are absolutely fixed.

The form is:

(1) Year . . . .

(2) Saith *A* to the woman *B*.

(3) I have made thee wife.

(4) I have given unto thee x[3] pieces of silver, i.e. $5x$ staters, i.e. x pieces of silver again, y[4] (measures of) wheat (?) their half $\frac{1}{2}\ y$ (measures of) wheat (?), i.e. y (measures of) wheat (?) again, as thy bridal gift.

[(5) If I abandon thee as wife, and hate thee, and approach (?) another woman than thee[5], I will give unto thee the hair (?)[6] of these x pieces of silver and y (measures of) wheat (?) which are above, that I have given unto thee as thy bridal gift.]

[1] In or before the reign of Epiphanes a copper standard was introduced, replacing the old silver standard; see Wilcken, *Ostr.*, i. 722. The discount on copper charged by the government was $2\frac{1}{4}$ obols on 24, about 10 %. Grenfell and Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*, i. p. 599.

[2] For the earlier type see No. X (p. 114).

[3] 400 in XVI; 100 in XX, XXII, XXVII, XXVIII; in XXXVII apparently 25.

[4] 10 measures in XVI, XX, XXVII; 5 in XXII, XXVIII. 'Measure' here means artaba, which is sometimes specified. Some other kind of corn than wheat may be intended.

[5] Or 'love (?) another woman more than thee.'

[6] Paragraph 5 occurs only in XVI, XXVII, [XXXVII]. XXVII reads as above, 'the hair (?),' which may be an expression for the full and precise weight (to a hair); hardly the 'duplicate (?)' nor the ἡμιόλιον of Greek contracts. XVI reads 'I will give thee 30 pieces of silver making 150 staters, i.e. 30 pieces of silver again, besides these x pieces of silver (&c., as above), making in all thy bridal gift which is above 430 pieces of silver and 10 measures of corn which are above, that I gave to thee as thy bridal gift: and I will give thee the third of all of everything that belongeth to me and that I shall acquire. XXXVII may be restored somewhat on the same lines, thus '[If I abandon thee, &c., I will give

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(6) Thy eldest son[1] (is?) my eldest son amongst the children that thou shalt bear to me, (and?) the owner of all of everything[2] that belongeth unto me, and that I shall acquire.

(7) Behold the list of thy bridal possessions that thou hast brought to my house in thy hand[3]: ⟨1 wig (?) worth 200 pieces of silver, &c.⟩

[(8) and the balance of thy bridal gift (of) x pieces of silver and y measures of wheat (?)[4].]

(9) making the value of thy bridal possessions which thou hast brought to my house in thy hand[3] z pieces of silver, i.e. $5z$ staters, i.e. z pieces of silver again, in copper at 24 pieces to 2 kiti[5] ⟨&c.⟩.

[(10)[6] beside these x pieces of silver and y (measures of) wheat (?) which are above, which I gave to thee as thy bridal gift[7].

(11) making in all thy bridal possessions which are above $x + z$ pieces of silver, i.e. $5(x + z)$ staters, i.e. $x + z$ pieces of silver again, in copper at 24 pieces to 2 kiti, and y measures of wheat (?) ⟨&c.⟩][8].

(12) I have received them at thy hand, in full without any remainder.

(13) My heart is in agreement unto them.

(14) When thou art within thou art within with them: when thou art abroad thou art abroad with them.

(15) Thou art their user (?), I am their trustee (?)[9].

(16) At any time that I shall abandon thee as wife, or that thou shalt (?) desire to depart thyself, so that thou be not mine as wife, I will give unto thee the copy of thy bridal possessions which are above, or their price in silver according to that which is written above.

(17) I shall not be able to require an oath from thee in the house of judgement on account of the penalty (?) of thy bridal property which is above, saying, 'thou didst not bring them to my house in thy hand[10].'

(18) It is thou that hast the right of execution against me in them.

(19) Without any patent or any word on earth being adduced against thee.

(20) Wrote it C.

unto thee 25 pieces of silver, making 125 staters, i.e. 25 pieces of silver again] besides these 25 pieces of silver, i.e. [125 staters, i.e.] 25 pieces of silver again which are above, that I gave to thee as thy bridal [gift]: completing 50 pieces of silver, i.e. 250 staters, i.e. 50 pieces of silver again: and I will give thee the third part of all of everything that belongeth to me and that I shall acquire.

[1] XXXVII omits paragraph 6, perhaps owing to ὁμοιοτέλευτον, see the end of the last note.

[2] XVI reads 'amongst the children that thou hast borne to me, and the children that thou shalt bear to me (are?) the owners of all of everything,' &c. XX omits 'of everything' and reads from the beginning 'The children that thou shall bear to me (are) the joint inheritors with my children of all that, &c.'

[3] So XVI, XXVII, XXVIII; 'with thee' XX, XXIII, XXXVII, XXXVIII.

[4] So XXVII, XXVIII; omit the paragraph XVI, XX, XXII, XXXVII.

[5] So XVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXVII, XXXVIII; XX, XXII omit 'in copper at 24 pieces to 2 kiti' (for which expression see below, p. 137); and XXXVIII adds a conversion into silver talents.

[6] Paragraphs 10, 11 in XVI (also XX, XXII); XXVII, XXVIII, XXXVII, XXXVIII omit.

[7] In XX, XXII the paragraph runs 'And thy bridal gift which is written above, x pieces of silver,' &c.

[8] In XX, XXII the paragraph is simply 'making in all, in silver $x+z$ pieces'; to which XXII adds 'which makes $\frac{x+z}{300}$ talents' ⟨&c.⟩.

[9] Or perhaps 'Thine is their usage (?), mine their responsibility (?).'

[10] 'With thee,' XX, XXXVIII.

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The lists of bridal possessions in different contracts are:

XVI.		XX.		XXII.	
a wig (?)	200[1]	a wig (?)	600	a wig (?)	200
another wig (?)	100	another wig (?)	150	[another wig	150]
a dress	120 (?)	a . . .	300	a sistrum	130
an armlet	90	an angle (?)	150	a mortar (?)	40
an angle (?)	50	a sistrum	300	a *bes*	20
a . . .	30	another sistrum, small	200	a copper egg	50
a large sistrum	100	a mortar (?)	200	an angle (?)	30
another sistrum, small	60	a mirror	60	an armlet	40
a mortar (?)	45	an armlet	60	a . . .	25
a pot (?)	5 (?)	a collar (?)	[1] fine	2 other . . .	15
a collar (?)	1 fine silver[2]	a ring	2 kiti fine	a ring	2 kiti fine
a seeking-case[3] for gold	1⅓ small gold piece	a finger-ring	1 kiti fine	a finger-ring	1 kiti fine
wheat (?), 20 ertob		a seeking-case for gold	1⅓ small gold	2 pots	60
		a pot	50	wheat (?), 10 ertob	

XXVII.		XXVIII.		XXXVII.	
a wig (?)	300	a wig (?)	800	a wig (?)	55
a hair- . . .	100	a . . .	200	an angle (?)	50
a . . .	200	an armlet	40	a seeking-case for gold	2 small gold = 40 silver[4]
an angle (?)	50	an angle (?)	60	a she-ass	300
a *bes*	30			another, filly	150
a pot	50			a pot	5

In XXXVIII the list begins with a wig (?) for 600 pieces of silver: the rest is lost.

The form of Greek sales is very different from that of demotic, involving different interpretations, if not a different legal code. But there is a wider separation between

[1] Many of the words are of uncertain meaning: the figures, unless otherwise stated, refer to the values in pieces of silver; the fine (?) silver pieces are reckoned separately in the summations.

[2] The values previously given are probably in debased silver coinage at the rate of 5 staters of about 218 grains to 1 'piece of silver.' But the true Egyptian silver teben weighed 1,400–1,500 grains, and perhaps this was retained in weighing fine silver. This 'fine (?) silver' is separately reckoned in the summations in 9 and 11, as always: but the word 'fine (?)' is quite uncertain; Brugsch read the word, which is very common, as simply the name for the *teben*.

[3] Or 'wish-case of (?) gold,' perhaps an amulet or a purse, hardly a letter-case.

[4] This equation is important. Weight for weight fine gold was worth 13⅓ times as much as fine silver, as a general rule for more ancient times. It seems possible that, in the Ptolemaic age, a piece of gold that was worth 20 more or less debased pieces of silver of 218 grains may have had the same weight as the silver piece. There is no evidence to be had from Greek papyri on this point, see *Tebtunis Papyri*, i. p. 320.

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the Greek marriage contract and that shown in the above outline. The essential considerations of dowry and the regulation of married life are quite differently treated, so that the wife would appear to be differently situated in regard to the husband according as she was married by a Greek or by a demotic contract. The Greek contract was, however, seldom resorted to in Ptolemaic times, only two examples being known, as yet, of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.[1] In Greek contracts of Roman date the bride's personal belongings are valued as in the demotic (contemporary examples are unknown), but otherwise there is little similarity, and we have no aid from them in interpreting the demotic formulae. It is remarkable that the older Ptolemaic type of native contract provided definitely for the maintenance of the wife, and so bore some resemblance to the Greek form; a gradual assimilation of native and Greek forms would have been expected, and instead we find, in this case, the divergence widened. Comparing the earlier Ptolemaic[2] with the later form, we recognize in it paragraphs 1, 2, and 19, of course, but of the rest only 4, 5, 6, 17, and 18 appear, and those in a shape considerably modified.

The importance of the copper currency in the later Ptolemaic age is shown in the demotic contracts by the frequent occurrence of a formula for conversion into copper of the values given to the bride's belongings in silver. The formula is 'in copper 24 (pieces) to 2 kiti.' GRENFELL[3] has pointed out its practical identity with the Greek phrase ληψομεθα εις τον σπατηρα οβολους κδ, 'we will receive 24 obols for the stater,' which he found in the Revenue Laws of Philadelphus, meaning that copper will be accepted for silver at par, without discount or agio. This established the interesting fact that the obol was at this time the standard Egyptian weight or coin in copper, needing no further specification than 'copper (piece),' just as the '(piece of) silver' meant the teben of 10 kitis. In the Ramesside age, c. 1300–1100 B.C., the copper teben was the usual standard of value, and is thought to have been the usual official teben of 1,400 to 1,500 grains (90·7 to 97·2 gr.), though other tebens are to be found. The same standard of 1,400 to 1,500 grains was probably used for the teben of silver, and corresponded closely to 5 staters of the Athenian and Macedonian standard (270 grains = 17·5 grammes). This equation of 5 staters to the teben or 2 kiti to the stater was so firmly fixed that when the Ptolemies adopted the 'Phoenician' standard of about 225 grains (14·5 grammes) for the stater it still held good. M. REVILLOUT, who was the first to point out the conversion formula 'in copper 24 (pieces) to 2 kiti[4],' naturally believed that the copper pieces were tebens and of the same weight as the silver tebens: the result was an equation of 1:120 for the relative value of copper to silver. In 1896, however, Mr. GRENFELL, in his edition of the Revenue Laws, suspected some serious error here, but did not venture to throw over the demotic evidence and its interpretation which

[1] See *Tebt.*, i. p. 449. WILCKEN has added a fragment from the Bodleian Library to his previous edition of NICOLE's Geneva papyrus in *Archiv*, iii. 387, making the text much more complete.

[2] Pp. 114 (Pap. No. X) and 117.

[3] *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Appendix III, pp. 200–10.

[4] It seems strange that 'stater' was not written instead of '2 kiti' in demotic, as this is obviously what is meant: otherwise 12 pieces to 1 kiti would be the more natural expression. Perhaps the phrase dates from a time when the name stater was as yet little known amongst the natives in Egypt.

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had met with general acceptance. Since then, however, jointly with Mr. HUNT and Mr. SMYLY, he has specially discussed the rates of exchange of copper and silver in the later Ptolemaic period[1], bringing much fresh evidence to bear on this question. He proves that drachmae represent quite different weights in silver and in copper, exchanges in the two metals varying from 500 (and even in some cases 600) to less than 400 copper drachmae for 1 silver drachma. What the obol may be cannot unfortunately be decided from the evidence of the Greek papyri: but it was evidently a coin, and to judge by the sums named being practically always multiples of 5 drachmae the smallest coin was probably 5 drachmae, so that the obol was either this or a multiple of it. The weights of actual copper coins also are of little help to decide the question, as they are very variable. But some copper coins appear to have marks of value upon them, namely, coins varying from 15·8 to 20 grammes and from 7·8 to 10 grammes, which seem to be 80- and 40-drachmae pieces respectively. A series of multiples and subdivisions of these can be constructed without much difficulty from the weights up to 400 (?) drachmae on the one hand and down to 5 drachmae on the other. There is also a general presumption in favour of a ratio of silver and copper approximating to 30:1, resulting from a comparison of the evidence of the papyri and the copper coins[2].

If this view, which is confessedly tentative, is correct, it is obvious that the copper drachma would not weigh, like the silver drachma, half a kiti of the standard of the silver teben, but more nearly $\frac{1}{15}$ or $\frac{1}{20}$ of it.

Now in some contracts[3] the denomination of the copper 'piece' is definitely marked by a symbol which BRUGSCH appears to have shown to be used occasionally for the kiti (of silver)[4]; it may be the full form of writing the kiti, while ordinarily an abbreviation is employed.

According to this the οβολος or copper (piece) would be a copper kiti. If it weighed the usual weight of the Egyptian kiti, 140–150 grains (= 9–9·7 grammes), it would agree well with the coin of 40 drachmae proposed above = 7·8–10 grammes. But to equate its weight with that of the silver kiti would give an exchange value, weight for weight, of only 12:1. It is far better to make it double the silver weight, and so equal to the weight of the 2-kiti piece or stater of the formula. Thus '24 (pieces of) copper to 2 kiti (of silver)' would express the ratio of copper to silver as 24:1, which as an official ratio seems sufficiently near to the approximate 30:1 of free and other exchanges. The obol might then be the supposed '80-drachmae' piece of 15·8 to 20 grammes to which GRENFELL and his collaborators incline[5]. 24 of these pieces would be the equivalent of a stater, i. e. 1 silver drachma would be worth 480 copper drachmae according to the formula.

[1] *Tebtunis Papyri*, i. Appendix II, pp. 580 et seqq.

[2] The above are some of the conclusions reached by GRENFELL, HUNT & SMYLY, loc. cit.

[3] The only instance in this collection is in No. XXXVIII.

[4] *Ä. Z.*, 30/8. Unfortunately the copies of demotic in this article are unsatisfactory. SPIEGELBERG has now given fresh instances on p. 185 of *Papyrus Th. Reinach.*

[5] *Tebt.*, i. p. 599.

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PAPYRUS No. XVI. Marriage contract.

Year 29, Pamenhotp 7 (?)[1], of the Kings Ptolomaios and Kleopatra his sister, the children of Ptolomaios and Kleopatra the gods manifest, and King Ptolomaios their eldest son[2], the god Eupator[3]; and the Priest of Alexander and the gods who stay evil[4], the brother gods, the beneficent gods, the gods who love their father, the gods manifest, the mother-loving gods, and the god Eupator[5]; (2) and the Bearer of the trophy of power of Berenike the beneficent[6], and the Bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe the brother-loving[7], and the Priestess of Arsinoe loving her father[8], according to them that are established in Rakoti [and Psoi] which is in the province of Ne[9]; Hermias son of Kriton being priest of Ptolomaios the Soter, Ptolomaios son of Ptolomaios[10] being priest of Ptolomaios (3) the mother-loving, Lysanias son of Hieronomos being priest of King Ptolomaios, their eldest son, the god Eupator, Sokrates son of Nikandros being priest of Ptolomaios the sister-loving, Hermas (?) son of Demetrios being priest of Ptolomaios the beneficent, *'Snws* son of Lykophron being priest of Ptolomaios the lover of his father, Didymos (4) son of Apollonius being priest of King (*sic*) Ptolomaios the god manifest, who hath done good things[11], Kleio daughter of Ktesion being priestess of the queen Kleopatra, Demetria daughter of Lysimachus being priestess of Kleopatra the mother, the goddess manifest, Trophinias (sic?) daughter of Nikanor son of (?) Tryphon bearing the golden basket before (5) Arsinoe the brother-loving.

2. The Belhmê (?)[12] born in Egypt, Khensthoüt, son of Harpaêsi and his mother Tshenpuêr, hath declared unto the woman Shebtlt, daughter of Harsiêsi and her mother Taêsi[13]:

[1] April 3, 152 B.C., unless the 5th of Phamenoth is meant, April 1.

[2] Or 'the eldest son,' i.e. the heir-apparent.

[3] The name is transliterated from the Greek. It was therefore probably conferred in Greek and not by an assemblage of native priests. In all later instances a demotic translation 'whose father was noble' or 'made him noble' is used. For the importance of this mention of Eupator as reigning see below.

[4] These Θεοι Σωτηρες, in demotic often also 'the gods who save' (*Rosetta*, &c.), were not included in the cult before Philopator's reign.

[5] All these titles belong to one priest of the cult of the Greek kings at Alexandria. In a few protocols both Greek and demotic, as below in this, the names of the priests either at Alexandria or at Ptolemais are given, but generally there is much abbreviation; see OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, pp. 137 et seqq., and for the names of priests pp. 175 et seqq.

[6] On the Rosetta stone αθλοφορος Βερενικης Ευεργετιδος, in the demotic 'the bearer of the gift of victory before Berenike the beneficent.' This does not occur in the decree of Canopus nor apparently elsewhere in the lifetime of Berenike (OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, p. 157), whose courageous action as a girl in getting rid of her false lover Demetrius (BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, i. 201, 246), and her general reputation, may have gained her this distinction. In the reign of Philopator the form of the title in demotic sometimes is 'the priestess of Berenike the mistress of power, the beneficent,' or else the Greek αθλοφορος is simply transliterated.

[7] κανηφορος Αρσινοης Φιλαδελφου, first found in the 19th year of Philadelphus. OTTO, ibid., p. 157.

[8] ιερειας Αρσινοης Φιλοπατορος, not found before the reign of Epiphanes, id., ibid.

[9] In the protocols of the trilingual decrees made in Lower Egypt there is no statement as to the locality of the priesthood. Demotic documents from Upper Egypt mention the cult in the province of Ne (Thebais) as early as the reign of Philopator. All the preceding titles belong to Alexandria: there now follows a full list with the names of the priests of the royal cult at Ptolemais εν Πτολεμαιδι της Θηβαιδος. This is clearly shown by statements in Greek papyri, no. 5 of the Louvre and others. In the reign of Philopator only a priest of 'Ptolemy the god (Soter) and the father-loving gods' is mentioned. Very few of the names of the Ptolemais priests are known. OTTO, ibid., pp. 193–6.

[10] Possibly the king himself was priest of his own divinity; cf. *Tebt.*, i. 182.

[11] Θεου Επιφανους Ευχαριστου. The title 'king' is probably a mistake as it seems to be given only to reigning kings in these lists.

[12] If correctly read, of the tribe of the Βλεμμυες (cf. Βλεμμυς) of Nubia (Strabo, xvii. 786, 819).

[13] In the 8th year of Cleopatra III and Soter II, 109 B.C., a son of this marriage, Φατρης του Χεσθωτου Περ- ὡς Lμ

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3. I have made thee wife.

4. The 'bridal gift' is 400 (pieces of) silver = 2,000 staters and 10 measures of wheat (?).

5. If he 'divorce her and (?) marries another' he (6) will give an additional '30 (pieces of) silver = 150 staters' and 'a third of all his property' that he has or shall gain.

6. 'Thy eldest son (is?) my eldest son amongst the children whom thou hast borne unto me, (he?) together with the children that thou shalt bear to me (are?) the owners of all of everything that belongeth unto me and that I shall acquire[1].'

7. The bridal possessions (shown on p. 136):

(7) a wig (?) (value) 200 (pieces of) silver, &c., a jug (?) (weighing) 1 teben of fine (?) silver, and a wish-case of gold (value) $1\frac{1}{3}$ small (?) (pieces of) gold, and 20 measures of wheat (?).

9[2]. making 810 (pieces of) silver, i.e. 4,100 (*sic*)[3] staters, in copper at 24 (pieces) to 2 kiti, &c.

10, 11. and with the bridal gift 1,210 (pieces of) silver, i.e. 6,050 staters—in copper at 24 (pieces) to 2 kiti, $1\frac{1}{3}$ small (?) (piece of) gold, 1 teben of fine (?) silver and 30 measures of wheat (?).

20[4]. Written by Thetertais son of Nekhtamûn (?), (10) who writes in the name of the priests of Hathôr lady of Gebelên, the brother gods, the beneficent gods, the father-loving gods, the gods manifest, the mother-loving gods, the god Eupator, of the 5 orders.

On the back are the signatures of sixteen witnesses.

The chief interest of the long protocol lies in its unique mention of Eupator as a living king. Eupator is not named by any of the ancient historians; his name was first discovered in a list of deified Ptolemies in a Greek papyrus at Leyden in the year 1821, and he has been the subject of controversy ever since. His position in the series of Ptolemies was particularly difficult to fix, for further discoveries showed that the lists placed him sometimes before Epiphanes[5], but generally either immediately before or immediately after Philometer, the earliest mention, however, being dated in the 31st year of Philometor. An inscription from Cyprus, the dedication of a statue to the king, proved that he was son of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra[6]. The datum furnished by the present document was rightly appraised by GRENFELL and his collaborators in

'Phatres the son of Khesthotes, Persian, about 40 years old,' authorizes the sale by his mother Σεβτιτις Αρσιησιος Περ- ὡς Lξ 'Sebtitis daughter of Harsiêsis, Persian, about 60 years old' of half an arura of cornland in Pathyris to 'her daughter Naamsêsis daughter of Spemminis, Persian, about 35 years old,' the latter acting with the authority of 'Eunomus son of Patseûs (l. Πασιεουτος sic, KENYON), a Persian about 35 years old,' who was perhaps her husband (in *Amh. Gr.*, ii. no. 50, called Ενιοος Πατσεουτος) *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 27. From this it seems that Shebtit, a so-called 'Persian,' married again a few years after this contract and had a daughter Naamsêsis by her husband Spemminis. The date and ages fit very well with the date in No. XVI. Naamsêsis often appears as a business woman in the Greek papyri.

[1] The meaning of this paragraph is not clear: a possible interpretation is indicated by additions between ( ). This marriage may have been concluded after a period of cohabitation and the birth of children.

[2] Paragraph 8 (p. 135) is omitted, as in all except the latest contracts.

[3] The conversion of 810 pieces of silver should be 4,050 staters, and the addition of the figures is perhaps incorrect. Those given in the translation (p. 136) make 800 pieces of silver, but 20 in 120 as the price of the dress is not certain, and 5 (for the pot) may have had a numeral before it.

[4] For 12–19 see p. 135.

[5] Only in the lists of the royal priesthoods of Ptolemais in which the order was not historical: the fact is therefore of little importance, as LEPSIUS long ago pointed out, *Abh. Berl. Ak.*, 1852, 466.

[6] DITTENBERGER, *OGIS.*, i. no. 123.

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1902[1], but their statement has been overlooked by subsequent writers, who make Eupator the successor of Philometor[2].

Philometor was born in 186 B.C., and succeeded to the throne in 181 under the regency of his mother, who died in 173. In or about 172, when he would be 14 years old, he married his still younger sister Cleopatra[3]. Now we find that on Phamenoth 1, of the 29th year of the reign, i.e. 28th March, 152 B.C., their son Eupator is associated in the kingdom. This is not the case in the 19th year (Pap. XV) nor in the 21st (Leyden 378), nor even in the very full protocols of the Paris papyri 2416, 2417[4], both dated on Pakhons 18 of the 28th year, i.e. June 15, 153 B.C. It is thus clear that the association of the son did not take place till about the 20th year after the marriage. On the 4th Tybi of the 31st year (Jan. 31, 150 B.C.) Eupator is no longer reigning, but is amongst the deified Ptolemies[5]. Two years and a half is therefore the utmost which he can have reigned.

That Eupator's brief reign was terminated by his early death seems also clear by a consideration of the variations in his position in the lists of the Ptolemies, which have hitherto appeared so puzzling, and which historians have been content to explain as due to sheer ignorance of his proper place on the part of the scribes. They can now be shown to be natural, and even in part logical.

In our papyrus Eupator as the newest of the kings takes his place at the end of the series in the priesthood of Alexandria and of the local Hathor. Later papyri of the same reign[6], from the 31st and 36th years (Berlin and Strassburg[7]), place him before the Philometores, presumably as having preceded them to heaven. But after the death of Philometor, the latter, as parent, is restored to the earlier place (Philometor-Eupator) in most of the demotic papyri of the reign of Ptolemy VIII (Berlin, JOHN RYLANDS XVII, &c.)[8], while in others (JOHN RYLANDS XVIII, XIX, &c.) the order remains as it was, Eupator-Philometer. After the death of Euergetes II the majority of the papyri give the precedence to Eupator, but naturally there is a good deal of variation[9].

In DITTENBERGER's collection of inscriptions there is a series of dedications of this period to Philometor and Eupator by some person whose name has been erased. Two are dedications to the Philometores and 'their son Ptolemy' and a separate dedication to Philometor, both from the neighbourhood of the First Cataract, and from Cyprus three

[1] *Tebt.*, i. p. 554.

[2] DITTENBERGER, l. c., BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, ii. p. 56, where the course of the controversy is stated; SVORONOS, *τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, i. *τπα–τπβ*.

[3] STRACK in *Archiv*, ii. 547. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, i. 395, note 3. LAQUEUR's excellent discussion in *Quaestiones Epigraph. et Papyrolog. selectae* has reached me since the following was written, and has greatly enlarged and corrected the evidence taken from the Greek papyri without, however, necessitating any alteration of the argument.

[4] REVILLOUT, *Chrest. dém.*, pp. 343, 351.

[5] *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, no. 3097, p. 9.

[6] GRENFELL and HUNT have published an interesting fragment of a protocol of the end of the reign of Philometor, naming the priest of Eupator and the priestess of his sister Cleopatra; *Amh. Gr.*, ii. no. 45. In all probability it dated from the lifetime of Eupator.

[7] See also LAQUEUR, *Quaestiones*, p. 31, whose evidence is in agreement with this.

[8] LAQUEUR, l. c., p. 35, shows that after 139 B.C. Eupator regularly follows Philometor also in the Greek papyri.

[9] Mr. KENYON informs me that the Greek papyri after 116 B.C. have Ευπατωρ-Φιλομητωρ unanimously.

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dedications to Eupator alone [1]. It seems probable that Cyprus was marked off in a special degree as Eupator's sphere of rule.

There is, however, still one important complication to be considered. Coins are in existence which have been attributed to the joint reign of Philometor and Eupator, year 36 of the former being equivalent to year 1 (A) of the latter. In 1904 Svoronos, in his great work on the Ptolemaic coinage, showed that another interpretation may be put on them: he attributed the coins to the 36th year of Euergetes II, struck for circulation in Paphos and in Alexandria or Egypt (A) [2]. But discovery proceeds apace. A funerary inscription from the Faiyûm was published almost at the same time, giving a Ptolemaic date, year 36 = year 1, which Strack [3], agreeing with de Ricci, attributes without hesitation to Philometor and Eupator. It is just conceivable that Eupator, after having been given a share in the Egyptian throne about year 29, was removed and given a separate kingdom in Cyprus: if he survived he would have reigned again on the death of his father until Euergetes II disposed of him. The removal from the throne might have entailed the temporary change in his position on the list of deified kings. But perhaps Philometor had another son who succeeded him for a few months of reign; or, perhaps the 36th year refers to some other king than Philometor: e. g. Ptolemy X with Cleopatra Berenike.

Papyri of the Reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II.

Papyrus No. XVII. Donation of a mortgaged house.

Patseʿô gives a house to his son Nekhûtf. It had been mortgaged by Patseʿô to his wife Tshenapahe, who therefore sanctions the gift. Tax is paid, perhaps, on the amount of the mortgage.

Year 52 Emkhir 20 [4], of King Ptolomaios the beneficent, son of Ptolomaios and Kleopatra the gods manifest, and the queen Kleopatra his sister, and the queen Kleopatra his wife, the beneficent gods, and their children [5]; and the Priest of Aleksatros, the saving gods, the fraternal gods, the beneficent gods, the gods who love their father, the gods manifest, the mother-loving gods [6], the god whose father was noble [7], the beneficent gods; (2) and the Bearer of the trophy of victory of Berenike the beneficent, and the Bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe

[1] Dittenberger, l. c., nos. 121, 122; 123, 125, 126.

[2] Svoronos, *τὰ νομίσματα*, l. c.

[3] *Archiv*, iii. 128 (dated 1903).

[4] March 11, 118 B.C.

[5] The references in this and the next papyrus to the co-regency of the children in the 52nd and 54th years of Euergetes II are the first discovered. *Tebt.*, nos. 5 and 43 are of the 52nd and 53rd years. Amongst the demotic papyri of Berlin, from Thebes, are two dated in Pachons and Payni of the 52nd year, and one in the 54th year, but the protocol of the latter is as brief as possible (*Dem. Pap. Berl.*, pp. 13, 14). It seems that such references are especially to be looked for in the papyri from Gebelên, and in these might occur before year 52. The children are probably Philopator II and those who subsequently reigned as Ptolemy X, XI, and their sisters Cleopatra (IV) and Cleopatra Selene. Note that there is no reference to Philopator II or any children in the priesthoods of this or of No. XIX, which was apparently written a few days later. For Philopator II see the note to the next papyrus.

[6] So also in the Greek papyri of this time: Cleopatra II reigning now as Euergetis.

[7] The meaning of the demotic for *Ευπατωρ* might be 'the god whom his father glorified.'

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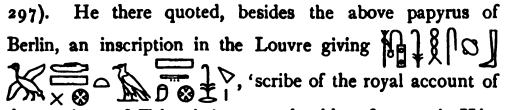
the brother-loving, and the Priestess of Arsinoe who loves her father, and them who are established in Rakoti and them who are established in Psoi which is in the province of Ne.

The prophet (?)[1], scribe of the province of Ne (in ?) Tshetrês[2], Patseᶜô, son of Phib[3] and his mother the woman of revenue[4] Tshenêsi, saith unto the man receiving pay (?) amongst the men of Lokhos[5], written to the hypaethros[6] of Amûr[7], (3) Nekhûtf called Eunous, son of Patseᶜô and his mother Takhons[8].

I have given unto thee my house which is over the gate of the Well, fully provided with beams and doors, comprising a chamber (?), a vestibule, a staircase (?) below upward, built and covered in, in the eastern quarter of Phathôr which is called the Well[9]: the plots adjacent to which are, south the house of Uershê (?) son of Hôr, north the house of Pshenpuêr son of Khensthoût, which is held by his children, east and west the king's street.

[1] The reading 'prophet' is confirmed by the mention in *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 35, l. 8 (date 98 B.C.) of the *παστοφοριον* of Παπεουτος (l. Παστεουτος as verified by KENYON) *του Φιβιος* amongst the chambers of the priests in the temple of Pathyris. In that papyrus, as here also, the amount of the tax was paid into the bank of Crocodilopolis.

[2] Or possibly 'Tshetrês in the province of Ne,' or better 'Tshetrês, i. e. the province of Ne.' SPIEGELBERG has pointed out that Tshetrês, 'the southern district (?),' was the name of a portion of Upper Egypt, probably including Elephantine at the southern extremity and stretching far north (*OLZ.*, 1904, 11). As yet the name has been found in few texts. The Turin papyri of Psammetichus I (above, pp. 17, 18) concern a piece of land 'in the endowment-lands of Amûn, in Tshetres (occasionally adding 'of (?) Ne'), in the field of Ermont (Hermonthis) in the field of Tmetpbêk,' where Tmetpbêk (cf. p. 131, note 6) is the village, Ermont the nome-capital, and Tshetrês the province: similarly in the Louvre papyrus of Necôs (p. 19). A contract at Berlin of the 35th year of Darius I was made by 'the herdsman (?) of the province of Tshetrês' (no. 62 on p. 30), and in the Aramaic papyrus of Strassburg of the reign of Darius II, published by EUTING, SPIEGELBERG observed the same name 'the district of Tshetrês' מרינה תשמרם (*Mém. de l'Acad.*, xi. 297). He there quoted, besides the above papyrus of Berlin, an inscription in the Louvre giving  , 'scribe of the royal account of the province of Tshetrês,' among the titles of a certain Hôr, who was priest in the XIth and XIIth nomes of Upper Egypt (Hypselite and the opposite nome), held local offices from Coptos to This and the Great Oasis, and was son of a priest of Chemmis and Coptos. Cf. *Rec. de Trav.*, xxi. 18. This indicates that Tshetrês reached north of Thebes, at least as far as Asyût. Probably it was coextensive with 'the province' of Ne, Θηβαις, which stretched from Elephantine to the nome of Hermopolis (above, p. 89, note); any other division at that time seems unlikely.

The title here, 'scribe of the province of Ne, Tshetrês,' is probably identical with that quoted in hieroglyphs above from the Louvre inscription. It would perhaps be rendered in Greek by *βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς*.

[3] The house of this Patseᶜô is named in the demotic papyrus of Strassburg, no. 8, as well as his *παστοφοριον* above, note 1, and his 'waste lands' in No. XXIII below. He was probably brother of Harpaêsi (Ammonius) who was son of Phib (Patron) by Tshenêsi in XV.

[4] Probably meaning 'a woman of substance,' 'heiress,' with an income or pension, *sᶜanakh*, cf. p. 99, note 3.

[5] Or Lakhes (Λαχης), but cf. above, p. 132, note 8.

[6] With feminine article suggesting *ἡ ὑπαιθρος* as the original form. *Του εν Πτολεμαιδι υπαιθρου* (?), also dative *τωι υπαιθρωι*, occur in *Gr. Pap.*, i; *Amh. Gr.*, ii. for the camp at Ptolemais. The word is there indexed as *το υπαιθρον*, but possibly it was *ὁ ὑπαιθρος* and the Egyptians changed the gender, cf. *sîtr* (cατεερε) fem. = στατηρ.

[7] The native name of Crocodilopolis: the pronunciation is not certain.

[8] Νεχουτης ος και Ευνομος Πατσεουτος in the docket. The confusion of Ευνομος and Ευνους occurs elsewhere. The same man is found in *Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 27 (109 B.C.) Ευνομου του Παστεαστος (l. Παστεουτος, KENYON) Περ- ως Lλε: *Amh. Gr.*, ii. no. 50 (106 B.C.) Ευνοωι Πατσεουτος και Πατσεουτι Ορσεους τοις δυσι Περσαις της επιγονης: and in *BGU.*, no. 999 (99 B.C.) Ευνους ὁς και Νεχουτης Πατσεους (sic) Περσης της επιγονης ως Lν (50), &c. In the demotic papyri he occurs in XX, XXIII (?) both with title, XXV, XXXIII, XXXIV. Cf. also No. XXXV and KENYON, iii. no. 676. It is curious that the name of his mother is never given again. For Περσης της επιγονης see MEYER, *Heerwesen*, pp. 83–6.

[9] *την οικιαν*, &c. *της ουσης εν τῳ απο απηλιωτου μερει Παθυρεως λεγομενης κρηνης*, *Amh. Gr.*, ii. no. 51; *της οικιας*, &c. *ουσης εν τῳ απο νοτου και απηλιωτου μερει της εν Παθυρει κρηνης*, and again in col. 2 *ημισυ* [*οικιας*], &c. *εν τη κρηνη Παθυρεως*, *BGU.*, iii. 999. In 99 B.C. (*BGU.*) Nekhoutes 'sells' the south half for the 2,000 dr. of the mortgage (p. 145) and in 88 B.C. (*Amh.*) part or all is sold for 1 talent.

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Such are the adjacent plots (4) of the above house, which is built and covered, fully provided with beams and doors, comprising a chamber (?), a forecourt, and a staircase below upward—all of them.

I have given it unto thee: it is thine: it is thy house built and covered in, fully provided with beams and doors, comprising a chamber (?), a forecourt, and a staircase (?) below upward, (described) above.

I have no claim on them against thee in its name.

No man on earth shall be able to have authority over it except thee from to-day onwards[1].

The son, grandson, brother, sister, or cousin[2] who shall come to thee on account of the above house, (5) he shall give 15 teben of silver in metal (?) of the pieces of the treasuries of Ptah[3] refined, unto the burnt-offerings of the king[4], and thou shalt still have claim upon him to cause him to do according to every word that is above[5].

And the woman of revenue, owner for silver[6], Tshenamûn, daughter of Peshur[7] and her mother Tshenapahti, his wife[8], saith, 'Receive a writing from the above prophet, scribe of the province of Ne (in ?) Tshetrês, Patseʿô, son of Phib and his mother the woman of revenue Tshenêsi, my husband. My heart agreeth unto it: I having claim upon him for the right of the writing of revenue and the writing for silver which he made unto me to do unto me its provisions at all times: I being without claim on Nekhûtf called (6) Eunous, son of Patseʿô and his mother Takhons, in regard to his house, and them who have claim on him (?)[9], which are (described) above, without quoting any patent or any word in the land.

Written by Espnûti[10] son of Zeho, writing in the name of the priests of Sobk lord of Amûr, of the 5 orders.

[1] The form of the donation follows rather closely that of a sale (p. 120), comprising the following paragraphs 1, 2 [I have given unto thee, &c., corresponds to 3], 4, 5, 8, 9; the following paragraph is related to 10.

[2] Cf. p. 120, note 7.

[3] It seems that the standard of silver coinage was still (nominally) that of the temple of Phtha at Memphis, and the sacred (?) banks were under the protection of Phtha (see above, p. 76); '(pieces of) silver of the treasury of Ptah refined (?)' are dealt with in the contract of the 8th year of Philip Arrhidaeus (above, p. 113). Mr. Cowley, who finds in several Persian-Aramaic papyri from Elephantine באבני מלכא 'by the king's weight' (or standard), is now able to read in l. 2 of the Bodleian papyrus from the same locality (*PSBA.*, xxv. 205) באבני פתח 'by the weight of Ptah,' as he kindly informs me.

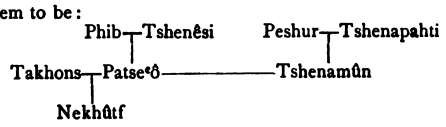
[4] Cf. the cession *BGU.*, iii. 998, II. και προσαποτεισατω ο επελθων επιτι(μον) παραχρημα χαλκου ταλαντα οκτω και ιερα βασιλευσι αργυριου επισημου δραχμας ρξ. In Grenfell, *Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 27, and other cessions and mortgage releases, αποτεισατω ο επελθων επιτιμον παραχρημα χαλκου τα. ι και ιερας βασιλευσι αργ- δρ. σ, with ιερας (δραχμας) instead of ιερα. ιερα accords more closely with the demotic, but Mr. Kenyon says that there is no doubt of the reading ιερας in the British Museum papyri. It seems reasonable to interpret the demotic literally, and to admit that the fines in silver went to the upkeep of the sacrifices to the kings.

[5] In the above cession, *BGU.*, 998, and elsewhere, the penalty in the passage quoted is similarly followed by και μηθεν ησσον επαναγκον αυτω εστω ποιειν κατα (τα) προγεγραμμενα.

[6] i.e. her rights assured by a money-consideration. [But cf. Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/190.]

[7] Probably meaning 'the Assyrian,' see additional notes.

[8] A different word is used for 'wife' from that which occurs in the marriage contracts, but it probably has no special meaning. Tshenamûn was the second wife, the first having been Takhons mother of Eunous. The relationships seem to be:



For the sanction of the mother cf. *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 26.

[9] Or 'those things which follow it.'

[10] Meaning 'Belonging to God': it suggests a Jewish monotheist; he is described as Αιγυπτιος, but perhaps only because he wrote Egyptian contracts: Εσπνουθις Αιγυπτιος

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Messrs. GRENFELL and HUNT have kindly supplied transcripts of the Greek dockets on this and the following papyri, XVIII, XIX.

Greek docket:

(1) *ετους νβ Παχων κᾱ τε επι την εν κροc̣ τ̣ῆ̣ εφ ης Απολλωνις ι′ ενκυκλιου κατα την* (2) *παρα Πανισκου και Κεφαλωνος τελωνων διαγραφην υφ ην υπογραφει Πολυδε̣ῦ̣ς ο αντιγ̣ρ̣̂* (3) *Νεχουτης ος και Ευνομος Πατσεο̣ῦ̣ οικιας ωικοδομ̣η̂ και τεθ̣ῆ̣ και δεδοκωμενης* (4) *επανω της πυλης ην τεθεικεν Πατσεους ο πατηρ αυτου* ̣χ̂ <β̣́ *ου* ̣ὰ *σ*

(1) Year 52, Pakhon 21: there has been paid into the bank in Krokodilopolis, over which is Apollonios, for the tax of $\frac{1}{10}$ on sales, in accordance with the (2) report of Paniskos and Kephalon, tax-farmers, to which Polydeukes the antigrapheus subscribes, (3) by Nekhoutes, who is also called Eunomos (*sic*) son of Patseous: for a house built and furnished with doors and beams (4) over the gate, which Patseous his father has mortgaged[1]. Copper 2,000 drachmae, for which an agio is charged: 200.

Signatures of 16 witnesses on the back.

PAPYRUS No. XVIII. Agreement for sale of land, with banker's receipt in Greek.

Year 54, Thoüt 14[2], of King Ptolomaios the beneficent god, son of Ptolomaios and Kleopatra the gods manifest, and the queen Kleopatra his sister, with the queen Kleopatra his wife, the beneficent gods, and their children: and the Priest of Aleksantros, the saving gods, (2) the fraternal gods, the beneficent gods, the gods who love their father, the gods manifest, the god whose father was noble, the mother-loving god, the god that loved his father[3], the beneficent gods: and the Bearer of the trophy of power of Berenike the beneficent, and the Bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe the brother-loving, and the Priestess of Arsinoe (3) who loves her father, and them that are established in Rakoti and Psoi, which is in the province of Ne.

μονογραφος Κροκοδιλων πολεως in *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 25. Apparently the title *μονογραφος* refers to his writing in the name of the whole priesthood of the locality.

[1] Mr. KENYON is editing a Greek docket (KENYON, iii. no. 1201) to a demotic mortgage in which the terms are stated thus: 'thou hast *x* silver owing from me: I will give thee thy *x* thus and thus: if not, thou hast caused my heart to agree to the silver as the price of my land, &c., &c. (full formula of *πρασις*).' This is the form also of *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 44, which is therefore a mortgage of land (for a loan of corn), and of the contract y. 36, Ptol. II (p. 114).

[2] Oct. 4, 117 B.C. Euergetes' dates are found till July 116, and perhaps he survived till then (BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, ii. 85), but this is the latest known papyrus with his full protocol.

[3] i.e. Neos Philopator, whose name is not in the Pathyrite priesthood at the end of the document. The first appearance of this deified king is in a demotic papyrus at Berlin of the 3rd or 5th Pachon in year 52, but he is not in the slightly later Berlin papyrus of the 10th Payni of that year, nor in the slightly earlier papyrus of the 20th Mechir (above, No. XVII). There is no Greek list of the deified kings of these last years of Euergetes II. The position of Philopator II immediately before Euergetes II and following either Philometor or Eupator never changes in the papyri, though according to LEPSIUS three hieroglyphic lists place him after Euergetes II. Papyri of the years 46 (*Dem. Pap. Berl.*), 48 (KENYON, iii), 49 (*Nouv. Chrest.*, 87), 50 (*Chrest. dém.*, 85) exist without any trace of him. The later Greek papyri often omit him, e.g. Paris, no. 5 (113–4 B.C.), Leiden N (105 B.C.); but he appears regularly in the Gebelên Greek papyri, *BGU.*, 994 (113 B.C.), ibid., 995 (110–9 B.C.), also though muddled, ibid., 996 (107–6 B.C.), *Gr. Pap.*, i, ii, and in the Aswân stela of the lifetime of Cleopatra III; DITTENBERGER, *OGIS.*, no. 168. In the hieroglyphic and demotic lists he is always present (LEPSIUS, *Ptolemäergeschichle*, p. 468). Philopator II was no doubt one of the 'children' associated in the rule at the end of the reign of Euergetes II, and mentioned in this and the last papyrus. The Gebelên papyri may be expected to fix the date of their association.

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The proclaimer (?) of the shrine (?) of Êsi in Phathôr, Pshenanûp, son of Hôr[1] and his mother Temekhas, saith unto the woman Maithoüt, daughter of Pshenanûp and her mother Tshenamûn:

Thou hast caused my heart to agree to the silver of the price of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits of land[2], i.e. (4) 150 cubits of area[3], i.e. $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits of land again, which are in the middle and west quarter of Phathôr. The plots adjacent to which are: south the king's street, north and west the remainder of my plots of waste-ground[4], east the waste-ground of Tshenamûn daughter of Pleehe. Such are (?) the adjacent plots to the above dry waste-ground, all of it, comprising $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits of land.

(5) I have given it unto thee, &c.
I have received, &c.
no man on earth, &c.
he that shall come, &c.[5]

(6) Thine are its writing, &c.
every writing, &c.
The oath, &c.

(7) Wrote it Nekhtmîn son of Nekhtmîn, who writes in the name of the priests of Hathôr lady of Ant (?), the fraternal gods, the beneficent gods, the father-loving gods, the gods manifest, the god whose father was noble, the mother-loving god, the beneficent gods[6], of the 5 orders.

Greek docket:

(1) ετους νδ φαωφι ιε΄ τε επι την εν Κροκοδι τρ̊ εφ ης Πτολεμαιος ι΄ εγκ̆ κατα την παρα Πανισκου του προς τηι ωνη[ι διαγ]ρ̊[α] υφ ην (2) υπο γρ̊ Απολλ̆ ο αντιγρ̊ ωνης Μαιθωτιος της Ψενενουπιος ψιλου τοπου αζ ων αι γειτνιαι δεδ̊ δια της προκέι συγγρ̊ ην ηγορ̊ (3) παρα Ψενενουπιος του Ωρου προς χ̊ ⊼ α τε̊ ου α̣ < χ
/< χ

πτ̊ τρ̊

In the left-hand lower corner of the roll the scribe has begun to write ετου(ς), probably a trial of the pen.

Year 54, 15 of Phaophi: there was paid into the bank at Krokodilopolis, over which presides Ptolemaios, for the tax of $\frac{1}{10}$ on sales, in accordance with the report of Paniskos

[1] The will of Psenthôtes, brother of this Psenenoupis, is published in *BGU.*, iii. no. 993. He is there described, in 128–7 B.C., as 58 years old, Ψενθωτης Ωρου Ισιονομος Ισιδος θεας μεγιστης. The title is evidently equivalent to that of Pshenanûp in this papyrus. His rights in days of the αγνειαι in two Isis-shrines are mentioned, viz. in το εν Παθυρει Ισιειον λεγομενης Ισιδος Νεμητος θεας μεγιστης, and in το εν Τμοντμενιβιτει (in the duplicate Τμουεβιτει) Ισιειον. Maithoüt is probably the daughter of this Pshenanup, though there is no proof of this.

Hôr—Temekhas
Ψεννησις (?) Ψενθωτης—Τσεννησις Ψενενουπις—Tshenamûn
Τασημις Maithoüt

[2] Lit. 'cubits of main-land (?).' πηχεις, defined as στερεου in *Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 25, i.e. the width of a cubit in the side of the arura, measuring 100 cubits, and known as σχοινιον (Kenyon, ii. p. 130; *Oxyrh.*, ii. p. 290; *Tebt.*, i. p. 81), and to the Egyptians as the 'stick of cord' or simply 'stick,' meaning the measuring cord. The land sold here in 'cubits of land' is ψιλος τοπος as usual.

[3] i.e. square cubits.

[4] Not cultivated and not built over, but suitable for building, &c.

[5] There is a variant here not noted on p. 121, § 11, 'and I will purge it for thee from every writing, every patent, *every right conferred by* any word (or thing?) in the land at any time.'

[6] Philopator II is not in this list.

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the tax-farmer, subscribed by Apollonios the antigrapheus of the (tax-) farm: by Maithôtis daughter of Psenenoupis, for bare ground 1½ aruras, of which the adjacent plots are shown in the above contract; which she bought from Psenenoupis son of Horus, for 1 talent of copper, tax (of copper) on which an agio is charged 600 drachmae.

Total 600 drachmae.

(Signed) Ptolemaeus, banker.

On the back, signatures of 16 witnesses. The first and others appear in XVII, and the last is probably the Πατσεους Πατητος whose appointment as οικονομος of Παθυρις is preserved in *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 37.

PAPYRUS No. XIX. Agreement for sale of share in land, with banker's receipt in Greek.

(1) [Year 52, Emkhîr 28 (?)[1], of King Ptolomaios the beneficent god, son of Ptolomaios] and Kleopatra the [gods manifest], and the queen Kleopatra his sister and the queen Kleopatra his wife, (2) [the beneficent gods and their children[2]: and the Priest of Alexantros, the saving gods, the fraternal gods] the beneficent gods, the gods [who love their father, the gods] manifest, the god whose father was noble, the mother-loving god, the beneficent gods: and the Bearer of the trophy (3) [of power of Berenike the beneficent, and the Bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe the] brother-loving, and the priestess of Arsinoe who loves her father, and them who are established in Rakoti and Psoi, which is in the province of Ne.

The man who receives pay (4) [being written to . . . . . ., Harmahi son of Hôr, and Shleh son of Hôr, his brother, their mother being Ta . . . ., two persons with one mouth, have declared to the man who receives pay . . . . being written to Amûr (?)[3]] Pshenmenkhe, son of Panekhati and his mother Klûze.

Thou hast caused our hearts to agree to the silver of the price of our ⅓ share of *sharâki*-land which is in the *sharâki*-land[4] of . . . . . (5) [. . . . . in the endowment-land of Hathôr mistress of Ant (?)], which hath come to us in the name of Hôr son of Patû (?) our father. The areas adjacent to the whole of the land: south the land of Patû son of Phib[5], north the land of Pueriebt[6] [son of . . . . . .], east the land of Kluz son of Phib, west the desert; such are (?) [the areas adjacent] to the above land, all of it.

We have given it unto thee, thine it is, our (*sic*) above ⅓ share of *sharâki*-land it is.

The usual formulae of sale follow (p. 120).

Written by Nekhtmîn son of Nekhtmîn [who writes in the name of the priests of Hathôr

[1] See p. 148. The date is March 19, 118 B.C.

[2] This phrase may be safely restored, as the date is a few days later than No. XVII in which the children are named.

[3] The restorations here given of the first 3 lines require equal space as measured on Nos. XVII and XVIII. That of l. 4, constructed on the analogy of the usual titles of εποικοι and the formula of XXIV, is too long, but it is impossible, without a direct model, to say what superfluities were omitted. The parties are all Persians of the Epigone, see note to No. XXIV. Ψεμμενχης Πανεχατου Περσης της επιγονης was about 40 years old in 103 B.C. (*BGU.*, iii. 997), but about 55 in 101 B.C. (ibid., 998), which shows how little accuracy is to be expected in the statements as to the age of persons in the Greek documents.

[4] γης ηπειρου σιτοφορου and πεδιον in the docket; properly the higher land requiring artificial irrigation.

[5] Cf. απηλιωτου γη Πατουτος του Φιβιος και των αδελφων, *Gr. Pap.*, i. xxvii.

[6] Not improbably, Pueriebt also was a son of Phib. His father's name is lost in XXIV also.

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mistress of Ant(?), &c. . . . . the god] whose father was noble, the mother-loving god, the beneficent gods, of the 5 classes.

Signatures of 16 witnesses on the back.

Greek docket:

(1) ετους δ[1] Παυνι ιε̄ τε επι την εν κρ̣Η τ̣ρ̣ εφ ης Απολλ̣ δεκ̣ εγ̣κ̣ κατα διαγραφην Πανισκου του προς τηι ωνηι δια . . . . . (2) γης η̄(?) σιτ̣ μερους ϛ εν τωι περι Παθ̣ πεδιωι ην ηγορασεν παρα Αρμαιος του Ωρου χαλκον π α β̣ . . . .

Year 4 Pauni 15: there has been paid into the bank in Krokodilopolis, over which is Apollonios, for the tax of a tenth on transfers, on the report of Paniskos the tax-farmer(?), by [Psemmenkhes son of Panekhates] on $\frac{1}{6}$[2] part of . . . . . of arable land on the mainland(?) in the plain about Pathyris, which he bought from Harmais son of Horus: copper 1 talent 2,000 (drachmae).

The beginning of this papyrus of sale has been torn away, the lines losing fully a third of their length. The date has gone with the names of the vendors (being more than one in number), that of the purchaser, Pshemmenkhe, alone remaining; but it is evidently of the reign of Euergetes II. The Greek docket, however, shows that tax on half of the purchase money was paid in Payni of year 4, which cannot apply to Euergetes II; and it preserves the name of one vendor, Harmais son of Horus.

Happily an examination of papyrus No. XXIV shows that the latter concerns the same piece of land. It is a release in the reign of Cleopatra III and Soter II from a sale by Harmahi and his brother Shleh (the former name being restored only by the aid of a Greek papyrus published by GRENFELL) to the above Pshemmenkhe, which was dated in Mechir of the 52nd year of Euergetes II. Evidently this was the sale in No. XIX, of which we thus learn the date and the name of the second vendor, besides completing the mutilated description of the property. There still remains the difficulty of the date of the 4th year in the Greek docket, 4 years after the sale. The date of No. XXIV is mutilated, but it was in Payni of some year. It seems evident that the sale in No. XIX was never completed (and was perhaps in reality a mortgage), but when this sale was rescinded or about to be rescinded (or the money lent on the land received back) the tax was paid, in Payni of year 4: consequently [year 4] Payni is to be restored at the beginning of No. XXIV. The two papyri thus complete each other in a quite extraordinary manner with the aid of the Greek papyrus. It appears that the tax was paid 12 days before the release was made. Probably there is no other instance known of the payment of the tax being so long deferred and eventually made after a delay of 4 years, but the explanation suggested seems quite sufficient to account for it in this instance.

The μονογραφος Nekhtmîn, who wrote No. XIX, has some peculiarities in style which distinguish him from Espnûti, the chief being the preservation of Eupator's old

[1] There is no trace of a numeral preceding δ.

[2] The demotic is for $\frac{1}{3}$, but only one of the vendors is mentioned in the Greek; the tax was therefore paid on his half only.

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position in the royal cult before his parents the Philometores. No. XVIII, written by Nekhtmin only two years later, provides an excellent model for the restoration of the protocol in No. XIX.

PAPYRUS OF THE JOINT REIGN OF CLEOPATRA II, CLEOPATRA III, AND SOTER II.

PAPYRUS No. XX. Marriage contract.

Year 2, Paopi 9 (?)[1], of the queen Kleopatra and the queen Kleopatra and the king Ptolomaios their son[2], the mother-loving, the Soter: and the Priest of Aleksatros (2) the saviour gods, the fraternal gods, the beneficent gods, the gods who love their father, the gods manifested, the mother-loving gods, the god whose father was noble, the beneficent gods, the mother-loving, the Sotêr: with the Bearer of the trophy of power of Berenike (3) the beneficent, and the Bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe the brother-loving.

The man who receiveth rations amongst the men of Lokhos (?), who is written to Amûr, Eunous son of Patseʿô, hath declared unto the woman Tapremhit[3] (4) daughter of Patê and her mother Nahmesêsi:

I have made thee wife: I have given unto thee 100 (pieces of) silver, i.e. 500 staters, i.e. 100 (pieces) of silver again, 10 ertobs of wheat (?), their half 5 (measures of) wheat (?), i.e. 10 (measures of) wheat (?) again, as thy woman's gift.

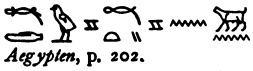
The children that thou shalt bear unto me are the co-dividers with my children[4], of all that belongeth unto me, together with those things that I shall gain.

Behold (5) the list of thy [woman's] property that thou hast brought to my house with thee:

	a wig (?) value	600 (pieces of) silver
	(&c., see p. 136)	
(6)	a collar (?)	[1] teben of pure (?) silver
	a ring	2 kiti ,,
	a finger-ring	1 kiti ,,
	a 'house of desire' of gold	$1\frac{1}{3}$ small (pieces of) gold
	a pot	50 (pieces of) silver

[1] Oct. 29, 116 B.C. But the day is not quite certain.

[2] Soter II was son of Cleopatra III and step-son and grandson of Cleopatra II. This document proves that Cleopatra II not only lived to the end of the reign of Euergetes II but also survived him (cf. GRENFELL, *Tebt.*, i. p. 32) for at least 3 months. No. XVIII of the 54th year (117 B.C.) furnishes a stepping-stone to confirm the fact, if it needs confirmation. It is worth noting that there is no trace of Philopator II in the list of the royal priesthood, which seems to show that he was at least not specially connected with Cleopatra II. At the time of the Aswân inscription, dated in Mesore of the 2nd year (Aug.–Sept., 115), Cleopatra II has disappeared, but Philopator II is named in the list of deified kings (DITTENBERGER, *OGIS.*, no. 168).

[3] 'She of the North Gate.' Παπρημις, a city-name in the Delta, may possibly be the masculine form of this. In *Amh. Gr.*, ii. no. 35, priests of Socnopaeus address their strategus επι του Πρεμιτ, where the editors' note of GRENFELL and HUNT 'Apparently the name of the place where the strategus held his court' is certainly correct. The North Gate *P-re-mhit* (of a residence, palace, or city?) was therefore the one at which petitions were presented to the strategus, &c., in person; cf. the earlier 'Gate of Pharaoh's House,' above, p. 97. In the *Westcar Papyrus*, 4/10, the faithless wife was burnt at the 'north *shedu* (ditch?) of the palace'  . Cf. also ERMAN, *Aegypten*, p. 202.

[4] Eunous had therefore been previously married, probably to Naamsêsis (p. 139, note 13).

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i.e. the value of thy woman's property which thou hast brought to my house with thee 2,070 (pieces of) silver, i.e. 10,350 staters, i.e. 2,070 (pieces of) silver again, and 1 teben and 3 kiti of pure (?) silver; (7) gold $1\frac{1}{8}$ small (pieces): thy woman's gift which is written above, 100 (pieces of) silver, 10 (measures of) wheat: in all 2,170 pieces of silver, comprising 7 talents and 70 (pieces of) silver: 1 teben and 3 kiti of pure (?) silver: $1\frac{1}{8}$ small (pieces of) gold, 10 (measures of) wheat. (For other paragraphs see p. 135.)

(8) Written by Espnûti son of Zeho, who writes in the name of the priests of Sobk lord of Amur of the 5 orders.

On the back are the signatures of 16 witnesses.

Papyri of the joint Reign of Cleopatra III with Soter II.

Papyrus No. XXI. Loan of corn.

Several demotic loans of corn have been already published [1]. The Greek loans are closely parallel, and very instructive to the demotist: Spiegelberg has utilized them to some extênt in a special article [2].

(1) Year 6, Paôni 18 [3], of the queen Kleopatra (2) and King Ptolomaios (3) the mother-loving gods, the youthful god loving his father [4], (4) the Soter, and him (sic) that is established in Rakoti (5) and Psoi, which is in the province of Ne.

(6) The Ueinin born in Egypt (7) amongst the descendants of the *στρατιωται* [5], Petear-(8)hesenûfi, son of Pate and his mother Tshenmût, saith unto the Ueinin (9) born in Egypt, Petesobk son of Pasha [6],

(10) Thou ownest 10 ertob (?) of wheat (?), their half 5 ertob of wheat, (11) i.e. 10 ertob of wheat again, their profit being (reckoned) in them [7], against me, (12) in the name of seed (?)-corn, which I have found owing from Pate son of Panebkhon(i?) (13) my father.

And I will give thee 5 ertob of wheat (14) by year 6, Epêp 10 [8], and I will give (15) thee the other 5 ertob of wheat by year 7, Pakhons 30 [9], (16) of seed (?) corn, clean, without deceit (?), without trickery (?) [10], (17) measured and carried and stored [11] in thy (18) house in Phathôr, by the measure of 29 (choinikes) (19) free of cost and freight [12]—year 6, Epêp 10,

[1] e.g. *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, no. 3103; *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 44.

[2] *Ä. Z.*, 37/32.

[3] July 4, 112 B.C.

[4] This evidence that Ptolemy X took the title Φιλοπατωρ Νεος requires confirmation; there is a mistake in the next line.

[5] Μακεδων (?) της επιγονης.

[6] In *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 19, Πετεσουχος Πασατος Περσης της επιγονης acknowledges the repayment of a loan of barley. This was in 118 B.C. If he is the same man he must have changed his nominal nationality, probably owing to a reversal of Euergetes II's policy of repressing the Greeks.

[7] = ατοκα.

[8] Sept. 15.

[9] June 16 in the next year, 111 B.C., after the main harvest.

[10] A guess at the meaning from the Greek equivalent.

[11] Or 'handed over.'

[12] *νεον καθαρον και αδολον απο παντος, και αποκαθεσταμενον εις οικον προς αυτον εν Κροκοδιλων πολει τοις ιδιοις ανηλωμασι μετρῳ ω και παρειληφαν*, *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 29, and similarly in many other loans of corn. *Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 10 of 174 B.C. gives *καθαρον απο παντος και ακινδυνον*. See Spiegelberg, *Ä. Z.*, 37/32 and *Pap. Th. Reinach*, pp. 176 et seqq. The word translated measure (?) is that which, in earlier times, meant 'balance,' 'scales.' Possibly the measurement of corn was effected by means of scales. The artaba was reckoned in Ptolemaic times at different numbers of choinikes from 40 to 24, including 29. Wilcken, *Ostr.*, i. 741; Grenfell and Hunt, *Tebt.*, i. pp. 44, 233.

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5 ertob of wheat, year 7, (20) Pakhons 30, 5 ertob of wheat, making the 10 ertob of wheat which are written above.

(21) If I give it not by the above time and day, (22) I will give it with their $1\frac{1}{2}$ in the month after the (23) month named instantly[1]. I shall not be able to add another (24) time and day to them except the time and day that are written above.

(25) [I shall not] be able to say, 'I have performed unto thee the provision (26) of my contract (?)' while my above contract is in thy hand.

I shall not be able to say (27) 'I have given thee silver or corn or anything in the land without proved (?)[2] receipt (?).'

(28) All of everything that belongeth unto me and those things that I shall obtain are in pledge (29) for every word that is above, until I do according to them.

Thy agent is (30) he that hath right to recover according to every word that he shall say against me; (31) and I will do them at his summons without delay and without any blows[3].

(32) Written by Hetpesobk son of Uennofri, who writes in the name of the priests (33) of Sobk lord of Amûr of the 5 orders.

On the back are the signatures of 4 witnesses, and on the outer fold of the roll a docket in another hand.

Petearhesenûfi son of Pate
for 10 (measures of) wheat.

PAPYRUS No. XXII. Marriage contract.

(1) Year . . . . . Hathor 11 (?)[4] of the queen Kleopatra and king Ptolomaios her son, the mother-loving gods, the Soter; and the Priest of Aleksatros, the saviour gods, the fraternal gods, the beneficent gods, the gods loving their fathers, (2) [the gods manifest, the] mother-loving god, the god whose father was noble, the young god loving his father[5], the beneficent gods, the mother-loving gods, the Sotêr: and the Bearer of the trophy of victory of Berenike the beneficent, and the Bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe the (3) [brother-loving, and the Priestess] of Arsinoe [loving] her father.: and them who are established in Rakoti and Psoi, which is in the province of Ne.

The lector (?)[6] Pleehe, son of Pleehe and his mother Zeho, hath said to the woman Termûti, daughter of Patseʿô and her mother Teikhons:

I have made thee wife, (4) [I have given unto thee 100 (pieces of) silver, making 500 staters, i.e.] 100 (pieces of) silver again, 5 (measures of) wheat (?), their half $2\frac{1}{2}$ (measures of) wheat, i.e. 5 (measures of) wheat again as thy [woman's] gift.

Thy eldest son is my eldest son amongst the children that thou art (?) bearing to me, the owner of all of everything that is mine and those things that I shall gain.

[1] *εαν δε μη αποδωσιν εν τῳ ωρισμενωι χρονω (η μη ποιωσιν καθ α γεγραπται) αποτεισατωσαν εν τω εχομενωι μηνι παραχρημα τας του πυρου αρταβας ι (κριθης αρταβας ιγ) ημιολιον η την εσομενην εν τη αυτη αγορα τιμην*), *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 29.

[2] Or customary receipt (?).

[3] Many of these formulae are not at all represented in the Greek loans. The last two sentences appear as *η δε πραξις εστω Σεννησει εκ του Φαγωνιος και εκ των υπαρχοντων αυτω παντων πρασσοντι καθαπερ εγ δικης*, e.g. *Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 29. Cf. pp. 115, note 8, 128.

[4] 115–108 B.C., c. Nov. 19.

[5] *Φιλοπατωρ Νεος.*

[6] i.e. *ταριχευτης*, cf. No. XI (p. 122), but the reading is not certain.

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Behold, the list of thy woman's property that thou hast brought to my house with thee:

a wig (?) value	200 pieces of silver
(&c.)[1]	
a ring	2 kiti fine (?)
a finger-ring	1 kiti fine (?)
2 pots	60 pieces of silver
(6) [10 ertob of wheat	

In all the price of thy] woman's property that thou hast brought to my house with thee, 700 (pieces of) silver and 60 (pieces of) silver, i.e. 3,800 staters, i.e. 760 (pieces of) silver again, 3 kiti of silver, 10 ertob of wheat: thy woman's gift which is written above, 100 (pieces of) silver, 5 (measures of) wheat, in all 860 (pieces of) silver, 3 kiti of fine (?) silver, 15 ertob of wheat. (For other paragraphs see p. 135.)

Written by Espnûti son of Zeho, who writes in the name of the priests of Sobk lord of Amûr [of the 5] orders.

Signatures of 16 witnesses on the back.

PAPYRUS No. XXIII. Agreement for sale of waste land.

(1) [Year . . .] Tôbi 10[2] of the queen [Kleopatra and king Ptolomaios her son, the] mother[-loving gods], the Soter; and the Priest of Aleksantros and the saviour gods and the brother gods, the beneficent gods, the gods loving their father, the gods manifest, the god whose father was noble, the mother-loving god, the youthful god loving his father, the beneficent gods: and the Bearer of the trophy of power (2) [of Bereni]ke the beneficent, [and the Bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe the brother-loving, and the Priestess of] Arsinoe loving her father, and they who are ordained in Rakoti and Psoi, which is in the province of Ne.

The man of Pilak[3] born in Egypt, Hôr, son of Petehôr and his mother Nekhtoüs (?), together with the woman Tshenamûn, daughter of Pshenamûn and her mother Tshenpuêr—together 2 persons with one mouth—have declared unto the man who receives pay, written to Amûr, (3) . . . . . [son of Pa]tseʿô[4].

Thou hast satisfied [us[5], thou hast caused our hearts to agree to the silver, the price of our waste land which] makes 2 cubits of land, i.e. 200 cubits of area, i.e. 2 cubits of land again, which are in Napakemhêui (?), which are in the north-east quarter of Phathôr; the areas adjacent to [which] are: south the waste lands of Patseʿô son of Phib, north the house of Pakêmi, the king's street being between, east the king's street, west (4) . . . . . such

[1] See above, p. 136.

[2] 115–108 B.C., Jan. 27 or 28.

[3] The Egyptian name of Φιλαι. In the British Museum contract of the 12th year of Philopator, *PSBA.*, 1901, 294, a 'man of Philae' is named, where Pilak should be read for Pigerg, as Prof. SPIEGELBERG remarked to me long ago. It may be conjectured to mean a native inhabitant of the island or perhaps of the Dodekaschoenus generally, who would be an Αἰθιοψ of some kind. There seems to be no mention of such in the army in Greek documents (see MEYER, *Heerwesen*), but Ethiopia had always been a recruiting-ground for the Egyptian armies and police.

[4] Probably Nekhûtf (Eunous or Eunomos) who appears as a party in XVII, XXV, XXXIII, XXXIV.

[5] The same expression is used in the papyrus of the 3rd year of Alexander (p. 113) and in *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, nos. 6, 8, as well as in the Roman papyrus, No. XLV, below, p. 173. It may imply the actual payment of the money.

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are (?) the neighbours [of the whole of the above waste-land which makes two cubits of land].

[We have given it unto thee: thine it is, thy] waste-land which is (described) above is it.

(&c., p. 120.)

Written by Nekhtmin son of Nekht[min, who writes in the name of the priests of Hathôr lady of Ant (?), the brother gods, the beneficent gods], the gods loving their father, the gods manifest, the god whose father was noble, the mother-loving god, the young god loving his father, the beneficent gods, of the 5 orders.

Signatures of 8 witnesses remain on the back, with traces of another, the rest having been torn away with the lower half of the papyrus.

PAPYRUS No. XXIV. Cession of rights to land conferred by written contracts.

Year [4 ?], Paôni (?) 27[1], of the queen Kleopatra, the gods manifest (sic)[2], and the king Ptlomaios the mother-loving, the Soter: (2) [and the Priest of Aleksa]tros, and the saviour gods and the brother gods, the beneficent gods, the gods loving their father, the gods manifest, the god whose father was noble, (3) [the mother-loving god, the youthful god] loving his father, the beneficent gods, and the Bearer of the trophy of power of Berenike the beneficent, (4) [and the Bearer of the] golden basket before Arsinoe the brother-loving, and the Priestess of Arsinoe loving her father, and them that are established (5) [in Rakoti and] Psoi, which is in the province of Ne.

The woman Tshenmenkhe daughter of Hôr and the woman Thatrê daughter of Hôr, their mother being Ta . . . ., (6) [together two persons with one mouth], say unto the man who receives rations (?), being assigned to Amûr Pshemmenkhe son of Panekhati[3]:

We are without claim on thee for the right of those two writings (7) [which thou madest to Harmahi son of] Hôr and Shleh son of Hôr, their mother being Ta . . . .[4], our brethren, in year 52, Emkhîr 26, for the *sharâki*-land[5], which is in the *sharâki*-land of I-[6] (8) . . . . . in the endowment land of Hathôr lady of Ant (?). The areas adjacent to the land named—south the land of Patû son of Phib, north the land of Pueriebt (9) [son of . . . .], east the land of Klûz son of Phib, west the mountain: such are (?) the areas adjacent to all the above *sharâki*-land.

We have given it unto thee (&c., p. 127).

[1] July 14, 113 B.C. The year 4 is restored from the docket of No. XIX, p. 148.

[2] Another strange error to compare with that in No. XXII.

[3] The vendor in No. XIX.

[4] The docket of No. XIX gives Αρμαις Ωρου. The body of the document shows that there was another vendor associated with him. A papyrus of 127 B.C. (*Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 20) records a loan by Dryton to Σολωνι [τωι και Σλη]ει Ωρου και Αρμαει Ωρου Περσαις της επιγονης και . . . . . Φαγηριος Περσινηι μετα κυριου του προγεγραμμενου Σληιος νιου αυτης (Mr. KENYON has kindly verified the printed reading Σαηιος, and found that Σληιος is the better reading). It is therefore extremely probable that Shleh is the missing name in XIX, and Harmahi the missing name here. It will be noted, however, that Σληις takes the lead in the Greek papyrus, while here it is Harmahi; but a reasonable explanation of this difference can be found, if we suppose that Shleh had died in the interval so that Harmahi had succeeded as the eldest son. It is unfortunate that the mother's name is lost in the Greek, as the name in demotic is difficult to decipher.

[5] No. XIX is for ⅓ share of the land; that it was the same land can be seen by the remains of the description with the boundaries. The 'two' documents were evidently made that each of the purchasers might keep one. The purchase in No. XIX was completed by Αρμαις only, who therefore paid tax on ⅓th share, according to the Greek docket. Shleh may have paid separately, but very probably he was dead.

[6] I-, an old word for 'island,' is evidently the beginning of a place-name.

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(14) [Written by Nekhtmin son of Nekhtmin (?)[1], who writes in the] name of the priests of Hathôr lady of Ant (?), the fraternal gods, the beneficent gods, the gods loving their father, (15) [the gods manifest, the god whose father was noble], the mother-loving god, the youthful god loving his father, the beneficent gods, of the 5 orders.

Eight witnesses only have signed their names on the back.

Papyrus No. XXV. Proceedings in a sacerdotal conclave (?); perhaps an election of representatives of the temples of Gebelên.

(1) [Year . . . . . of the queen Kleopatra] and king Ptlomaios her son, (2) [the mother-loving gods the Soter][2],

(3) [and the Priest of Aleksatros, the saviour gods, the fraternal gods, the beneficent gods, the] father[-loving gods], the gods manifest, the god whose father was noble, (4) [the youthful father-loving god, the beneficent gods, the mother-loving gods, the So]ter.

Sitting in the court[3] (5) . . . . . [by the . . . .] . . . . . St]u-uêti son of Peteharuêr[4], whom the priests chose[5] to send (6) . . . . . son of Pahê, the prophet of Êsi, the (?) leshoni to (?)[6] the temples of the province of Ne (7) . . . . . Harsiêsi . . . . in presence of the priests, a platform (?)[7] (8) . . . . . in presence of the priests[8].

(9) . . . . . [Khens (?)-]Thoüt son of Peteêsi and Eunous son of Patseʿô[9] (10) . . . . . the gods loving their fathers, the gods manifest, (11) [the god whose father was noble, the youthful father-loving god, the beneficent gods, the] mother-loving [gods], the Soter; if it be that they have made (12) . . . . . 5, Mesorêʿ 30 . . . . . i.e. 12 years, i.e. 146[10] months (13 *ends*) . . . towards the . . . . (14) . . . the well[11] (15) . . . bring it (16) . . . the temple(s ?)

[1] The usual scribe at Pathyris at this time.

[2] 115–108 B.C. The priest of Alexander must have been separated from the royal names in this official document, the line with the latter ending short.

[3] A word that is not yet known in demotic except in the traditional name of the hall of judgement of Osiris. In earlier texts it signifies the broad courtyard of a palace or temple. Here we may have a conclave of the priests of Gebelên in their own temple or a more general conclave.

[4] Στοτοητις του Πετεαροηριος, ιερεως Σουχου και Αφροδιτης named with his wife Ναομσησις Ονωφριος ιερισσα in 114 B.C. (*Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 25). His house is named in 106 B.C. (*Pap. dem. Strassb.*, no. 6; see Spiegelberg's text, p. 25). Perhaps he was the representative of the Pathyrite priests at the conclave, or a commissioner of those priests reporting to their own assembly.

[5] or 'to choose the priests to send.'

[6] Hardly 'the leshoni of the temples,' &c.

[7] Or 'a letter.'

[8] The line ends short; probably here was the title of a letter or verbal address given to the assembled priests, of which the text began in l. 9.

[9] Possibly to be restored 'The . . . . Khensthoüt son of Peteêsi [saith unto] Eunous son of Patseʿô.'

[10] Counting the 60 epagomenal days as two months. Mesore 30 is of course the last day of the year. These 12 years may be the term of office for the priests.

[11] Perhaps the 'Well' Κρηνη of No. XVII.

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(17) . . . days of manifestation [1]
(18) . . . . .
(19) . . . [the] god whose father was noble
(20) . . . . . .
(21) . . . the platform (?) which they set (?)
(22) (one or more lines lost)

II. (1) [First order (?) signed (?) [2] by] king Ptlomaios [3]. [Signed by (?) the prophet] of (Urem), prophet of (Sem), ka-priest (?) of the beneficent gods, the gods who love their father, the gods manifest, (2) [the god] whose father [was noble], the mother-loving god, the youthful god loving his father, the beneficent god, the gods loving their mother, the Soter. The scribe Nekhtmin son of Thetertais. (3) The scribe Nekhôtf son of Patu. The scribe Nekhtmin son of Nekhtmin. (4) The scribe Herieu son of Nekhtmin. The scribe Petesobk son of Nekhtmin.

(5) Second order. The scribe, prophet of (&c. (6) *as before to*) the Soter. The scribe Peteharprêᶜ son of Pa . . . . The scribe Thet . . . . . son of Pakoib. The scribe Petemin. (7) The scribe Pa-kêb son of Peteharsemteu. The scribe Khens-thoüt son of Peteharsemteu. The scribe Sisobk son of Peteharsemteu. The scribe Sisobk son of Unnofri. The scribe Unnofri son of Sisobk.

(8) Third order. The scribe, prophet (&c. *as before to*) (9) the Soter. Pshenmin son of . . . . . The scribe . . . Sisobk son of Unnofri. The scribe . . . . Sisobk, (10) the scribe Sisobk son of P . . . . . The scribe Patseᶜô son of Sisobk. The scribe Sisobk son of Thetertais (?). The scribe Peteharuêr son of Patu. The scribe Khensthoüt son of Sisobk. The scribe Pleehe son of Sisobk [3].

(11) Fourth order. The scribe prophet (&c. *as before to*) (12) the Soter. Sekhotp son of Esnebᶜonkh. Esnebᶜonkh the elder. (13) The scribe Esmîn son of . . . .

(14) Fifth order. The scribe, prophet (&c. *as before to*) (15) the Soter (*the rest, one or two lines, lost*).

Papyri of the joint Reign of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Alexander I.

Papyrus No. XXVI. Lease of a farm.

Several Ptolemaic farm leases are published by Grenfell and Hunt from Tebtunis [4].

[1] Or 'days of coronation,' i. e. of the king and of the queen (?), or of festival.

[2] This page appears to give a list of the priests of Pathyris, perhaps as having attached their signatures to a decree or on accepting office. For 'signed by' we may read 'the scribe,' and vice versa, throughout. The priests are divided into 5 orders, the first being headed by the king himself as the supreme head of the priesthood: the absence of the queen's signature when the king's was available is explained by her sex, which was generally inappropriate to priestly acts. Next to the king in the first order, and at the head of each of the others is a ιερευς Σουχου και Αφροδιτης who is not named. Probably the same individual officiated thus in each of the orders; yet there may have been a separate ιερευς for each order.

[3] The repetitions of the same names in each φυλη indicate their hereditary character. It is unfortunate that no names are left belonging to the 5th order, which was the latest established and drawn in the first instance from those members of the other orders who became priests in the first 9 years of Euergetes I. (Decree of Canopus, Greek, ll. 26–7.)

[4] *Tebt.*, i. nos. 105 et seqq.

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In demotic SPIEGELBERG has edited one at Strassburg of the 13th year of Cleopatra III, one at Berlin of the 52nd year of Euergetes II, and one in the TH. REINACH collection at Paris (no. 1, 7th year of Cleopatra III and Soter II). The demotic leases fill the sheet of paper with many lines of compact writing. In No. XXVI the lines that remain have lost half their width, and probably many have disappeared entirely from the end. The restoration and translation are doubtful in many passages.

Year 15, which makes year 12 Mesorêʿ 11[1] of the queen [Kleopatra and] (2) king Ptlomaios her [son, who is called Aleksatros], (3) and the mother-loving saviour gods, and they that are [established in Rakoti and Psoi] (4) which is in the province of Ne.

The Negro (?) . . . . . (5) Harpaêsi son of Puertiu[2] hath declared unto the prophet Petehôr son of Pate:

[Thou hast leased to me thy half share (?)] (6) of the fertile (?) land which is in Temrauti[3], north [of Phathôr, which is in][4] (7) the endowment-lands of Hathôr lady of Ant (?) in the *sharâki*-land (?) [of Phathôr (?), from year 15 unto year 16], (8) which makes year 13, Pakhons 30[5].

The boundaries of the [whole of the above] land: [south, the land of] . . . . . (9) son of Patseʿô[6], north the land of Kalh[ib daughter of Harapahti (?)[7], east the river (?)], (10) west the king's way (?)[8].

Such are (?) the boundaries [of the whole of the above land]: (11) the half share [of which] belongs to Patu son of Hôr[9].

. . . . . (12) . . . . . to pay the tax of the whole of the [above] land.

[And I will (?) give thee the tenth (?) of the] (13) pomegranates (?), corn (?), and gourd (?)-fruit: and I will cultivate it [with the water of year 15 to year 16, and supply it with (plough)-oxen, seed], (14) men, and all agricultural tools of sowing [and harvesting] . . . . . (15) agriculture: field-stubble (?) being . . . . . (16) in excess (?) which he (?) shall diminish (?) the above land. . . . . .

On the back more than half remains of the line which heads the witnesses' signatures, but nothing was written beneath it in this case. In the publication of the Berlin lease

[1] Aug. 25, 102 B.C. The other leases, *Pap. dem. Berl.*, no. 3102, and *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 9, are made in the same 'harvest' season, in the second (Payni) and fourth month (Mesore) respectively. In the Berlin papyrus, as here, the rent is to be paid on the last day of the first month Pachon; cf. also the payment in XXI/15. In the Greek leases, *Tebt.*, i. nos. 105 et seqq., the rent is to be paid in Pachon or Payni.

[2] Αρπαησις Πορτιτος Περσης της επιγονης in year 53 of Euerg. II = 118 B.C. *Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 23.

[3] 'The fertile (?) land.' Cf. αμπελωνος ασυμφυτου εν Τεμραυθει εν τω απο βορρα μερει Παθυρεως, KENYON, iii. no. 1207, γην ηπειρον σιτοφορον εν Θεμραυθει Παθυρεως, ibid. 1208, cf. ib. no. 676. No. XV, No. XXIX, and *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 9, evidently deal with other parts of the same series of lands or farms; this can be ascertained by the general description and the names attached to the adjacent plots. The eastern boundary is generally the island Τμονπιτεβ or the river, ποταμος.

[4] Cf. No. XXIX for the restoration.

[5] June 14, 101 B.C.

[6] Possibly the same as 'the land of Patseʿô son of . . . .' which lay to the west of the plot leased in Strassburg no. 9.

[7] Probably the plot purchased by Kalhib in No. XV.

[8] The word translated 'way' is quite uncertain, but 'the king's way' lay on the west side of Kalhib's plot.

[9] λιβος Πατου[τος] του Ωρου και των αδελφων, KENYON, iii. no. 1207, and νοτου ditto in 1206, where the plot sold is in Τιαβωνις.

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there is no record of signatures: with the Strassburg lease there are 8 signatures on the back, with the REINACH lease 12.

PAPYRUS No. XXVII. Marriage contract.

(1) [Year . . . . . corresponding to year . . . .[1] of the] queen Kleopatra and king Ptlomaios her son, who is called Aleksantros, and the mother-loving gods, and the fraternal gods[2], the beneficent gods, (2) [the gods loving their father, the gods manifest, the mother-loving god], the god whose father was noble, the youthful god loving his father, the beneficent gods, the mother-loving saviour gods; and the Bearer of the trophy of victory before Berenike the beneficent, (3) [and the Bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe] the brother-loving, and the [priestess] of Arsinoe the lover of her father, and they who are established in Rakoti and Psoi in the province of Ne.

The Ueinin (4) . . . . . hath said to the woman Tshenamûn daughter of Nekhûtf and her mother Tshenanûp:

I have made thee wife.

I have given thee, (&c., see p. 134).

(5) [If I abandon thee], &c.

Thy eldest son, &c., (6) &c.

[Behold the list of thy] woman's property which thou hast brought to my house with thee:

a wig (?) value	300 (pieces of) silver
a hair- . . .	100
a . . .	200
an angle (?)	50
a *bes*	30
a pot	50

The remainder of thy woman's gift (7) [100 pieces of silver and 10 artabas (making 830 teben), &c.].

(&c., p. 135.)

[Written by . . . . son of . . . .], who writes in the name of the priests of Hathôr lady of [Ant (?) of the 5 orders.]

16 witnesses on the back.

PAPYRI OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY ALEXANDER I.

PAPYRUS No. XXVIII. Marriage contract.

Year 23, Kiahk 29[3], of king Ptlomaios who is called Aleksatros and the queen Berenike, his sister, his wife, and the mother-loving saviour gods; (2) and the Bearer of the trophy of power of Berenike the beneficent, and the Bearer of the golden Basket before Arsinoe

[1] 108–101 B.C.

[2] This is a very common form in demotic protocols of Cleopatra III with Alexander, and of Alexander subsequently, see Berlin no. 3105, Strassburg no. 6, &c.; probably it is an error, so that 'and (the priest of Alexander and the saviour gods) and the fraternal gods' should be restored.

[3] Jan. 12, 91 B.C.

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the brother-loving, and they who are established in Rakoti (3) and Psoi, which is in the province of Ne.

The herdsman (?) and slave of (the god) Harsemteu[1], Pleehe, son of Eunomos and his mother Tapremhit[2], unto the woman Takêb, daughter of Petearhesenûfi and her mother Ta . . . . .[3]

(4) I have made thee wife,

(&c., p. 134.)

Behold the list of thy woman's property that thou hast brought to my house with thee.

a wig value 900 pieces of silver a . . . 200 a bracelet 40 an angle (?) 60 [(remainder of woman's gift) 100 and 10 artabas of corn] (making 1,200 (*sic*) pieces of silver = 6,400 (*sic*) staters[4]).

(&c., p. 135.)

Written by Peteharsemteu son of Pakêb[5], writing in the name of the priests of Hathôr lady of Ant (?) of the 5 orders.

No signatures of witnesses; the back is blank.

PAPYRUS No. XXIX. Agreement for sale of a plot of ground.

Year 23, Pakhons 17[6], of king Ptlomaios who is called Aleksatros and the queen Berenike, his sister, his wife, (2) and the mother-loving saviour gods: and the Bearer of the trophy of power of Berenike the beneficent, and the Bearer of the golden basket before (3) Arsinoe the brother-loving, and them that are established in Rakoti and Psoi which is in the province of Ne.

Declare the scribe Pneferho son of Peleehe and his brethren, (4) the children of (?) Esuêri, daughter of Pate and her mother Teihôr, their mother, declare (*sic*) unto the woman Nekhûts[7], daughter of Pate and her mother Nahmesêsi:

Thou hast caused our hearts to agree (5) to the silver, the price of the shares of waste ground and garden which we have received from Pshenmenkhe son of Panekhati[8] in Temrauti north (?) of Phathôr, (6) the neighbours to which are: south Harpaêsi son of Panekhati,

[1] Harsemteu (Ἁρσεμθευς) was a form of Horus. The same title occurs in other papyri from Gebelên, viz. No. XXX, below, and *Pap. dem. Strassb.*, nos. 44 and 8, all of the reign of Alexander I. Πακοιβις Πατουτος who bore the title was probably a priest, cf. *Pap. dem. Strassb.*, no. 44, with *Gr. Pap.*, ii. nos. 34, 35. Probably Harsemteus 'Horus, uniter of the two lands' was connected with the king as Isis was with Cleopatra III (for which see OTTO, *Priester und Tempel*, pp. 158, 159). The ἱερα γη Ἁρσεμθεως (*Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 33) at Pathyris is mentioned in the same reign. In *Pap. dem. Berl.*, 3102, 3105, at a slightly earlier date, two persons are described as 'herdsman (?) and slave (?) of Zêmi,' where Zêmi seems to be a god rather than the village of that name on the west bank of Thebes, though the papyri are Theban. Possibly this god Zêmi was displaced by Ἁρσεμθευς. In No. XXXI there is a 'slave of Hathôr,' i.e. the queen (?).

[2] The marriage contract of Eunous and Tapremhit is in No. XX. This Πελαιας Ευνοου buys a house in the Κρηνη of Pathyris in 88 B.C., *Amh. Gr.*, ii. no. 51.

[3] Two years later (No. XXX) she marries Peteharsemteu who bears the same titles as Pleehe here. There being no attestation to the present contract, perhaps it was not carried into effect.

[4] It seems that the stater was reckoned at 2 to the piece of silver instead of 5 by the scribe Peteharsemteu in No. XXX. There is probably no warrant for such a departure from the ordinary rule.

[5] Πετεαρσεμθευς Πακοιβιος ιερευς Σουχου και Αφροδιτης in KENYON, iii. nos. 1206, 1208, B.C. 99 and 97.

[6] May 30, 91 B.C.

[7] Probably sister of Tapremhit in Pap. XX.

[8] The grounds on which they received (inherited?) land from Pshenmenkhe (for whom see Pap. XIX) are nowhere indicated.

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north Hôr son of Phentenmût, east the water channel and (?) the island of Piteb[1], west Nekhûtf son of Panekhati. Such are (?) (7) the neighbours to the above shares of open land and garden, with their (?) extent (?).

I have given it unto thee, the above shares of open land and garden. I have received its price (&c., p. 120).

Written by Peteharsemteu son of Pakêb, who writes in the name of the priests of Hathôr lady of Ant (?) of the 5 orders.

8 witnesses on the back.

PAPYRUS No. XXX. Marriage contract.

Year 25, Paôni . . . 3 (?)[2], of king Ptlomaios who is called Aleksatros and the queen Kephalon (?)[3] (2) his sister, his wife, with the mother-loving saviour gods: and the Bearer of the trophy of power of Berenike the beneficent, (3) and the Bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe the brother-loving, and them who are established in Rakoti and Psoi, which is in the province of Ne

(4) The herdsman [and slave] of Harsemteu Peteharsemteu, son of Petesobk and his mother Tshensobk, hath said to the woman Takêb, daughter of Petearhesenûfi and her mother Ta . . . .[4]

(This is not collated above p. 134. There follow

§ 3, § 4 100 pieces of silver = 200[5] staters and 5 ertob of wheat

§ 6, § 7 a wig value 500 pieces, a *ktn* 100, a ball 60, a *bes* 25, an armlet 60, a pot (?) [40]

§ 8, § 9 785 pieces = 1,570 staters

§§ 12–18)

The scribe Peteharsemteu son of Pakêb, writing in the name of the priests of Hathôr lady of Ant (?) of the 5 orders.

16 witnesses on the back.

PAPYRI WITHOUT ROYAL NAMES.

PAPYRUS No. XXXI. Notification of payment (reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II).

(1) Copy of the one writing of payment (?).

(2) In year 52 (?)[6] of the king ever-living and (3) the queen his sister, and they who are established with them.

[1] Νησος καλουμενη Τμονπιτεβ (? ???), KENYON, iii. no. 1207, l. 20; cf. also Τμοντμενιβιτει, var. Τμονεβιτει (? dative) with νησος Πιτοβ, genitive Πιτβιος, *BGU.*, iii. 993. Τμον- would represent *T-mû-n-* 'the island of' with the late word ⲙⲟⲩⲓ 'island,' and πιτεβ would be *Π-ι-τεϐ 'the island of (?) Teb,' using the ancient and obsolete word ι- for 'island' which appears in Π-ι-λακ = Φιλαι, the same word in fact which occurs in the name *A-mûr* for Gebelên which is greatly worn down from the very ancient Ⲓ3-*m-ûr* 'island in the river.' The later origin of *Πιτεϐ, Πιλακ is shown by the presence of the definite article *p*.

[2] June (?), 89 B.C.

[3] This seems to be a blunder, the most extraordinary of the many blunders committed by the scribe.

[4] See Papyrus No. XXVIII.

[5] The scribe commits the same fault as in No. XXIX (p. 158, note 4).

[6] i. e. of Euergetes II, 119–8 B.C. The figure 50 is rather curiously formed, and one would be inclined to read year 2 if this were probable.

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(4) The slave of Hathôr[1] Siepmû (son of) (5) Pshenprê‹ hath declared to Pshenanûp son of Hôr (?)[2]:

(6) I am paying 200 talents[3] of the corn (7) which Pleehe the younger (?) the son of Phib gave to me.

(8) Thou shalt give back to me thy house[4]. I have paid them to thee into the bank (?) (of ?) the ointments (?)[5].

PAPYRUS No. XXXII. Grant (?) of waste-land by priests of Hathôr.

(2) . . . . . [Nekht]min son of Esmin the leshoni

(3) . . . . . .

(4) He built a chapel of Êsi (?) on (?) the east of the plantation(?) of Thoüt in the divine endowment of Hat[hôr]

(5) The waste-lands adjacent to the waste-land named: south the waste-lands of Hathôr, which . . . (6) north the gate-front leading to the Great River out of the waste-lands of Hathôr . . . . ., (7) east the waste-land of Hathôr, which is held by Thoüt, west the plantation (?) of Hathôr (8) which is held by Thoüt. Such are (?) the above-named pieces adjacent to the above-named waste-land.

. . . . (9) There is nothing which we claim (?) against thee in its name. It is thine, thy waste-land which is above: from to-day onwards (10) for ever.

Written by Harpaêsi son of Thet . . . . . who writes in the name of the priests of Hathôr . . . .

(11) Year 2, Paopi (?).

(12) The scribe, prophet of Urem[6], fourth prophet of Hathôr Peteharuêr son of Peteharsemteu.

(13) The scribe, prophet of Urem, Nekhtmin son of Esmin, the leshoni.

(14) The scribe, prophet of Urem, chief priest, scribe of the Book (?) of Hathôr, Harsiêsi son of Petehar[uêr ?].

(15) The scribe, prophet of Urem, Patû son of Thetsôtem.

(16) The scribe, prophet of Urem, Pshenmin the less, son of Pana.

(17) The scribe, prophet of Urem, Pshenmin son of Nekhtmin.

(18) The scribe, prophet of Urem, Khapekhrat son of Thetemû.

(19) The scribe, prophet of Urem, Thet- . . . son of Thetsôtem.

PAPYRUS No. XXXIII. Release from contract.

(1) Year 19, Emkhîr 2.

Pakhrat son of Thetertais, Pakhrat son of Peteharsemteu, (2) Pshenmenkhe son of

[1] See p. 158, note 1.

[2] A wrong name was probably written in place of Hôr, and afterwards corrected. If Hôr is correct it is the Pshenanûp of No. XVIII, in the 54th year, thus confirming the reading of the 52nd year in this papyrus.

[3] Weight or value?

[4] Presumably a house belonging to Siepmû but which he had mortgaged to Pshenanûp.

[5] Doubtful word: possibly to be connected with the tax on μυροπωλαι. WILCKEN, *Ostr.*, i. 385.

[6] These sign in their capacity as priests of Hathôr, showing that the prophetship of Urem belongs to that priesthood. It had the precedence in demotic, while the Greek gives it to the priesthood of Sobk, by the order of the titles (p. 132).

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Panekhati[1], Pshenêsi the elder son of Kephalon (?) (3) and their companions say to Nekhûtf son of Patsêʿô:

(4) We are without claim on thee by right of this contract (?) of service (?) . . . . . (5) that thou madest, with . . . every thing (?), and the corn which we took in exchange.

We do not (6) call after thee for a thing.

(7) [Written by (?) . . . . .]

(8) [Written by ?] . . . . son of Pshen(?)-mont.

(9) Written by Pshen . . . son of Nekhûtf.

This is written on the back of a piece torn from a sheet like No. XXXVI, the original text on the other side having been washed out.

PAPYRUS No. XXXIV. Fragment of farming agreement.

(1) [The . . . . . .] Espnûti son of Uennofri saith to Eunûs son of Patseʿô[2].

(2) [I will cultivate] my land for thee with the water of[3] year 9 to year 12, making (3) 3 [years.] I . . . . . land . . . (4) and I will give thee 22 artabas of wheat each year in the [3] years . . . . (5) [making] 66 [artabas of wheat] in the name of the wheat which is thine in my hands. (6) [All produce] which shall result, thou shalt take them into the midst between us (7) [the] two [persons]. That which shall remain of them and shall be divided unto us, (8) . . . . . the half to one, and we will pay in full the king and the god (9) . . . . [between] us two, and we will . . . . .

On the back, τρ τϵ in large characters, apparently isolated.

PAPYRUS No. XXXV. Memorandum of expenditure.

(1) Year 25, Thoüt[4].

The expense of building (2) the chapel of Êsi Neme[5]:

(3) 3 pieces of silver (i.e.) 15 (staters). (4) Other two platters (?), 320 boxes (?)

(5) The expense of the temple of Remaʿo[6]:

120 (pieces of) silver: which I gave to Nekhôtf (6) the στρατηγος (?)[7]

(7) Pshemshi (?) 10 (pieces of) silver.

PAPYRUS No. XXXVI. Affidavit (reign of Ptolemy Alexander I).

(1) Copy of the oath which Nekhûts daughter of Pate[8] shall (?) make[9] in the temple (2) of Neb-bkhôni[10] in year 24, Mesorêʿ 2 (?)[11], to Pshenêsi son of Patu.

[1] For Pshemmenkhe see XIX, XXIV, and for Nekhûtf p. 143, note 8.

[2] Eunûs being one of the parties (see p. 143), the date of year 9 is in all probability to be referred to the reign of Cleopatra III, 104–103 B.C.

[3] Cf. *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, nos. 3080, 3102.

[4] Perhaps of Ptolemy X, 94–93 B.C.

[5] Ισιδος Νϵμητος, p. 146, note 1: cf. XV, XXXII; possibly 'the chapels' should be read.

[6] Lit. 'great man,' 'rich man.' A demotic graffito in the tomb of Phrai at El Kab, BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, p. 1539, is in honour of 'the Remaʿo, the great god,' possibly meaning the long-forgotten noble himself.

[7] Possibly a name, but more probably στρατηγος with the article ϕ spelt as if part of the word.

[8] This Nekhûts is a party in XXIX dated in the 23rd year of Ptolemy Alexander, and her sister in XX.

[9] Hardly 'made.' The Greek parallel (see p. 162) also has ορκος ον δϵι ομοσαι.

[10] Apparently meaning 'the lord of the tower' or 'pylon tower' as a title of Sobk. It occurs in the proper name Πανε̈βχουνις, which is written simply Νϵβχουνις in the docket on *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 36. Tebkhôn, perhaps the temple of Crocodilopolis itself, is named in l. 11. The common hieroglyph for Sobk , a crocodile on a shrine or tower, may be connected with this title.

[11] Aug. 13 (?), 90 B.C.

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As (3) Sobk liveth who resteth here, and every god that resteth with him!

(4) These, the pledges about which thou art (?) disputing (?) with me: (5) there is no silver that Nahmesêsi, the mother, gave except (?) 2 sums (?) of 100 (pieces each?), (6) there is nothing for which she called unto thee that day concerning (?) (7) the pledges[1].

She shall make the oath which is written above, and Pshenêsi shall (8) give her the mirror, and Nekhûts shall have no claim on him (9) from the other two pledges for 100 (pieces of) silver, making (10) 200 pieces of silver, she forgiving (?) 20 . . . ., and she shall have no claim by the mirror.

Year 24 (11) Mesorêᶜ 2 (?)[2].

Pshenêsi son of Patu came to Tebkhon (?). He withdrew his claim (12) on her (?) for the oath, with Nahmes (*sic*), the mother; (13) for he was saying, that if she gave the . . . . in . . . hand (14) and she gave 35 (pieces) of silver to-day, and she gave other 25 (pieces of) silver (15) on the 30 Thoüt[3], he would give her the mirror to-day, (16) neither of them calling after his fellow, (17) from to-day onward.

Written by Pakêb son of Sekhotp[4].

(18) Uennofri (?) . . . . .

There were present (?) for this writing (?):

(19) Peleehe (son of) Eunomos[5]

(20) Kluk the wife of Petnekhtshuôsh (?)

(21) and the remainder of those who were among them.

Docket on the back.

The memorandum of (?) the oath of Nekhûts (2) to Pshenêsi son of Patu, about the pledges.

There are traces of earlier writing on the recto.

A Greek oath on the same lines is preserved on an ostrakon at Berlin[6]. Examples in demotic have been published by REVILLOUT, BRUGSCH[7], and SPIEGELBERG[8].

PAPYRUS No. XXXVII. Marriage contract (fragment).

(1) besides these 25 pieces of silver, i.e. [125 staters, i.e.] 25 (pieces of) silver again, above(-named) which I have given thee as thy woman's [gift] in all 50 (pieces of) silver, i.e. 250 staters, i.e. 50 (pieces of) silver again. And I will give thee the $\frac{1}{8}$ of all of everything that belongeth unto me and of those things which I shall gain.

Thy eldest son, my eldest son [amongst the children, &c., p. 135].

(2) [Behold the list of thy woman's property which thou hast brought to my] house with thee:

[1] Perhaps the most probable meaning is 'there is nothing which she claimed against thee then in addition to the pledges.'

[2] This date follows on without a break in the original, but it seems to introduce a memorandum to the effect that the oath which had probably been 'laid upon' Nekhûts 'in the house of judgement' was dispensed with, Pshenêsi making a fresh arrangement with her.

[3] The end of the following month.

[4] A witness in XXIII and XXIV.

[5] His marriage is in XXVIII, of the 23rd year of Ptolemy Alexander.

[6] WILCKEN, *Ostr.*, no. 1150.

[7] *Thesaurus*, p. 1045.

[8] *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, nos. 3172 and 3174; *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 12.

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a wig	value	55 (pieces of) silver
an angle (?)		50
a seeking-case for gold		2 small (pieces of) gold = 40 (pieces of) silver
a she-ass		300 (pieces of) silver
another, filly		150
a pot		5

Making the value of thy bridal possessions that thou hast brought to my house with thee 600 (pieces of) silver, i.e. 3,000 staters, i.e. 600 (pieces of) silver again, in copper at 24 pieces to 2 kiti[1].

I have received them (&c., p. 135).

Written by Thetertais (?) son of Nekhtmin, who writes in the name of the priests of Hathôr of the 5 orders[2].

Remains of 14 out of originally 16 witnesses' signatures on the back.

PAPYRUS No. XXXVIII. Marriage contract (fragment).

(1) . . . . daughter of Pshenanûp and her mother T . . . êsi (?).

(&c., p. 134.)

(the woman's property, p. 136):

170 pieces of silver, i.e. 935 pieces of silver, making 3 talents 35 pieces of silver, i.e. 935 pieces of silver again: and 5 artabas of corn.

(&c., p. 135.)

Written by Shpemmin (?) son of Espnûti[3], who writes in the name of the priests of Sobk lord of Amûr of the 5 orders.

Remains of 13 out of 16 signatures on the back.

[1] It might have been contended that the 40 (pieces of) silver referred to some item accidentally omitted, and were not equated with the two pieces of gold. But the fact that, in contrast to the other instances, the silver alone is included and the gold ignored in this summation, proves that the figures are to be interpreted as an equation, see note, p. 130.

[2] The priests of Hathor of Pathyris have the titles of a priesthood of the deceased kings in the demotic documents down to the reign of Cleopatra III with Alexander (108 B.C.). Its absence seems a safe indication of date.

[3] A witness to XXII, written in 115–108 B.C., and probably son of the scribe of XVII, XX, and XXII.

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PTOLEMAIC PAPYRI. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN.

THE provenance of the papyri in the CRAWFORD collection has to be ascertained mainly from internal evidence. This fails in a few cases. As nearly all the later Ptolemaic papyri are from Gebelên it is possible that the following belong to the same batch. No. XL, however, may be nearly as early as the Theban group X–XIV, while XLI, XLII are written in a peculiar hand, and the material has a different appearance from that of the Gebelên series.

PAPYRUS No. XL. Accounts.

The main divisions of the text are:

(1) Recto A–E. A daily account of silver for the month Tybi, reckoned in talents (kirkôr), tebens, and half-tebens (5 kitis).

(2) Recto F–[K]. A similar account for the same month, of silver reckoned in talents, tebens, and staters.

(3) Verso L–U. Various account-memoranda of silver, corn (?), &c.

(4) Verso W–Y. 3 short columns of numerals in demotic and Greek, written at the other end of the papyrus from L–U.

(1) Recto A–E.

Year 3 [Tôbi] the balance (?) . . . . to . . . . . on 30 Kiahk		600 talents, 149 (pieces), and 5 kitis
Tybi 1	brought out . . . talents 149 (pieces) and 5 kitis: balance (?)	[609 talents]
„ 1	deposited 9 [talents], 56 (pieces) and 5 kitis: total (?)	[618] talents, 56 (pieces) and 5 kitis
„ 2	brought out (1)9 talents, 56 (pieces) and 5 kitis: balance (?)	5[99] talents
„ 2	deposited (10) talents, 198 (pieces) and 5 kitis: total (?)	609 talents, 198 (pieces) and 5 kitis
	&c.	

The best preserved columns are B and C. From an examination of these as transliterated (p. 292) it is easy to ascertain the form of the account, though the meaning of some groups and the precise intention of the whole remain at present uncertain. For each day in the month there are two lines of entries, apparently disbursements and deposits respectively. It will be observed that the whole of the amounts in tebens and half-tebens (5 kitis) that are deposited one day are taken out the next, leaving a clear sum in talents. The latter is so large as to suggest that we have here the account of a leading banker, or possibly of the temple-treasury, where deposits may have been made for safety. The amounts deposited daily vary from $255\frac{1}{2}$ pieces to 59 talents 173 pieces; those withdrawn, from 86 talents 100 pieces to

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2 talents 186 pieces. The balance is over 600 talents at the beginning of the month, diminishes to below 400 from the middle onward, being at its lowest on the 24th day.

The regular formation of the account makes it easy to restore almost throughout. The fixed form of the entries is departed from only in the first line, which gives the state of the balance on the last day of the previous month, and by an additional line at the end of the eighth day, thus (B. 2–5):

day 8	brought out	17 talents, 231 (pieces): balance	449 talents
day 8	deposited	38 talents, 11½ (pieces): total	487 talents, 11½ (pieces)
delayed (?) silver (?) day 6		5 talents : balance	482 talents, 11½ (pieces)
day 9	brought out	23 talents, 11½ (pieces): balance	459 talents

&c.

(2) Recto F–K.

Year 3 Tybi . . . . . to . . . . . on 30 Kiahk

refined (?) silver . . . talents . . . . (piece)s 4 staters

Tybi 1	[brought out] refined (?) silver 1 talent 12 (pieces) 2 staters:	balance	refined (?) silver . . . . 2 staters
1	deposited refined (?) silver 49 (pieces) 1 stater:	total	refined (?) silver . . . . . 3 staters
2	brought out	blanks	
(5) 2	deposited refined (?) silver 16 (pieces):	total	refined (?) silver . . . . 3 [staters]
3	brought [out]	blanks	
3	deposited refined (?) silver 12 (pieces) 2 staters:	total	refined (?) silver 2[26 (pieces)]
4	brought out refined (?) silver 11 (pieces) 2 staters:	total (*sic*)	refined (?) silver 214 (pieces) 4 staters (sic)
4	deposited refined (?) silver hindered (?)	blank	refined (?) silver 23 (pieces) 1 stater
(10) 5	brought out	blanks	
5	deposited refined (?) silver 31 (pieces) [3] staters:	total	refined (?) silver 2[46] pieces 2 [staters]
6	brought out refined (?) silver 10 (pieces) 1 stater:	balance	refined (?) silver 23[6 (pieces) 1? stater]
6	deposited refined (?) silver . . . . . :	total	refined (?) silver . . . . .
[7	brought out		. . . . .
(G) 7	deposited refined (?) silver 59(?) (pieces) . . . :	total	refined (?) silver 287 (pieces) 1 stater
8	brought out [refined (?) silver 2 (pieces) 3 staters:	balance	refined (?) silver 284 (pieces) 3 staters
8	deposited refined? silver [22 (pieces)] 1 [stater]:	total	refined (?) silver 1 talent 6 (pieces) 4 staters

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hindered (?) silver day 4 refined (?) silver
[23 (pieces)] 1 stater: balance refined (?) silver 283 (pieces) 3 staters
(5) 9 brought out [blanks]
9 deposited [refined (?)] silver [49 (pieces):
total refined (?)[1] silver 1 talent 32 (pieces) 3 staters
&c.

The whole account is in a shattered state, such that hardly a single line is complete. Happily G 4, restored by the help of F 8, provides with G 3 the means of proving that the scheme is similar to that of the previous account; and by fixing the significance of the peculiar ligature for 'talent' clears up both accounts greatly. Several days are marked with 'no entries' in the disbursement lines: one only, day 4, in the deposit line. As in the previous account, there is an extra entry on the eighth day, but this time of a delayed payment (or loss or error?) on the 4th day instead of on the 6th day. Perhaps the 8th day of the month, on the analogy of the lunar quarter, was a date for making up accounts[2]. The amounts are very small compared with those in the last account, disbursements and balances seldom reaching a talent.

(3) Verso L–U. There is nothing very noteworthy in these jottings.

(4) Verso W, X, Y accounts in demotic (W) and Greek (X, Y).

For the present the chief value of the papyrus, the date of which is unfortunately not yet ascertainable, lies in the fine series of signs for the numbers and for the days of the month.

The two papyri following evidently belong together. In the absence of any definite clue the conjecture may perhaps be hazarded that they are from the Faiyûm.

Papyrus No. XLI. Farming agreement.

(2) pay them their corn . . . . . [cause?] them [to] do all farm-work . . . . . (3) the excess or deficiency of the above land in the harvest (?) of year 23 unto thee (?) at the rate of [5 ertob of] wheat, their half $2\frac{1}{2}$ (measures of) wheat, 5 ertob of wheat again [to one arura according to that which is written above] (4) and' thou shalt reckon (them?) to thee out of the above $187\frac{1}{2}$ ertob of wheat. The wheat, it shall make for thee payment (?) at my cost out of the above $187\frac{1}{2}$ ertob of wheat. (5) And I will pay them to them (*sic*) as my lessee (?) in year 23, Paôni 30. If I do not pay them to thee in year 23, Paôni 30 then (?) the above land of the first (?) shall be (6) let to thee from . . . . year 23 to year 24 onwards, and thou shalt plough and reap in it, and count the harvest of the field that thou shalt (7) plough . . . . unto thee each year at the rate of 5 ertob of wheat (?) to 1 arura, according to that which is above [written], and thou shalt take their (?) half of corn . . . . . and everything (?) that shall result (8) from the land that thou shalt reap yearly, with . . . . . corn and thy field work: and thou shalt take (9) . . . . . rent (?) that falleth to me (?) as [land]-lord (?) . . . . their above wheat and their harvest at the rate of 20 (measures of) wheat (?) to the (piece of) silver (?) yearly (10) from year 24,

[1] The word translated 'refined' may mean cash or metal.

[2] Cf. p. 97, note 5.

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Thoüt 1 [onwards?], until I pay them to thee, together with their harvest from year 24, Thoüt 1 onwards, according to that which is written above; and I will cause (?) . . . . to withdraw (11) . . . . . every man in the land. Thou shalt make the harvest, the excess or deficiency of the above lands yearly as my lessee (?), and thou shalt pay . . . . (12) the king's account[1] for the lands [that] thou shalt plough . . . . yearly, with their . . . . with thy . . . . and shalt pay the king's [account] for the land (13) that thou shalt reap [yearly. The remainder thou shalt put] between me and thee . . . . . our halves before us and their . . . . . year[ly].

(14) The 200 (measures of) wheat (?), and refined silver (?), the . . . . . above yearly . . . . . my lessee (?), I not having [called] (15) after thee for anything in the world . . . . . their harvests . . . . . these which he hath done: and thou shalt leave the above lands unto (?) me on Paôni 30 (16) and . . . . . the [above] wheat and their above harvest . . . . . and [no one] shall be able (17) . . . . .

This is hardly a simple lease: it seems rather an arrangement in regard to a loan or debt, the creditor repaying himself out of the debtor's land by farming it and taking a proportion of the harvest. Until parallels are found the restoration of the lacunae and the meaning throughout must be to a great extent conjectural.

On the back are lists of names in two full columns followed by names and numerals in two short columns.

Papyrus No. XLII. Marriage contract.

(2) [My eldest son is thy eldest son amongst the childr]en that thou shalt bear to me. And I will give to thee bôti (?) . . . .

(3) [Thy agent is he who] taketh surety (?) for the arrears of thy food and drink.

(4) [If I abandon thee as wife and hate thee, and prefer (?) another] woman to thee I will give thee 10 (pieces of) silver, i.e. [50] s[taters, i.e. 10 (pieces of) silver again].

(5) . . . . [cop]per metal (?), clothing, 10 talents of silver, their half 5 talents of silver, i.e. [10 talents of] silver [again]

(6) . . . . . 10 talents of silver, in copper 24 to 2 kiti, . . small (pieces of) gold . . . . .

(7) . . . . . 10 tal[ents of silver], their half 5 talents, i.e. 10 talents of silver again

(8) . . . . . right which (is written) above, one day in . . days . . . . .

(9) . . . . . in copper 24 to 2 kiti, thy . . . small (pieces of) gold . . . .

On the back are traces of demotic and Greek writing.

This fragment seems to belong to a type of marriage contract intermediate between the older Ptolemaic type (Pap. No. X) and the new (Pap. No. XVI). The conversion of silver into copper indicates a date not earlier than Philopator.

[1] Probably the treasury, not the private account of the king, ἴδιος λογος, Wilcken, *Ostr.*, i. 631.

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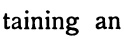
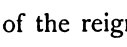
ROMAN PAPYRI FROM DIMÊ.

THE Roman papyri with which the catalogue closes evidently come from Dimê, perhaps the most productive of all the sites in the Faiyûm. Dimê is the site of an abandoned town on the steep north side of the Birket el Kurûn, which itself is the shrunken remnant of the Lake of Moeris. The reclamation of a rich province from the waters of the lake was carried out on a great scale under the first Ptolemies. Until after that work was begun the site of Dimê was an island[1], some five miles from the north edge of the great lake, and the ruins of an ancient temple in the desert north of Dimê show that there were inhabitants on the shore in very early times, when the Lake of Moeris was already frequented by kings and nobles for hunting, fishing, and other pleasures and occupations. In the Roman period Dimê had long been surrounded with fields irrigated by a branch of the Faiyûm canal, but it still bore the name Σοκνοπαιου Νησος, 'the Island of Socnopaeus,' in Greek, or in demotic documents 'the village of Sobk (in) the island of Sobk lord of Pai, the great god.' The name is literally rendered in the Greek translation of a deed by κωμη Σουχου νησου Σοκνοπαιου Θεου μεγαλου μεγαλου[2]. The Greek name Σοκνοπαιος betrays a certain antiquity, pre-Ptolemaic (?), by its termination in -ος[3]. It is found in an early Ptolemaic document[4], and though GRENFELL and HUNT found no remains on the site earlier than Ptolemaic[5], this solitary island in Lake Moeris must have been well known and sacred to Sobk from an early date, though the only buildings upon it may have been fishermen's huts and a small shrine. It has long been supposed that -παιος, -Pai meant 'the island[6],' containing an obsolete word *iw* for island, but the demotic spelling  , if this was the case, had entirely lost sight of the real etymology. A hieroglyphic papyrus of the reign of Euergetes II shows us  , 'Sobk in '[7], Sekenpai, which may be another way of writing the title of Sobk lord of Pai, Sekne(b)pai. Here, as elsewhere, may be only a late variant of , 'the island.'

Pai is thus perhaps an old expression for 'the island'[8]; but it is not very old, for it contains the article *P-*, which does not occur thus as early as the Twelfth Dynasty. We may, therefore, conclude that, some time during or after the New Kingdom, the island of Dimê came to be known as P-ai 'the island,' that the crocodile god was worshipped there as 'Sobk lord of Pai,' and that this form of Suchus was already known to Greek visitors or settlers before the Ptolemaic age as Σοκνοπαιος.

Later, a new name, 'the village of Sobk, the island (*T-mui*) of Seknebpai (Sobk lord

[1] According to GRENFELL and HUNT, *Faiûm Towns*, p. 6. It is difficult to find the proof of its being an island in Major BROWN's maps and levels in his *Faiûm and Lake Moeris*. The maps and sections in BEADNELL's *Topography and Geology of the Faiûm Province* show this better.

[2] WESSELY, *Spec. isagog.*, p. 4, no. 6.

[3] Below, pp. 189 et seqq.

[4] MAHAFFY-SMYLY, *Petrie Papyri* (Index).

[5] *Faiûm Towns*, p. 6; *Arch. Rep.*, 1900–1, p. 5.

[6] BRUGSCH quoted by KREBS, *Ä. Z.*, 31/32.

[7] LANZONE, *Papyrus du Lac Moeris*, Pl. IX.

[8] A shortened (unaccented) form of the Egyptian word for island is seen in Πι-τοβ, Φι-λαι.

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of Pai),' was given to the town that grew up on the elevated site of the former island. The modern name Dimê (دمي) recalls the Arabic name Tmai (Tmê) تمي or دمي[1] of 'the island' Thmuis Θμουις Θααογι, Aram. תמאי, in the Delta, as well as the modern name of Mendes تمي الامديد Tmai el Amdîd. It is, therefore, clearly to be derived from Tmui in the above appellation, and in fact this short name 'The Island' has been recognized by THOMPSON on the fragment No. XLVII and in some Ptolemaic papyri in the Editor's collection from the same site. No doubt it was the popular name. Thus the ancient Pai gave way completely before the later Tmui, but both may equally have signified 'The Island.' If we visit the deserted town and temple of the crocodile god the modern name Dimê can still remind us that their site once lay in the midst of the teeming waters of the Lake of Moeris. We can readily believe that the prominent yet remote and solitary situation of Pai invested it with special sanctity from an early period. The priests of Dimê in the Roman age held peculiar titles, which seem to claim for them a leading position in the cults of the deities presiding over the lake and the canal[2]. The Egyptians, dreading the wrath of the deity when his favourite island haunt stood high and dry on the mainland, may have endeavoured to appease him by attaching extraordinary honour to his temple.

The demotic legal documents from the Faiyûm of this late period are engrossed on a peculiarly thin material, closely like that of the Twelfth Dynasty papyri in the collection from Kahun, and quite different from the thick and strong Ramesside and Ptolemaic papyri. Its thin texture makes them very fragile, and easily destroyed by wear and worms and damp. The condition of the interesting bilingual sales, of which two have been published from the Berlin collection, one from Strassburg and one amongst the Greek papyri of the British Museum, is always very unsatisfactory. The two examples in the JOHN RYLANDS collection are as good as any of those just mentioned, but are equally tantalizing.

PAPYRUS OF THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS.

PAPYRUS No. XLIV. Sale of a house, consisting of agreement for sale, and cession, and a kind of abstract with signatures in Greek.

(A) The agreement for sale, very fragmentary.

(1) [Year 15, Pakhons] 19[3], of Tiberois Kaisaros Sebast (2) [the god the son of the god].

[The woman Heri]eu daughter of Lahôs and her mother Tapetesobk saith, she speaking with one mouth (*sic*)[4] unto (3) [the woman His]arô[5] daughter of Uennofri and her mother Herieu.

My daughter; thou hast caused (4) [my heart to agree to the price] of my [two]

[1] AMÉLINEAU, *Geographie*, pp. 500–2.

[2] The canal probably ended at Dimê, which is the westernmost site known to GRENFELL and HUNT on the north side of the Birket el Kurûn until Yakûta is reached, at the northwest corner (*Arch. Rep.*, 1900–1). In their opinion Yakûta was probably watered by a canal from the south-west side of the lake.

[3] May 2, A.D. 29.

[4] ομολογει.

[5] The distinction between *l* and *r* is dropped in the demotic writing of these documents, probably because in the dialect of the Faiyûm the *r* was pronounced *l*. Here *r* is written throughout, but in the 'Historical Romance of Petubastis,' also from the Faiyûm and of about the same date as this, *l* is always written. The Greek preserves the distinction between *l* and *r* even in the proper names, but there is a lapse in πληλους for πληρους, l. 5. In the Greek of XLV such are common, e.g. μελων δεσσαλων = μερων τεσσαρων, C. l. 2, &c.

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shares out of 5 shares[1]—2 shares again—in that house which is built, (5) [furnished with beams and doors and] repeated in two stages[2], with its courtyard making its eastern side, having a chamber built (6) [in it, together with all that it contains] undivided: [which is in the] western quarter of the village of Sobk, the island (7) [of Sobk lord of Pai the great god, which is on the north bank of the canal of (?) Meuêr, which is in the division (8) [of Heraki (*sic*) in the nome of A]rsino[e][3]; the dimensions of this house and this courtyard above (described) (9) [making] (*blank*)[4] cubits of god [south and north, by] (*blank*) cubits of god west and east.

The plots adjacent to this house and this courtyard above (described). (10) [South the house of Teshenûfi son of P . . . .] which is held by [his children], and the house and courtyard of the woman Taêsi, thy (11) [sister: north that road of] exit to which thou shalt go out and open the door to it[5]: west the house of (12) [the woman Tase daughter of Panefr]emi: east the house and courtyard of Teshe son of Nekhtnêbf with his (13) [children: completing the dimensions and the adjacent plots of this house and courtyard] in which are my 2 shares out of 5 shares.

(14) . . . . . .

The father], the mother, the brother, the sister, the son, the daughter, the son-in-law, (15) [the daughter-in-law, the husband, the wife[6], that shall come unto thee on account of them in my name, I will] cause him to depart from thee instantly without delay, (16) [and I will clear it for thee from every writing, every judgement (?)], every word on earth from (17) [to-day onward for ever][7].

It is clear that this did not contain all the paragraphs of the Greek form of this period shown on pp. 120–1: nor does it agree with that of No. XLV.

(B) The cession.

This is complete except for many slight injuries: it is identical with the sale except in the following passages:

(3) My daughter: I am without claim on thee for thy two shares, &c.

(13) completing the dimensions and the adjacent plots of this house and courtyard (14) in which are thy 2 shares out of 5 shares (described) above: which thou hast bought from me (?) for money, I making thee a writing (15) for silver and a writing of cession for them in year 15, Pakhons 19 as above, and doing for thee the custom (?) of the above writing of cession, (16) beside

[1] Two-fifths. [2] διστεγου.

[3] In a Greek translation of a deed ἡ κωμη Σοκνοπαιου Νησου της Ηρακλειδου μεριδος προς Μοιρι τηι προς Πτολεμαιδι Ευεργετιδι του Αρσινοιτου νομου, WESSELY, *Spec. isagog.*, p. 7, no. 30, pointed out by SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 45. The canal Moeris is identified with the Bahr el Wardan by GRENFELL and HUNT, *Tebt.*, i. p. 411; cf. WESSELY, *Topographie des Faijûm*, p. 26, and KRALL, *WZKM.*, xviii. p. 120, who quotes from GRENFELL and HUNT in their *Fayûm Towns*, p. 15, the statement that 'a branch of the Bahr el Wardân probably continued its course round the north-east corner of the lake to Socnopaei Nesus and beyond.' See also note on p. 299 below. The division of Heracleides was the largest of the three divisions into which the province was divided by the early Ptolemies, comprising the north-east half (see *Fayûm Towns*, p. 10 and map, Pl. 18).

[4] The space for the numbers is left blank in both copies. αιτρογειταριον in the Greek at this point is a mysterious word that perhaps may have reference to the shape or size of the house-plot. [5] εισοδος και εξοδος.

[6] This list is restored from a Berlin papyrus, but it is not clear to which paragraph of the ordinary sale formula it belongs as so much of the context is destroyed.

[7] The signature of the scribe may have been here at the end of the πρασις, as in the next papyrus, and *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, no. 6857.

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the custom (?) of the writing for silver [1], in all two documents that I have made to thee for them; and I will do unto thee their provisions immediately (?) without delay. (*End.*)

(C) The Greek text.

The following copy and restoration are most kindly contributed by Dr. GRENFELL and Dr. HUNT.

(*a*) TEXT.

Εριεως της Λαουσις μητρος Ταπετεσουχου ομολωγωι πεπρακεναι Ε[ι]σαρουτει της Οννωφριος
[μητρος Εριεως τα υπαρχοντα μοι μερη δυο απο μερων πεντε
της οικιας διστηκους και αυλης εκ του απ[ο]απηλιωτου και των συνκυροντων παντων κοιν[ων
. . . . . .
οντα μετρα ολης της οικιας και αυλης αιτρογειταριον γιτονος ολ[η]ς της [ο]ι[κι]ας και αυλη[ς
νοτου . . . . . [και Τα-
ησις οικιας και αυλης βορρα εισοτος και εξοτος απηλιωτης Τε[.]ης Ν[.] . . ιηβις οικιας κα[ι
αυλης λιβος . . . . . .
οικιας και απεχω παραχρημα την συνκεχωρημενην διμην πασαν εκ πληλους και βεβ[αιωσω
πασηι βεβαιωσει εις τον
απαντα χρονον και τα αλλα ποιησομαι καθοτι προγεγραπται και επι τε τω τοις μαρτυροις
γ[ραφειν και τω προς τω γραφειω . . . αποδουναι εγραψεν
υπερ αυτης Λαου[σι]ος Εριεως δια το μὴ [ει]δεναι αυτης γραμματα. (2nd hand) Ισαρουτει
της [Οννωφριος μητρος Εριεως εσχον τα μερη
δυο απο μερων πεντε οικιας και αυλης καθως προ[κει]η[α]ι ε[γρα]ψεν υπερ α[υτης . . .
. . . . δια το μη ειδεναι αυτην
γραμμ[α]τα. (3rd hand) πρα[σ]ις και απωστα[σιου] μερη δυο απο [μερων π]εντε της [οικιας
και αυλης . . .
εν τη Σοκνοπαι[ο]υ Νησ[ο]υ της Ηρακλ[ε]ιδου μεριδος ω[ν πεπρακε] και αφι[σταται Εριευς
Οννωφριος
μητρος Ταπετεσουχου ως (ετων) κε φακος μετοπω [. . . . . .] Ισαρ[ουτει της Οννωφριος
μητρος Εριεως ως (ετων) . . ουλη . . . .
αριστερα υπογραφευς Λαουσις [Ε]ριευς ως (ετων) να ο(υλη) [. . . . . .]ωι και αλ[
εξ αριστερα Ετους πεντεκαιδεκατου Τιβερ[ιου Καισαρο]ς Σεβαστου [Αυτοκρατορος αναγεγραπται
δια του εν τη Σοκνοπαιου
Νησου γραφιου.

Line 2. η of διστηκους corr. 3. κ of οικιας corr. 11. φακος corr. from μετ.

(*b*) RECONSTRUCTION.

Ἑριεὺς Λαούσιος μητρὸς Ταπετεσούχου ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι Ἰσαροῦτι Ὀννώφριος μητρὸς
Ἑριέως τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι μέρη δύο ἀπὸ μερῶν πέντε
τῆς οἰκίας διστέγου καὶ αὐλῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου καὶ τῶν συγκυρόντων πάντων κοινῶν . . .
ὄντα μέτρα ὅλης τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς αἰτρογειτάριον (?) γείτονες ὅλης τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς
νότου . . . . καὶ Τα- (?)
ήσιος οἰκία καὶ αὐλή, βορρᾶ εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος, ἀπηλιώτου Τε[σ]ητος Νεκτνηβιος οἰκία καὶ
αὐλὴ λιβὸς . . .

[1] l. 6 of the Greek seems to correspond in some degree to this, but the meaning is not quite clear.

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οἰκία. καὶ ἀπέχω παραχρῆμα τὴν συγκεχωρημένην τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἐκ πλήρους καὶ βεβαιώσω πάσῃ βεβαιώσει εἰς τὸν
ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ποιήσομαι καθότι προγέγραπται, καὶ ἐπί τε τῷ τοῖς μάρτυσι γράφειν καὶ τῷ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ . . . ἀποδοῦναι . ἔγραψεν
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς Λαοῦσις Ἑριέως διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὴν γράμματα. Ἴσαροῦς Ὀννώφριος μητρὸς Ἑριέως ἔσχον τὰ μέρη
δύο ἀπὸ μερῶν πέντε οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς καθὼς πρόκειται. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς . . . . . .
. . . διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὴν
γράμματα. πρᾶσις καὶ ἀποστασίου μερῶν δύο ἀπὸ μερῶν πέντε τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς . . .
ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσῳ τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος ὧν (πέπρακε) καὶ (ἀφίσταται?) Ἑριεὺς Ὀννώφριος μητρὸς Ταπετεσούχου ὡς ἐτῶν κε φακὸς μετώπῳ [μέσῳ?] Ἴσαροῦτι Ὀννώφριος μητρὸς Ἑριέως ὡς ἐτῶν . . οὐλὴ . . . . ἐξ
ἀριστερᾶς. ὑπογραφεὺς Λαοῦσις Ἑριέως ὡς ἐτῶν να οὐλὴ . . .
ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς. Ἔτους πεντεκαιδεκάτου, &c.

I, Herieus, daughter of Laousis and her mother Tapetesouchos, acknowledge that I have sold to Hisarous daughter of Onnophris [and her mother Herieus, the two parts belonging to me out of five] of the two-storied house and court on the east and of all the appurtenances (which I hold) in common [with] . . . . . :

the measures of the whole house and court being *αιτρογειταριον*,

the adjacent plots to the whole house and court being: [on the south the house of Tesenouphis and] the house and court of [Ta]esis, north, entrance and exit, east, the house and court of Teses son of Nektnebis, [west] the house [of Tases daughter of Panepheremmis].

and I have received immediately the whole price agreed upon in full,

and [I will confirm (the sale) with every guarantee for] all time

and I will do as has been written above, also both in regard to [writing for the witnesses and paying the fee of the record-office for the registration].

Laousis daughter of Herieus [wrote] for her because of her not knowing how to write.

I, Hisarous daughter of [Onnophris and her mother Herieus, have received] the two parts out of five of a house and courtyard as above.

. . . . . wrote for her [because of her not knowing] how to write.

Sale and cession of two parts out of five of the house and courtyard . . . . . in the Island of Soknopaios in the division of Herakleides, which she sold and cedes (?).

[Herieus daughter of Onnophris] and her mother Tapetesoukhos, about 25 years of age with a mole in the [middle?] of the forehead, has sold and ceded to Hisarous [daughter of Onnophris and her mother Herieus, about . . . years of age, with a scar on the] left side of . . . .[1]

Laousis daughter of Herieus subscribes, about 51 years of age, with a scar . . . . on the left of . . . .

Year 15 of Tiberius Caesar Sebastos [Autokrator: registered by the] record-office in the island [of Soknopaios].

[1] These descriptions are very rare in demotic documents, but were customary if not necessary in the Greek: they were therefore added at the end of the signed abstract.

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PAPYRUS OF THE REIGN OF CLAUDIUS.

PAPYRUS No. XLV. Sale of a house, as the last, together with a loan of money in Greek.

(A) The agreement for sale.

(1) Year 2, month of the god[1] Mesorêᶜ 22, of Tiberos Klautos [Kaisaros] (2) Sebastos Germanikos, who hath obtained power, the god the son of the god.

The possessor of sanctity, (3) governor of the Lake of the Sea of Nefershati[2], Stutuêti son of Paneferemi (4) and his mother Taneferemi, speaking with one mouth to the possessor of sanctity, governor (5) of the lake of the sea of (?) Nefershati, Efᶜônkh son of Paneferemi[3] (6) and his mother Taneferemi, saith,

Thou hast paid me: thou hast caused my heart to agree to (7) the price of my two shares as [falling] to me from our father's seven shares of this house (8) which is built, furnished with [beams] and doors and its courtyard southward: and my $2\frac{1}{3}$ (?)[4] shares of (9) this other house which is thrown down upon itself (?), they making two plots (?), being [in the] (10) eastern [quarter] of the village of Sobk, the island of Sobk lord of Pai the [great] god, on the north bank (?) (11) of the canal of Meuêr, in the division of Hiraklitos of the nome (12) of Arsinoe: the dimensions making (*blank*) cubits north and south by (13) (*blank*) cubits west and east.

The plots adjacent to the first house: south the bare-ground of (14) Prem . . . (?), north the king's street, west the way of exit, east (15) the house of Khatbo son of . . . .

The plots adjacent to the second house: south the house of Efᶜônkh son of Hôr, north the house (16) of Efᶜônkh the elder[5] with his brethren, west (17) the house of Stutuêti son of Hôr, east the king's street, completing the (18) dimensions and plots adjacent to this whole (?), ...

(19) I have no matter on earth owing (?) to thee on their account from to-day onward for ever.

(20) No man on earth shall be able to have authority over them except thee from to-day onward for ever.

(21) He that shall come unto thee on their account in my name, I will cause him to abandon claim on thee instantly (22) without delay: and I will make clearance for thee from every writing, every judgement (?), every [word ?] on earth, from to-day (23) onward for ever.

Written by Teshenûfi (?) . . . . . son of Stutuêti (?).

[1] Καισαρειου, is the Roman name of Mesore; see the Greek text, l. 9, and WILCKEN, *Ostr.*, i. 810. But in *Pap. Dem. Berl.*, no. 6857, the date is clearly 'year 5 month of the god, Pakhons, day 2' of the same reign: thus 'month of the god' is not always equivalent to Καισαρειος. Pachon, however, is equivalent to Γερμανικειος; apparently, therefore, any month named after an emperor might be termed 'month of the god.' The date here is equivalent to July 31, A.D. 43.

[2] See below, p. 301, for the Graecized version of these titles as belonging to a certain Σαταβους (Khatbu, Shatbu), who is described in one document as των απο της Νησου του Σοκνοπαιου ιερεων (WESSELY, *Spec. isag.*, p. 6, no. 28). His titles are therefore sacerdotal. They are borne by both parties in the contract, two brothers, and so must have been held by several individuals simultaneously. The first title Nebuap, νεβοαπις, the possessor of sanctity, is found alone in Berl. 7058/2. It probably refers to the qualifications of priests, and perhaps to circumcision, which is ascertained by documents only for the Heracleides division, and in particular for Socnopaeus, WILCKEN, *Archiv*, ii. 4. The word rendered 'sea' is an old expression 'the great Green,' applied to the Mediterranean and Red Seas and also to the Lake of Moeris. Nefershati is apparently the name of a goddess or of a sacred snake which may have presided over the Lake or have symbolized the Faiyûm canal.

[3] The two brothers Στοτοητις και Απυγχις αμφοτεροι Πανεφερυμμις occur in *Rainer Gr.*, no. 242, l. 27, A.D. 40.

[4] The Greek has '2 shares out of 4.'

[5] Called Efᶜônkh son of Stutuêti in the cession. A contract at Strassburg of A.D. 55 (no. 32) is made between the 'possessor of sanctity,' &c., Efᶜônkh the elder, son of Stutuêti. and his daughter Tshenharmehf.

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(B) The cession.

The forms of the Roman documents seem very variable: though the individual paragraphs are framed closely on those of the Ptolemaic period their order seems to matter little, and they are divided indifferently between the *πρασις* and the *αποστασιον*, the latter being now chiefly distinguished by its initial declaration 'I am far from thee.' In the present case the cession is very imperfect and difficult to restore: the most notable points are:

['I am] (6) far from thee from thy two shares,' &c.

and, after the description of the houses, their measurements and boundaries:

. . . . . .

[I have no matter on earth?] (17) owing to thee in their name from [to-day?] onward for ever.

[He that shall come unto thee on their account] (18) in my name (&c., as in the *πρασις*).

(20) No man on earth shall be able to have authority (&c., as in the *πρασις*).

[Neither father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter], (21) son-in-law, daughter-in-law, [husband, wife, shall be able to?] come unto thee on their account . . . . . .

This paragraph must have been the last in the document when complete. The contemporary Greek translation of an *αποστασιον* printed on p. 125 may be compared.

The writer is again indebted to Dr. GRENFELL and Dr. HUNT for copies and reconstructions of the long Greek texts.

(C) Col. i. The Greek text to the sale.

(*a*) TEXT.

[18 letters]ις μηδρος Τανεφρυμ[ις] ωμωλοκω παιπρακα[ι]ν[α]ι Απυνχις Πανεφρ[υ]μις μηδρος Τανεφρυμις των υπαρ

χοντων μοι μερη δυο α]π̣ω μερων επτα ο[ικια]ς διστηκου και αυ[λη]ς και μερι τουω α[πο] μελων δεσσαλ[ων] οικιας συν π̣ε

[17 letters κ]α̣ι γουνη και τιελ[. . . κ]α̣ι των συνκυλ[οντ]ων παντων εν [τη Σ]ωκνοπαιου Νησο[υ της] Ηρακλιτω με

ριδος 11 letters]ω̣βος και τω[. . . . .]μ̣ερος μυλον̣ [. . . . .] . παισ . . . αι . [. . . . .] κιτωνος ω̣[. . . τη]ς πρωτη οικ[ι

5 ας νοτου 10 letters] ψιλου τωπω τ[. . . βο]ρα ρυβη βασιλ[ικη λι]βας ισος της . [. . . . .] τοσκυης α̣π̣[ηλιω]το Σεταβου

τος οικιας της δε δευτ]ε̣ρα̣υς οικ[ι]ας νοτ[ου Απυ]νχος οικιας βορα [Απυν]χις των αδε[λφων] οικιας λιβως [Στωθη]της Ωρος οικι[ας

απηλιωτο ρυμη βασιλι]κη και βαιβοωσι π̣[ασης β]εβαιωσι καθως [προκ]ιται εγραψεν [υπερ α]υτω Εριευς Ερ[ιεως δ]ια τω μι εται

ναι αυτον γραμμα]τα (2nd hand) (ἔτους) β Τιβεριου [Κλ]αυδιου *E-f-ʿnḫ Pa-n-nfr-ʾmy mw.t-f Ta-n-nfr-ʾmy . . . šp̣(-y?) te-y ʾr [a?] ḫ̲ (?) . . . nt ḥry* (?)

[Καισαρος Σεβαστου] Γερμανικου Αυτοκρα[τ]ορος μηνος Καισαρε[ιο]υ κ̄ς̄ αναγεκραπ[τ]αι δια του εν τη Σοκ[ν]οπαιου [Νησου γραφειου

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(*b*) Reconstruction.

(1) (18 letters)ιος μητρὸς Τανεφρέμμιος ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι Ἀπύγχει Πανεφρέμμιος μητρὸς Τανεφρέμμιος τὰ ὑπάρ(2)χοντά μοι μέρη δύο ἀπὸ μερῶν ἑπτὰ οἰκίας διστέγου καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ μέρη δύο ἀπὸ μερῶν τεσσάρων οἰκίας σὺν (3) . . . καὶ γουνῷ καὶ . . . καὶ τῶν συγκυρόντων πάντων ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσῳ τῆς Ἡρακλείδου με(4)ρίδος . . . . καὶ τὸ . . . μέρος μύλου . . . . . γείτονες . . . τῆς πρώτης οἰκί(5)ας νότου . . . ψιλὸς τόπος . . . βορρᾶ ῥύμη βασιλική, λιβὸς εἴσοδος (?) τῆς . . . τασκευης ἀπηλιώτου Σαταβοῦ(6)τος οἰκία, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας οἰκίας νότου Απύγχιος οἰκία, βορρᾶ Ἀπύγχιος καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἰκία, λιβὸς Στοθητου τοῦ Ὥρου οἰκία, (7) ἀπηλιώτου ῥύμη βασιλική. καὶ βεβαιώσειν πάσῃ βεβαιώσει καθὼς πρόκειται. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἐριεὺς Ἐριέως διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέ(8)ναι αὐτὸν γράμματα (demotic) ἔτους β., &c. (9) ἀναγέγραπται διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσῳ γραφείου.

I, [Stothetis son of Panepheremmis] and his mother Tanepheremmis, acknowledge that I have sold to Apunkhis son of Panepheremmis and his mother Tanepheremmis, the [two parts] belonging to me out of seven of a two-storied house and courtyard, and two parts out of four of a [ruined (?)] house with . . . . . , and fruit-land and . . . . . and all that appertains to them in the island of Soknopaios in the division of Herakleides . . . . . and the . . . share of a mill . . . . . .

the plots adjacent to the first house: [south] . . . . . the waste ground of . . . . . , north the king's way, west the entrance of the building, east the house of Satabous

(those) of the second house: south the house of Apunkhis, north the house of Apunkhis and his brethren, west the house of Stothetis son of Horus, [east the king's way].

and that he will confirm it in every way as above.

Herieus son of Herieus wrote for him because of his not knowing [how to write] . (in demotic) *Ef'onkh son of Paneferemi and his mother Taneferemi* . . . . : *Receive! I do* (?) *according to everything that is above* (?)

Year 2 of Tiberius Claudius [Caesar Sebastos] Germanicus Autokrator, 26 of the month Kaisareios: it has been registered at the record office in the Island of Soknopaios.

(D) Col. ii. A loan between the same parties.

(*a*) Text.

Ετους δευτερου Τιβεριου Κλαυδιου Καισαρος Σεβαστου
Γερμανικου Αυτωκρατορος μηνος Επειφ εκκαι-
δεκατη εν τη Σοκνοπαιου Νησου της Ηρακλει
του μεριδος του Αρσινοειτου νομου εδανησεν
Απυνχις Πανεφρυμμις ως ετων εικας
πενται οιλη πηχις εκ δεξια Στοτοητις
Πανεφρυμμις [[.]] Περσης της επικον
ης ως ετων τριακοντα πενται οιλη μετοπωι με
σοι εχιν το δανηων παρ αυτου αργυριον επιζημοι
καιφαλαιου νομι[σ]ματος δραχμας τριακοντα
τεσσαρ° και ειληφεν παρ αυτου παραχρημα δια
χειρυς εκξ υκου τωκου ως εκ δραχμης μιαν

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τη μνα μηνα εκαστον ας και αποδοσομε
δετανισμενον τω Απυνχις εμ μηνι Επειφ
του εισιοντος τριτου ετους Τιβεριου Κλαυδιου
Καισαρος Σεβαστου Γερμανικου Αυτοκρατορος
αμ μη δε αποδοσω τω ται δανηων και τους
τωκον καθα καιγραπται εκ δε του δετανισ
μενων και εκ των υπαρχοντων αυτον πα
των της πραξης ουσης τω Απυγχις
καθαπερ εκ τικης υπογραφευς τω δετα
νισμενον Εριεως Εριεως ως ετων
τριακοντα πενται οιλη οφρυω αριστερ[α]
υπογρ(αφευς) Απυγχις ω προκειμενος
Στωθητης Πανεφρυμις Περσες της επικωνης ω
(= 1st hand of col. i) μωλωκω εχιν τω τανην παρα Απυχις Πανε
2nd hand φρυς τας του αρκυριου επισημου καιφαλεου
νωμισματος δια χυλος εκξ υκου δραχμας
τριακοντα τεσσαρος τοκων ως εκ δραχμη
μηα την μνα μηνα εκαστα ας και
απωτως ε μινι Επιφ του εσιωντος τρι
του ετους Τιβ[εριο]υ Κλαυδιου Κ[αισα]ρος Σε
βαστου Γελμα[νικο]υ Αυτωγρατ[ορο]ς κα
[θ]ως πρωκιτ[αι εγρα]ψεν υπελ α[υτου] Εριευς
[Ερ]ιευς δια τω [μη ι]ταιναι αυτο[ν] γρα-
ματα *E-f*[-ʿnḥ] *Pa-n-nfr-ʾmy* . . . .
[ετους] β Τιβεριου Κ[λαυ]διου
Καισαρος Σεβαστ[ο]υ Γερμανικου Αυτοκρατορος
μην[ο] Καισαριου κς αναγεκραπται δια
του εν τη Σοκνοπαιου Νησου γραφιου

Line 8. ω of ετων and ι of τριακοντα corr. 11. τεσσαρ[ο] over an erasure. 13 Third ο of αποδοσομε corr. from μ. 19. κ of και corr. 26. π of απυχις corr. from υ. 32 κ and δ of Κλαυδιου corr. 33. υ of αυτωγρατ[ορο]ς corr. from ρ.

(*b*) Reconstruction.

Ἔτους δευτέρου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος μηνὸς Ἐπεὶφ ἑκκαι-
δεκάτῃ ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσῳ τῆς Ἡρακλεί-
δου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ἐδάνεισεν
Ἀπύγχις Πανεφρέμμιος ὡς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι
πέντε οὐλὴ πήχει ἐκ δεξιᾶς Στοθήτι
Πανεφρέμμιος Πέρσῃ τῆς ἐπιγον-
ῆς ὡς ἐτῶν τρίακοντα πέντε οὐλὴ μετώπῳ μέ-
σῳ ἐχειν[1] τὸ δάνειον παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου

[1] Constructed as if there were ὁμολογεῖ in l. 4.

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κεφαλαίου νομίσματος δραχμὰς τριάκοντα
τέσσαρας καὶ εἰληφέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα διὰ
χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου τόκου ὡς ἐκ δραχμῆς μιᾶς
τῇ μνᾷ μῆνα ἕκαστον, ἃς καὶ ἀποδώσει
ὁ δεδανεισμένος τῷ Ἀπύγχει ἐν μηνὶ Ἐπεὶφ
τοῦ εἰσιόντος τρίτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος.
ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῷ τό τε δάνειον καὶ τοὺς
{τόκους καθὰ γέγραπται (ἀποτίσει ἡμιόλιον καὶ
ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω τῷ Ἀπύγχει[1]) ἔκ τε τοῦ δεδανεισ-}
μένου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πά-
ντων
καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. ὑπογραφεὺς τοῦ δεδα-
νεισμένου Ἐριεὺς Ἐριέως ὡς ἐτῶν
τριάκοντα πέντε οὐλὴ ὀφρύι ἀριστερᾷ
ὑπογρ(αφεὺς) Ἀπύγχις ὁ προκείμενος
Στοθῆτις Πανεφρέμμιος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὁ-
μολογῶ ἔχειν τὸ δάνειον παρὰ Ἀπύγχιος Πανε-
φρέμμιος τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου κεφαλαίου
νομίσματος διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου δραχμὰς
τριάκοντα τέσσαρας τόκων ὡς ἐκ δραχμῆς
μιᾶς τῇ μνᾷ μῆνα ἕκαστον, ἃς καὶ
ἀποδώσω ἐν μηνὶ Ἐπεὶφ τοῦ εἰσιόντος τρί-
του ἔτους Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σε-
βαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος κα-
θὼς πρόκειται. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἐριεὺς
Ἐριέως διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμ-
ματα (demotic)
Ἔτους β, &c.

Year 2 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Sebastos Germanicus Autokrator, 16th of Epeiph, in the island of Soknopaios in the division of Herakleides of the nome of Arsinoe.

Apunkhis son of Panephremmis, about 25 years of age, with a scar on the right arm, has lent to Stothetis son of Panephremmis, a Persian of the Epigone, about thirty-five years of age, with a scar on the middle of the forehead, (he acknowledging that) he holds the loan from him of coined silver, the capital sum of 34 drachmae, and that he has received it from him immediately by hand from his house to receive interest at the rate of one drachma to the mina per month:

which (drachmae) the borrower shall restore to Apunkhis in the month Epeiph of the coming year 3 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Sebastos Germanicus Autokrator.

And if he restore not the loan with the interest as written (he shall forfeit one and a half times the amount).

[1] This formula has been much altered in the original.

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The right of execution shall belong to Apunkhis upon the borrower and all his property as if by decree of a court.

Herieus son of Herieus subscribes for the borrower, being about 35 years of age, with a scar on the left eyebrow. Subscriber, the above Apunkhis.

I, Stothetis son of Panephremmis, Persian of the Epigone, acknowledge that I have the loan from Apunkhis son of Panephremmis, namely the 34 drachmae of coined silver, the capital sum, by hand from his house at interest at the rate of one drachma to the mina per month: which I will pay back in the month Epeiph of the coming year 3 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Sebastos Germanicus Autokrator, as above.

Herieus son of Herieus wrote for him because of his not knowing how to write (in demotic) *Ef*[*ʿônkh*] (sic) *son of Paneferemi* . . . . .

Year 2 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Sebastos Autokrator, 26 of Kaisareios.

Registered by the record-office in the Island of Soknopaios.

Fragments of many contracts are in the collection from Dimê. Neither in these two papyri nor in the fragments is there any trace of witnesses having signed on the backs, which are entirely blank. Probably some imperial regulation had put an end to the custom which had held since the reign of Amasis[1].

[1] See p. 34.

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PART II

PHILOLOGICAL

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INTRODUCTION

A. The Language of Demotic Texts.

DEMOTIC is properly the name of a writing, but it may well be employed also to designate the stage or stages in the Egyptian language intermediate between Late Egyptian and Coptic. From the Middle Kingdom onwards most legal documents and letters, and some stories, were written in the vulgar speech of their time, or at least in an approximation to it, so that the progress of the language can be estimated from such texts. Demotic writing is the natural vehicle of the popular literature in the later age. It exhibits some few texts founded on and coloured by the old literary language; but it is surprising how strongly the latest forms of speech characterize it throughout. It would indeed be wrong to suppose that Egyptian as written in demotic kept pace fully with the living language; the words and grammatical forms employed in it are clearly but a restricted and somewhat conservative and artificial selection of those that existed. It is, however, greatly in advance of the Late Egyptian which was written during the New Kingdom. Egyptian in the demotic stage is scarcely to be found outside demotic writings; only a few freely written hieratic texts of the transition period are known, and occasionally a passage in hieroglyphs of Ptolemaic or Roman date may be of this character[1].

Vulgar texts of the XXIst Dynasty differ in language considerably from those of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. There are likewise considerable differences observable in the language of demotic texts at various periods in the nine or ten centuries during which demotic was in vogue. The writing, too, changed greatly in course of time, and in later papyri alphabetic spelling might be substituted for or added to many of the old ligatures.

But the 'abnormal' hieratic texts which are found at Thebes from the XXVth Dynasty onwards and contemporary with the 'normal' down to the time of Amasis[2] are distinct from the latter in writing and in language. The script of Nos. I and II, the earliest known in the normal series, is semi-hieratic, easy to read, but very variable, and generally closer to typical hieratic than to typical demotic. The spelling of the words in them also varies considerably. In the 'abnormal' texts of Turin and the Louvre the script is likewise a kind of hieratic, and variable; but it is far more specialized, and yet, though often extremely cursive, it has no tendency to typical demotic[3]. In the normal series the writing progresses very steadily through the documents of Amasis'

[1] The long kyphi and ritual texts of the temple of Denderah are much in the style of early demotic.

[2] See above, pp. 12 et seqq.

[3] It is consequently far more difficult to decipher.

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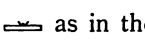
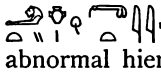
and Darius' reigns to the typical demotic of Ptolemaic and Roman times. As to differences in the language, the passive, written *sṭm-tw-f*, is still found in abnormal hieratic, and is there an emphatic addition to the negative , which may be used without it[1]. In 'normal' texts, on the other hand, is always followed by , thus agreeing with the Coptic ⲛ̄ . . . . ⲁⲛ. The technical expression in legal documents of the 'abnormal' series (in the time of Taracus and Psammetichus) for the satisfaction of a party is  as in the will of Euerot (Dyn. XXII), line 4, , and in Pap. Eskhons (Dyn. XXI), line 79 . The normal texts for this have  , employing the later ϩⲏⲧ for the obsolete . The language of abnormal hieratic is thus a survival of the later language of the New Kingdom. The sample groups given by ERMAN[2] from the Papyrus Reinhardt show that that cursive Theban papyrus of the XXIst Dynasty furnishes a prototype of the abnormal hieratic writing.

The legal documents which form the bulk of demotic texts may be suspected to have a style of their own: they are crammed with formulae repeated from document to document; and outside the formulae, though there is an abundance of words and names for our vocabularies, there is comparatively little material for the syntax. Happily stories written in demotic have come to our aid for the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and what the stories have done for our knowledge of the later demotic language the Petition of Peteêsi can now do for the earlier age. This long narrative proves that the language of the contracts is closely in accord with the contemporary speech, or at least with the literary language; here and there a slight archaism may be retained in the legal style, such as the use of the preposition instead of ⲛⲉⲁⲣ-. Monotonous as it is both in vocabulary and in syntax, the long text of the Petition adds a great variety both of words and constructions to those that can be gathered from the early legal texts. Moreover, the hymns on the last pages present us with the first examples of the poetical style of the time, to put by the side of similar productions in later demotic.

The language of the Petition of Peteêsi differs markedly from that of the Ptolemaic story of Sethon, much as the language of abnormal hieratic differs from that of normal early demotic texts. Similarly the story of Sethon and the demotic texts contemporary with it contrast with the Magical Papyrus of Leyden and London, which was written in the 3rd century A.D.

B. The Pronunciation of Demotic.

The hieroglyphic system of spelling at all periods recorded practically no more than the consonantal skeleton of native words and native names, whatever attempts were made to render the vocalization of foreign imports. In the case of demotic even this skeleton is much obscured. Fortunately the proper names occurring in demotic papyri

[1] See A. H. GARDINER's excellent explanation of this idiom in *Ä. Z.*, xli. 130.

[2] *Papyrus Weskar*, ii. p. 48.

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are constantly paralleled by the Graecized Egyptian names in Greek documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman age, and when we compare these Graecized names, or the elements of which they are composed, with the corresponding forms preserved in Coptic, it is easily recognized that they are essentially identical, the differences, apart from Graecisms, being only such as are seen in comparing one dialect of Coptic with another. In the Ptolemaic age the native language of Egypt was familiar to a large Greek-speaking population, and the Greek spelling itself was as yet little corrupted: as might be expected, the Graecizing of the names proceeded on a fairly regular system, so that it is by no means difficult to draw up a series of rules by the critical application of which large numbers of the Graeco-Egyptian names can be re-translated with considerable accuracy into the different dialects of Coptic. These latter are scarcely represented by literature before the 4th century A.D. It is, therefore, satisfactory to find that they may be used as a guide to the pronunciation of the 3rd century B.C. And if we go back two more centuries to the names preserved in Herodotus there is still no essential difference to be detected. Many words and grammatical forms found in the vocabulary and amongst the proper names of demotic are obsolete in Coptic, and it seems certain that a thorough study of the vast and now rapidly increasing mass of these Graecized forms will one day restore to us the native pronunciation of most names and many words current in Egypt from Coptic times back for several centuries B.C. It must, however, be admitted that the number of well-defined words that can be extracted from collections of proper names as yet seems disproportionately small.

C. Egyptian Dialects.

From the earliest times Egypt must have been the home of several dialects. It is so now that the language is Arabic: in ancient and more primitive times when communication was slower, the long course of the Nile valley, the Delta intersected and broken by rivers and marshes, the desert borders and the Oases fostered dialect yet more. Probably the earliest reference, however, to marked differences of speech is in the often quoted passage in which a scribe, writing about 1250 B.C., forcibly criticizes the obscurity and confusion of the style of a fellow scribe, saying of his sentences:

'they are like the words of a man of Athu (Natho, the papyrus marshes in the north of the Delta) with a man of Iêb (Elephantine, at the south extremity of Egypt)[1].'

It was not until the Copts applied Greek letters and the Greek mode of spelling to their language that the differences of the dialects appeared clearly in their writing. Coptic literature has preserved for us a number of dialects and sub-dialects or local variations which prevailed in different parts of the valley from Memphis to Thebes from the 3rd or 4th century A.D. onwards. These are: Sahidic, the typical literary language of Upper Egypt; Akhmîmic, driven out by Sahidic at an early date; Faiyûmic, and some

[1] *Pap. Anast.*, i. 28/6.

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sub-varieties. From Lower Egypt we have only Boheiric. The *l* for *r* of the Faiyûm dialect is at once recognizable in the demotic of the story of King Petubastis, written in that province in the 1st century A. D. Other indications of dialect can be faintly detected in demotic by a close analysis. In the Graecized forms of words dialectic differences are obvious enough, yet to restore the dialects of 300 B. C. from them on the analogy of those of 400 to 800 A. D. would be an extremely delicate matter, requiring close and special study to eliminate Graecisms, recognize the archaisms, classify the varieties, and establish the speech-provinces. Suffice it to say that the considerable uniformity in the Graecized names of the Ptolemaic period from all parts of Egypt would seem to testify to the existence of an official dialect, although the local pronunciations are constantly seen to break through the skin of this official style.

The historical conditions of the country throughout the Saite, Persian, and Ptolemaic periods point to the probability that the dialect, or one of the dialects, of Lower Egypt would take the lead amongst the educated and official classes, just as the town dialect of Cairo and Alexandria has long been established at every post-office and railway station throughout modern Egypt. The importance of Thebes had dwindled. From the time of Psammetichus I onward Lower Egypt and Memphis triumphed over Upper Egypt and the partisans of Ethiopia; the march of advancing civilization, trade, and prosperity was from the coast southwards. The ancestral home of the royal family during the flourishing XXVIth Dynasty was Sais, belonging to the western half of the Delta. Memphis was the official capital then and onwards under the Persian rule and the dynasties of Mendes and Sebennytus, and comprised a vast population. The Ptolemies established their capital in Alexandria, but Memphis was probably the native centre. Whether Ptolemais in the Thebais was of much real importance as a capital still remains to be seen. The colonies throughout the country speaking in the official style must have permanently affected some of the local dialects.

The early Greek warriors and merchants and travellers must necessarily have come into contact with this official style; but even apart from that their intercourse was naturally in the first place with Lower Egypt: it was amongst the Carians and Ionians settled by Psammetichus in the Στρατόπεδα of Daphnae on the Pelusiac Nile that the class of dragomans arose to interpret between natives and foreigners[1]. It was, however, the Canopic branch that was the main artery of Greek commerce, especially after the monopoly of Naucratis was established by Amasis.

It is therefore lamentable that so little is known about the dialects of Lower Egypt. The moist soil and climate of the Delta destroy all buried papers. STEINDORFF, while grouping all the dialects of Upper and Middle Egypt in one family, makes Boheiric, the one known dialect of Lower Egypt, representative of a distinct family[2]. Sahidic is known in an abundance of both early and late MSS., Akhmîmic in several extensive texts of the 4th to the 6th centuries, and there are good intermediate varieties as well. Faiyûmic also is contained in some late MSS., as well as in earlier legal papyri and letters; and some old fragments of a Middle-Egyptian dialect are found.

[1] Hdt. ii. 154.

[2] STEINDORFF, *Kopt. Gram.*, 2nd ed., p. 4.

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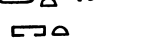
Boheiric, on the other hand, is the dead language of the modern Coptic church. Late MSS., translations of the Bible, of liturgical works or lives of saints in Greek, abound: some copies reach back to the 10th century, having been preserved in the monasteries of the Wady Natrûn, and many of the translations must have been made at a far earlier date. Mr. CRUM believes that Boheiric represents the dialect of the western border of Egypt. It is well marked, and though there are some striking features of Boheiric seen in Graecized names, it cannot be said that it was the early official language. Beyond Boheiric nothing is known of the dialects south of Memphis, and even Graecized names recovered thence as yet are very scanty. For Memphis itself, which we may suspect to have been the mother of the official demotic dialect, there are but a few legal papyri from the monastery of St. Jeremias. According to STERN[1] they show an irregular mixture of Boheiric forms with a mainly Sahidic stock. The texts date from after the Arab invasion, the writing is corrupt, and they can give only a miserably inadequate idea of the dialect. A resemblance, however, may be detected between this and a short pagan Coptic text in the great Magical papyrus of the Louvre[2]. The Faiyûm dialect with ϣ for ⲟ, ϩ for ⲡ, &c., is quite different.

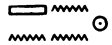
We may now proceed to a brief study of some groups of names in order to ascertain how to interpret the Greek forms that we meet with in terms of the Coptic dialects.

D. THE NAMES OF THE EGYPTIAN MONTHS.

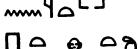
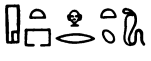
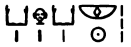
The names of the months as written in demotic are:

1–4. or to  *ipy* or (*ʾbḫ* 1) to *ʾbḫ* 4 *ʾḫ* 1st to 4th month of inundation (or verdure)

5–8. „ „ „ *pr* „ „ seed-sowing (or winter)

9–12. „  „ „ *šm* „ „ harvest (summer)

They are, however, traditional groups, employed at this time merely as symbols. The popular names by which they were no doubt pronounced in these later periods were:

1.		*Ṯḥwt*	תחות *PSBA.*, 25/205	Θωθ[3]	Thowt	Thoth (god)
2.		*Pa-ʾp.t*	פאפי *CIS.*, 146	Φαωφι	Paopi	Of Opi[4]
3.		*Ḥ.t-ḥr*	חתחור SPIEGELBERG	Αθυρ	Hathôr	Hathor
4.		*K-ḥr-k*	כיחך *CIS.*, 146	Χοιακ[5]	Kiahk (?)	Ka to ka (?)
5.		*Šf-bṭ·t*[6]		Τυβι	Tôbi	(metathesis of bôti)

[1] *Ä. Z.*, 23/152–3.
[2] *Ä. Z.*, 21/100 (text L); cf. *Ä. Z.*, 39/79.
[3] In MAHAFFY-SMYLY, Θωνθ, also Θωντ, and Θαντ.
[4] The village of Ωπις, Απις, i. e. Luxor.
[5] Also Χοιαχ, in MAHAFFY-SMYLY once Χιακ.
[6] Later written *Šf-ḫb·t* BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 472.

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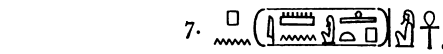
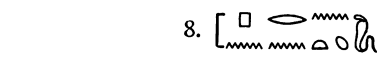
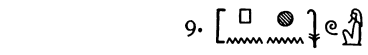
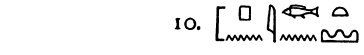
6.	[1]	*Mḫyr*	מחיר *CIS.*, 122 *CR.*, 1903, 270	Μεχειρ / Μεχιρ	Mkhir	?
7.		*Pa-ʾMn-ḥtp*		Φαμενωθ[2]	Pamenhotp	Of Amenhotp
8.		*Pa-Rmt.t*		Φαρμουθι	Parmûti	Of Ermûti[3]
9.		*Pa-Ḫns*	פחנס Spiegelberg	Παχων [4]	Pakhons	Of Khons
10.		*Pa-ʾN.t*	פאני Spiegelberg	Παννι	Paôni	Of the Valley [5]
11.	[6]	*ʾPʾp*	אפפי Spiegelberg	Επειφ [7]	Epêp	?
12.	[8]	*Ms.wt-Rʿ*	מסורע Cowley	Μεσορη [9]	Mesurêʿ	Birth of Rêʿ

These names are mostly derived from festivals of deities, &c., which characterize the months. The hieroglyphic forms are those identified by Erman on an ostracon dating from the New Kingdom[10], supplemented from Brugsch's well-founded conjectures[11], &c. The Aramaic names are from the papyri and tablets of the Persian period. The Greek names are those representative of the first and second centuries B.C., from the Ptolemaic papyri of Tebtunis published by Grenfell and Hunt[12]; the papyri of the third century B.C., published by Professors Mahaffy and Smyly, furnish some very interesting variations.

The Coptic names are:

Sahidic (o)	*Sahidic* (a)	*Faiyûmic*	*Boheiric*
ⲑⲟⲟⲩⲧ (80, 133, 136)	ⲑⲁⲩⲧ (*C. O.* Ad. 44, St.)		ⲑⲱⲟⲩⲧ
ⲡⲁⲟⲡⲉ (53)	ⲡⲁⲁⲡⲉ (St.)		ⲡⲁⲟⲡⲓ
ⲫⲁⲑⲱⲣ (18, 111, 116) / ⲁⲑⲱⲣ (62)		ⲫⲁⲑⲱⲗ (58, 161)	ⲁⲑⲱⲣ

[1] on the Ostracon; cf. Edfu Calendar, no. 1, l. 12.

[2] Terminal *p*, *f* following *t* seem to have been weakly sounded in the native pronunciation and sometimes lost altogether, see the Coptic forms of this word. The Graecized names neglect them entirely, see p. 194.

[3] The Harvest goddess Termuthis.

[4] In Mahaffy-Smyly, Παχωνς, also Παχων, and once Παχως. The same name occurs in Ψεν-χωνσ-ις, Χενσ-θωτ-ης = Χεσ-θωτ-ης, &c., &c., always with the s preserved; but Πετεχωνσις is Πετεχων in Mahaffy-Smyly, and Πμουχ̣ωνπρατις, Cas., 31/3, evidently *Ḫns-p-ḫrṭ* (cf. Φαρατης for *Pa-ḫrṭ*, ibid., 42/10, and the gloss πρατ = *p ḫrṭ*, *Pap. Mag. L. L.*). Hence ϩⲁⲛ in O. C. Horosc. is *Χων, gen. Χωνος of Etym. Mag. In the middle of a word s causes many contractions in Graecized forms, e.g. Πετεμε(n)στους, Αρ(ḥem)σενουφις; how far this contraction went in the native pronunciation is not certain.

[5] In the Theban necropolis, cf. p. 57, note 1.

[6] Kindly furnished by Gardiner from a Turin papyrus of Dyn. XX, but cf. also *ḫb-ʾP.t* 'feast of (goddess) Êp(?),' Brugsch, *Thes.*, 473.

[7] In Mahaffy-Smyly also Εφειφ and once Εφειπ; for Επειφι see opposite.

[8] Guessed by Brugsch, *Thes.*, 491, and found by Gardiner in Pleyte and Rossi, Pl. CLIII, where, however, *Rʿ* is expanded to *Rʿ-Ḫr-ʾḥ.t* in accordance with the custom of the time.

[9] In Mahaffy-Smyly also Μεσορει. [10] *Ä. Z.*, 39/128.

[11] Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, pp. 359 et seqq.; *Thesaurus*, pp. 472 et seqq. [12] See also Wilcken, *Ostraka*, i. p. 807.

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Sahidic (o)	*Sahidic* (a)	*Faiyûmic*	*Boheiric*
ⲏⲓⲟⲣϧ[1] (*C. O.*, 478)	ⲏⲓⲁⲣϧ (St.)	ϫⲓⲁⲕ (?) (71, 72)	
ⲧⲱⲃⲉ (60, 72)		ⲧⲱⲃⲓ (31)	ⲧⲱⲃⲓ
ⲉⲁϣⲓⲣ (46, 192)		ⲁⲁⲓϣⲏⲣ (137)	
[ⲡ]ⲁⲣⲉⲁⲁϩⲟⲧⲡ (101)	ⲡⲁⲁⲁⲛϩⲁⲧⲡ		
ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲁⲁϩⲟⲧ	ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲁϩⲁⲧⲡ		
	ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲁϩⲁⲧ[2]		
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲟⲩⲧⲉ		ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲟⲩⲧⲓ (168)	
ⲡⲁϣⲟⲛⲥ (73, 107, 136)		(ⲡⲁϣⲁⲛⲥ Cr. *Brit. Mus.*, Mid. Eg.)	
ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲉ (135)		ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲓ (64, 137)	ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲓ
ⲉⲡⲏⲡ (25, 62)			ⲉⲡⲏⲡ
ⲁⲁⲉⲥⲟⲣⲏ (131)			
ⲁⲁⲉⲥⲟⲣⲉ (35)			ⲁⲁⲉⲥⲱⲣⲏ

The first column (Sahidic o) is mostly taken from the very pure forms in the Hermopolite legal documents published by Krall[3]: the second shows Sahidic forms from Thebes, &c., with a for o, some of which are given by Stern in his Grammar[4]. The Faiyûmic names are likewise from Krall's documents, and the Boheiric are borrowed from Stern's Grammar. The Achmimic texts are not of a character to yield names of months. Care has to be taken throughout to exclude the Graecized names which abound in the writing of the other Coptic dialects, and have expelled some of the Boheiric names altogether. For the 11th month the form in these is often ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲫⲓ, ⲉⲡⲓⲫⲓ. Επειφι is probably not found in good Greek papyri: it belongs rather to literary Greek, occurring in Arrian, &c., and in one inscription of Ptolemaic date, but from the island of Thera, not from Egypt itself[5]. Its first appearance in Egypt dates from the Roman period, and it may be doubted whether the terminal ι is genuine Egyptian or a false addition by the Greeks on the analogy of Παωφι, &c.[6]

Boheiric is the only known Coptic dialect which aspirates ⲡ, ⲧ, ⲕ without the help of a radical aspirate. In the Graecized forms these letters are often aspirated, but not according to the rules of Boheiric[7]. The termination of the Greek forms of the month-names is ι like Boheiric ⲓ against Sahidic ⲉ, and it is remarkable that Phoenician and Aramaic actually represent this terminal ⲓ : ⲉ of feminine words, &c., by י, cf. Phoen. אסרי, אסי for ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲉ : ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ and ⲏⲥⲉ : ⲏⲥⲓ; Aramaic אוסרי, אסי, חפי- (ϩⲁⲡⲉ Απις), נפי- (ⲏⲟⲩϥⲓ), &c. The terminal ⲓ is not, however, confined to Boheiric: it belongs also to Faiyûmic (a perfectly unmistakable dialect using ϫ where the other dialects have ϥ), and occurs sometimes in the little known and obscure Memphitic, as well as in some of the Old

[1] This form with o is unexpected and perhaps corrupt. The Faiyûmic ϫⲓⲁⲕ is probably quite genuine, with ϫ for ϫ+ϩ. The Boheiric [ϫⲟⲓⲁⲕ] is simply Greek.

[2] Selected from the large variety of forms (not all Sahidic?) given by Crum in *Ä. Z.*, 39/130, note 1. The p here is in some degree parallel to that in ⲉⲣⲁⲟⲛⲧ Ερμωνθις from *'N-Mnt.*

[3] *Rainer Kopt.* The numbers following the words refer to the pages of that publication and the numbers in Crum's *Coptic Ostraca* (*CO.*).

[4] *Koptische Grammatik*, § 290.

[5] Dittenberger, *OGIS.*, i. no. 59.

[6] Cf. στειμι (Kenyon, i), στιμμι = ⲥⲧⲏⲁ [Spiegelberg's collection now shows the ι in the early Aramaic form].

[7] See for these Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, 1st ed., §§ 23, 24.

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Coptic texts of the Paris Magical Papyrus[1]. Probably, therefore, it is archaic[2]. We may also note that the old ḫ, not yet being assimilated to ϣ, is represented by χ, and, as to the vowels, that

ω	represents	Coptic	ⲟ, also ⲟⲟⲩ : ⲱⲟⲩ
ο	,,	,,	(1) ⲟ : ⲱ (in Μεσορη)[3]
			(2) vague vowel (?) (in Χοιακ)[4]
υ	,,	,,	ⲱ
αυ	,,	,,	ⲁⲩ
ου	,,	,,	ⲟⲩ vocalic
ει	,,	,,	ⲏ (cf. Achmimic ⲓ, ⲉⲓ for ⲏ : ⲏ)

E. Greek Endings.

The Graecized names of the months are without Greek endings, and are therefore especially interesting[5]. In a Coptic word or compound expression the only accented syllable is the penultimate or the ultimate: thus all the elements except the last lose their accent and modify their vocalization accordingly; for instance ϭⲉⲧⲉϩ-ⲣⲱⲙⲓ is made up of ϭⲱⲧⲉϩ and ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, kill-man. This rule holds good also for Egyptian of the period now under consideration[6]. The full vocalization of a word is thus to be found only where the word occurs either independently or as the last element in a compound name or word. Unfortunately, owing to the Greek endings, it is precisely the end of an Egyptian word that is most obscured in the Graecized form. It is thus impossible to obtain proper philological results from such names without careful consideration of these endings. By far the commonest ending is -ις (gen. -ιος), which is not only the termination for Egyptian words in ⲉ : ⲓ, but also for both masculine and feminine names ending in a consonant, except only when that consonant produces τ, θ; in these cases masc. -της, -θης (gen. -ου), fem. -τις, -θις (gen. -ιος), are the rule. Other Greek endings are produced by vowel endings. The details can be gathered from the lists given below.

F. Traditional or Literary Forms.

Some of the Graeco-Egyptian names used in the best Ptolemaic papyri are certainly traditional from older times, occurring in Herodotus and elsewhere in the earlier

[1] Above, p. 185, note 2.

[2] Φρι-Πιησε 'the noble Piêsi' is an isolated personal name with non-Graecized ending in Cas., 7/7 (Thebes, 113 B.C.), probably using the vulgar (Sahidic) pronunciation: so also Τσαντε, ibid., 11/2 = *T-šnṯ-t*, Berl. 3116, 5/25. Whether Φρε-Καττος, Grey, l. 23 (Thebes, 146 B.C.), offers a true instance of Coptic ⲓ : ⲉ is very doubtful: probably *Φραι would be the full form.

[3] ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲣⲏ is no doubt worn down from *ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲣⲏ, see the Aramaic form מסורי. In Ptolemaic Graecizing (p. 190) ⲟ constantly represents ⲟⲩ as a semivowel, and here it corresponds to *w* in Eg., ו in Aram. [ⲙⲓⲥⲟⲩⲣⲏ Sah., Cr., *Brit. Mus.*, 429.]

[4] ⲟ also commonly represents a vague vowel, here between the ⲕ and the semivowel ⲓ of ⲕⲓⲁϧⲏ.

[5] ⲕⲓⲕⲓ is such another well-established word. Besides these we occasionally find an Egyptian word or subordinate place-name quoted without an ending in the Ptolemaic papyri: e.g. ρωψι, Τμουπιτεβ. In other cases the names themselves seemed to terminate with a Greek ending and were declined accordingly: e.g. Αμμων, and names in -ορταις, -ορταιος.

[6] Words derived from ancient Egyptian compounds, especially those that go back to the Old Kingdom, are often much worn down; the last element in them suffers as much as or more than the earlier elements, as if the accentuation had been different in early times; see p. 301, note 2.

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literature. Such are (1) the *divine names*: Οσιρις, Ισις, Ωρος, Αμμων, Βουβαστις, Βουτω[1]; (2) the *geographical names*: Χεμμις, Βουβαστις, Μεμφις, Συηνη, Βουτω; (3) a few *personal names*: Ψαμμητιχος (see *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 39), Ινάρως, Αμορταιος (old form Αμυρταιος), Παυσιρις, Αμασις[2]; and (4) a few *words* such as κυλληστις and κικι. Few of these are formed according to the Ptolemaic rules, and it is very instructive to note how differently the same Egyptian names appear in Greek when occurring in compound names for which traditional forms either did not exist or were forgotten.

Αμμων	but	Ψεν-αμουνις, &c.,	= ⲁⲙⲙⲟⲛ
Οσιρις	so also	Πετ-οσιρις	= ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ
Ισις	but	Πετε-ησις, &c.,	= ⲏⲥⲓ
Ωρος	but	Πετε-υρις, &c.,	= ϩⲱⲣ
Μενδης	but	Εζ-βενδητις, &c.,	= -ⲙⲉⲛⲧⲏϯ (AMÉLINEAU, *Géog.*, 309)

In other cases the final element of a compound having a traditional form takes a different shape in another compound.

Χεμ-μις (cf. *νομος* Χεμμιτης), but Πα-μινις, &c. (-ⲙⲓⲛ)
Β-ουβαστις *P-wbasti*, Heb. פִּיבֶסֶת, but Πετ-οβαστις, &c. (-ⲟⲩϧⲁⲥϯ, Boγacϯ)
Μ-οιρις *Me-uêr*, but Οσορ-οηρις, Εσ-οηρις (ⲟⲩⲏⲣ and *wêri*)

The above names are all Herodotean, but it is easy to recognize other traditional forms, especially amongst divine and place-names. So regular is the formation of most Graecized names in the Ptolemaic papyri from the Egyptian pronunciations according to one or other of the dialects that whenever an irregularity occurs it seems justifiable to suspect that tradition, literary or otherwise, has interfered.

Side by side with looser traditional formations we occasionally may recognize a stricter form of the same word, e.g.:

Επωνυχος, ⲉϥ-ⲱⲛϧ, in the Faiyûm Απυγχις, dial. *ⲁϧ-ⲱⲛϩ, O.C. ⲉϧⲱⲛϩ;
Αμασις *ⲁϩ-ⲙⲁⲥⲓ strict enough in itself, more often takes the form Αμωσις *ⲁϩ-ⲙⲟⲥⲓ of the more official pronunciation.

Note also

Ονουρις	but Πετ-ενουρις	*Anḥûri*
Ανουβις	but Πετ-ενουπις	ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡ
Ιφθιμις[3]	but Πατε-υτημις	*E*(?)*ftêm*

The words ending in -ος clearly in most cases belong to the traditional series. By exception Σουχος for Sobk(?) retains its form regularly in the compounds, e.g.: Πετεσουχος (Aram. פְּטְסֹבֶךְ), Σενσουχος, &c. -ω- for -ⲟⲟγ: -ⲱⲟγ: -ⲁγ is not quite fixed, and may be due to tradition, e.g. Ινα-ρως gen. -ωτος, -ωντος, *Ιθο-ρως gen. Ιθορωντος (-ρⲟⲟγ)[4], and from Θωθ we have both Χεσ-θωτης, &c., and Χεσ-θωυτης, &c. (ⲑⲟⲟγⲧ).

[1] The names of the goddesses Ubasti and Utô take this form from confusion with the place-names P-ubasti, P-utô.

[2] -ⲙⲁⲥⲓ not -ⲙⲟⲥⲓ, important for determining the dialect, cf. also *αρταβη* from ⲉⲣⲧⲁϧ not ⲉⲣⲧⲟϧ. These suggest that ως in Ινάρως may possibly represent -ⲁγ rather than -ⲟⲟγ: so also Θωθ (not in Herodotus) might be from ⲑⲁγⲧ rather than from ⲑⲟⲟγⲧ.

[3] I owe this name to the kindness of Dr. GRENFELL and Dr. HUNT. [*Hîbeh*, i. no. 27, l. 85 and p. 154.]

[4] Here the genitive betrays the native pronunciation. On

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-ορταιος is evidently a traditional form, the corresponding Egyptian being *-ȧrṭaas*, *-ȧrṭêis*, *-erṭais* (?) according to dialect, giving -ερταιος, -ερταις in MAHAFFY-SMYLY and once the regularly formed -ορταισις (Grey, l. 33). Here as elsewhere in traditional forms ο may represent a vague vowel or perhaps a definite but unaccented ⲟ which may have existed in some dialects.

G. CORRESPONDENCE OF LETTERS IN REGULAR FORMS.

β = ϧ.
γ = (1) for ν sometimes before κ, χ; (2) ⲓ or ⲟⲩ consonantal in anlaut before a vowel, except at the beginning of a word or name. (Εριευς = Εργευς, &c.; Τοργους = Terwô, &c.)
δ = sometimes for τ after ν.
ζ = ⲥ sometimes before ⲁⲁ, ϧ.
θ = (1) τ + *h* or *ḥ*; (2) ϯ.
κ = ⲕ.
λ = ⲗ.
μ = ⲙⲙ.
ν = ⲛ.
[ξ = κ + ⲥ?].
π = ⲡ, ⲫ, ϧ.
ρ = ⲣ.
ⲥ = ⲥ, ⲯ, ⲍ (σ : ϫ).
τ = (1) ϯ, (2) ϫ.
φ = (1) ⲡ, (2) ⲡⲩ, (3) ⲫ.
χ = (1) ⲕ, (2) ⲕⲩ, (3) ⲩ.
ψ = (1) ⲡⲥ, (2) ⲡⲯ.

The vowels and diphthongs are:

ⲁ = (1) ⲁ (Achm. ⲉ); (2) ⲁ : ⲟ; (3) ⲉ (Achm. ⲁ).
ⲁⲓ = ⲁⲓ.
ⲁⲩ = ⲁⲩ, ⲁⲟⲩ.
ⲉ = (1) ⲉ, (2) ⲁ (Achm. ⲉ), (3) ⲉ (Achm. ⲁ).
ⲉⲓ = ⲏⲉⲓ : ⲏⲓ.
ⲉⲩ = (1) ⲉⲩ, (2) ⲏⲩ : ⲏⲟⲩ; also *eb*, *ef*, &c.
ⲏ = ⲏ, and ⲉ in accented syllable (Πνηφις).
ⲓ = ⲉⲓ : ⲓ (cons. and vowel), (2) ⲏ, (3) ⲏⲓ? ⲁⲓ.
ⲟ = (1) ⲟⲩ unaccented, (2) ⲟⲩ consonantal, (3) helping vowel (?).
ⲟⲓ = (1) ⲟⲓ, (2) ⲟⲓ : ⲱⲓ (in ⲟⲓⲫⲓ = ⲟⲓⲡⲉ : ⲱⲓⲡⲓ, (3) ⲏ (?) in -κοιφις = ⲕⲏⲡⲓ, Πακοιβις, Πχοιρις, Ψοιφις (for Χοιακ = ⲕⲓⲁϩⲕ, see p. 188).
ⲟⲩ = ⲟⲩ accented; also perhaps *ob*, *of*, &c.
ⲩ = (1) ⲱ, (2) helping vowel (traditional) in Επωνυχος.
ⲱ = (1) ⲟ (in accented syllable), (2) ⲟⲟⲩ : ⲱⲟⲩ.
ⲱⲩ = ⲟⲟⲩ : ⲱⲟⲩ.

H. SOME SPECIAL POINTS AND DIFFICULTIES.

(*a*) The weak unaccented vowel between two consonants at the beginning of a compound name is generally ignored in Graecized forms.

Ονναφρις = Wenofre = Old Coptic and Coptic ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲁϧⲣⲉ, ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲟϧⲣⲉ, &c.
Πορτις = P-wer-ṭiw, Old Coptic ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣⲧⲉⲓⲟⲩ, ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲧⲓⲩ (cf. Boh. ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ).
Πορεγεβθις P-wer-yebt.

the other hand, with a regular nom. Ζ-μνις we meet with a traditional genitive Ζμνος as if from *Ζμις (-ⲁⲓⲙ, cf. Θις from ⲧⲓⲙ) and Πατα-ζ-μνος occurs, but Σεμ-μνις regularly gives gen. Σεμμνιος. Cf. the genitive Φεντενμουτος as if from *Φεντενμους = *Ṗḥent-en-mût*, compared with Σενμουθις, -εως = *T-še-n-mût*.

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So also probably

Ουαφρης (gen. Οαφρεους in MAH.–SM.) = Wehabreʿ.

*Ιθορως (gen. Ιθορωυτος) = Yeturow.

Ιναρως = Yer-(Yen-)ḥarow.

Σχωτης (in the Faiyûm Σοχωτης) = Sek-ḥotp (cf. Σουχος, Σοκευς).

Στ(οτ)οητις = Set-wêti.

Ζμινις = ʾEs-Mîn (-אס [hieroglyphs] the same element being often rendered by Εσ-). Cf. Σποτους = Es-pew(?)-tû(?), &c.

This is no doubt due to the cutting down of proper names and the like in rapid speaking, cf. Yâ-Mhammed (Muhammad) and u- for we- (-ʾ) 'and' in Egyptian Arabic. A foreigner writes a word as he hears it pronounced, but a native writes it as it should be pronounced correctly.

It seems that the instances belong mainly to traditional forms.

(*b*) *w* preceded by a vowel is clumsily rendered in the Graecized forms, causing serious difficulties to the investigator.

In ⲟⲟⲩ *w* is generally ignored, so that only ω = ⲟ remains.

-ρως (gen. -ρωυτος, -ρωτος) = -ⲣⲟⲟⲩ.

Θωθ, Θωυτ, &c. = Θⲟⲟⲩⲧ.

With its accent lost Θⲟⲟⲩⲧ is rendered by Θοτ- (cf. Τεθ-μωσις in Manetho).

Σουχος, Σχ-, Σοχ- are also exceptional. Demotic gives *Sbk* and Aramaic (5th century) likewise סבך. Sobk (cf. Mont, Thowt) was probably often pronounced Sovk in the 5th century, and was thus written Σουχ-ος in the old Greek form, which in this instance became general. Πετεσυβκις, once in MAH.-SM., and Τα-σωουκις, *BGU.*, No. 297 (Faiyûm, A. D. 50), however, are formed more in accordance with rule, for Sobk (or Sôbk?). Thus the unaccented forms Σχ-, Σοχ-, like the above Τεθ-, Θοτ-, are extraordinarily abbreviated. Such must represent Sek-, Ṭḥet- rather than Sebk-, Ṭḥewt-. Cf. the loss of unaccented *w* in *T-n-wt-ʾMn* = Ass. Tandamane (Amene appears to be the Ethiopian form for Amûn also in Εργαμενης).

In ⲉⲓⲟⲩ also *w* seems ignored:

Πορτις, -ιτος = P-wer-tiw, Old-Coptic Ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣⲧⲉⲓⲟⲩ (Coptic -ϯⲟⲩ).

The ending -ευς (-εως, -ευτος) represents -ⲏⲩ or -ⲉⲩ in many instances (Θοτευς, &c.); but what it represents in Σεμθευς (at Gebelên and Tebtunis) is by no means clear. -σιμτο at Abusimbel, Σομτους at Thebes (Casati), Σεμθευς, Σεμθης, Σεμθως, (Τα)σεμθωυς in MAH.-SM. are very puzzling. An obsolete dual form from ⲧⲟ is required: perhaps the native pronunciation varied between *to, te, tew, tow* (plural). If Σεμθευς represents Sem-tew, then Εριευς would be for Heriew or Heriêw: the demotic, except in early instances, shows a plural ending here probably indicating a 'qualitative' form in ⲟⲩ; the qualitative of ϩⲉⲣⲓ in Coptic is given as ϩⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ: it might have been strictly *ϩⲉⲣⲓⲱⲟⲩ, and the existence of an earlier dialectic form *ϩⲉⲣⲓⲉⲩ can well be imagined.

(*c*) Stuttering repetition of τ after στ in Στοτοητις = Stuwêti, p. 278, note 2, p. 282, note 3. This may not be a Graecism but a native 'pet' form of name.

Τοτοητις from Twêt is probably formed on the analogy of Στοτοητις.

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(*d*) The substitution of *γ* for *i*, *w*, or addition of *γ* to *i* has been already noted.

It may be surmised that, although the Greek dress probably obscures some vowels, diphthongs, &c., there was justification in some local pronunciation or other for most of the peculiarities of the Graecized forms. The doubling of the *l* in Κολλουθης is seen in late Egyptian spellings (SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, p. 18*), and can be paralleled from Sahidic (STEINDORFF, 2nd ed., § 47): even the double *m* of Αμμων may prove to be dialectic Egyptian.

J. SOME COMMON ELEMENTS.

The commonest initial elements of compound names are:

1. Π- or Φ-, article 'the.' ⲡ : ⲫ, ⲡ;
   fem. Τ- or Θ-; ⲧ : ⲑ, ⲧ.
2. Πα- or Φα-, 'he of,' 'belonging to,' ⲡⲁ- : ⲫⲁ-;
   fem. Τα- or Θα-, 'she of,' ⲧⲁ- : ⲑⲁ-;
3. Πετε-, 'he whom [a god] hath given,' **Πετε-κογτε**, GOODWIN, *Ä. Z.*, 6/66, cf. **Πεϫε- : πεϫε-**; also Πατε-, cf. Achmimic ⲡⲁϫⲉ-[1]. The fem. Τετε- also occurs, Τατε-πνουθις, Cas., 36/10, &c. The absolute form of the same appears in Πατης 'he whom [ ] hath given,' omitting the god's name[2], perhaps *ⲡⲁⲧⲏⲓ (?). Aramaic פמי (*CIS.*, 148).
4. Ψεν-, 'the son of [a god],' ⲡϣⲉⲛ-
   fem. Σεν-, 'the daughter of [a god],' ⲧϣⲉⲛ-
5. Εσ-, Σ-, Ζ- = 'belonging to [a god],' dem. *Ns*-, Aram. -אס.

One of the commonest forms of names in early demotic Ze-(Ptah)-e-f-ʿônkh is found in the early Ptolemaic Τε-στ-εφνγχις[3], MAHAFFY-SMYLY, and the Roman Κα-μεντ-εβωνχ, STEINDORFF, *Ä. Z.*, 30/52.

In Αμεννευς, Θοτευς, Σοκευς we have the element *ʾw*, *ew*, -ⲏⲟⲩ, 'come.'

K. LISTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE GREEK ENDINGS, &c.

The following lists are founded in the first place on a collection of names from the papyri of Gebelên, to which many have been added from Tebtunis and other papyri[4]. The traditional forms or those which seem to be so are marked with a †.

-ος, -ου

(1) added to last consonant, suppressing short terminal vowel in Αρμαχορος (?), Αρμαιος (?), and Βουβαστος, and absorbing ὁ in Ομβος, Κοπτος (?).

[1] Cf. ancient Greek Ποτα-σιμτο (Abusimbel), Heb. פוטי־.

[2] Thus Πετης (gen. Πετεως) is another name of a certain Πετεσουχος, *Tebt.*, i. p. 191 (l. 137).

[3] Prof. SMYLY kindly informs me that *αφ*- is a possible reading, though *εφ*- is greatly preferable. The god -στ- may be the same as in Θα-συθις in MAH.-SM., implying a name Sôti or Šôt, possibly *Spf·t* = Σωθις, or *Spf*.

[4] The early names (third century) of the Flinders Petrie Papyri from Gurob have fortunately been made available by the admirable publication of Profs. MAHAFFY and SMYLY in time for use here. In many cases they offer truer renderings of the Egyptian originals (such as the genitives Ιναρωντος, Τοτοητος) than are usual in the later papyri, besides furnishing an abundance of new and interesting names.

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a. Proper names:

† Ωρος = Ḥôr ϩωρ, but in composition -υρις.
† Σουχος = Sovk, Sobk?, also in composition -σουχος, Aram. סבך.
† Ψαμμητιχος (older Ψαμμετιχος, &c.) = Psammêṯk (?), Aram. פסמשך.
† ? Επωνυχος = Ef-ʿônḫ, by the side of Απυγχις, Mah.-Sm., *Tebt.*, &c.
† ? Νεβωνυχος, Mah.-Sm. = Neb-ʿônḫ.
† ? Αρμαχορος = Har-maʿ-*ḥrw* (vocalization of the last element unknown, but worn down in the old compound *mꜣʿ-ḥrw*).
† *Αρμαιος*, rare in Mah.-Sm., generally Αρμαις = Har-em-*ḥb* (Krall, *Studien*, ii. 386, old compound).
† ? Μαιμαχος.

b. Place-names:

† Ομβος = Embô.
† Βουβαστος (Βουβαστις), Mah.-Sm. = P-ubasti.
† Κανωπος (Κανωβος, Hdt.) = Karob.
† Κοπτος = ⲕⲉϥⲧ, ⲕⲉϥⲧⲱ.
† Λαβυρινθος (?).
[† Πατουμος (Hdt.) = Petôm. Heb. פיתם, -ⲉⲧⲱⲙ.]

c. Other words:

† εβενος (also as proper name) = heben.
† ζυτος = šôṯḥ (note the de-aspirating effect of ṯ).

(2) representing *s* at the end of a word, in -ορταιος, -ερταιος, -ερταις (-ορταισις) = erṯais? dial. for -arṯaas (?), -arṯêis (?), cf. -ⲧⲁⲁϩ : ⲧⲏⲓϩ. See above, p. 190.

† Αμυρταιος (Hdt.), Αμορταιος, *Tebt.*, cf. Αμονορταισις, Grey, l. 33 = Amnerṯais.
† Εσορταιος = Eserṯais, cf. Εσορταις, Εσερταις, Mah.-Sm.
† Θοτορταιος = Ṯheterṯais, in Mah.-Sm. also Θοτορταις (rare). Cf. also Οβεστερταις, Οβοστορταις in Mah.-Sm.

-*η* added to last consonant (-*α* if *y*), absorbing short terminal vowel in Τεντυρη.

a. Proper names: none?

b. Place-names: †Συηνη = ⲥⲟϫⲁⲛ.

c. Other words: αρταβη = ⲉⲣⲧⲁⲃ̀, dial. ⲉⲣⲧⲁⲃ̀ (masc.).

Cf. the place-names:

† Τεντυρη = ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ.
† Φιλαι = ⲡⲓϫⲁⲕ.
[† Θηβαι perhaps = ϯⲏⲃⲉ (-σημις, -τημις?).]
[† Μαρεια (Hdt.)], &c.

-*ιον* added to last consonant, in Mah.-Sm.:

† ? *αωιλιον, ανωιλιον*; cf. ⲟⲉⲓϫⲉ : ⲱⲓϫⲓ 'ram.'
† ? *ναυβιον*.

Cf. the (neut. pl.) place-names in Mah.-Sm.:

Κερκεσουχα = Kerkesûk.
Μαγδωλα = ⲙⲉⲉⲥⲧⲱϫ.
Φαρβαιθα = Ⲫⲁⲣⲃⲁⲓⲧ.

The above lists of names and words ending in -ος; -η, -α; -ον, -α, are probably nearly complete for the Ptolemaic Greek papyri and inscriptions.

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-ις, -ιος

(*a*) The termination for names ending in unaccented ε (dial. ι). Examples are:

† Ισις (fem.) = Ês̱i, ⲏⲥⲉ, in comp. -ησις.
† Οσιρις = Wsiri, ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲉ, in comp. -οσιρις.
† Αμενωφις = Amenopi, -ⲟⲡⲉ, -ⲁⲡⲉ, in comp. -εμενωφις.
[† Ονουρις = Anḥûri, in comp. -ενουρις, cf. ⲡⲁⲛ-ϩⲟⲩⲣⲉ (with ⲡⲁ-).
† Οννωφρις = Wenofri, Old Coptic ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲁϧⲣⲉ; also later ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲟϧⲉⲣ, &c.
Πατσαντις = Patšanti, Ⲡⲁⲧⲱⲟⲛⲧⲉ, -ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉ.
Πετοβαστις = Peṭ(e)ubasti (ⲟⲩϧⲁⲥⲧⲉ).
Πασημις, Τασημις = Paṯêmi, Taṯême (-ϫⲙⲁⲉ: *ⲥⲙⲁⲓ).

Θρηρις (fem.) = Ṯhrêri, ⲧϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ.
Αρσενουφις = Arḥ(m)senûfi -ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ.
Ασυχις = Ašôḫi.
Αρμαχις = Harmaḫi.
Θερμουθις (fem.) = Termûti, Ⲧⲉⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ.
Εζβενδητις (masc.) = Esmenṭêṭi, -ⲙⲉⲛⲧⲏϯ.
Στοτοητις = Setwêti (?).
λεσωνις = lešoni, dial. ⲗⲁⲱⲛⲉ?
† ? θιβις, see Mah.-Sm., p. 145 = ⲧⲏⲃⲉ rather than ⲧⲁⲓⲃⲉ.

(*b*) The termination for names ending in a consonant, except *t*, *ṭ*, *z*. A few examples are:

† Ανουβις = Anûp, ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡ, *ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲡ, in comp. -ενουπις, -ενουφις.
† Ιφθιμις[1] = (E?)Ftêm (Nfr-tm), in comp. Πετεϋτημις.
Πανουπις = Panûp, for *Πⲁ-ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲡ.
Φιβις = Phib, ⲡϩⲓⲃ.

{Φαγωνις = Pawon, -ⲟⲩⲟⲛ.
Παγανις = Pawan, -ⲟⲩⲁⲛ.}
Πετευρις = Peteḥôr, -ϩⲱⲣ.
Ποηρις = Pwêr, -ⲟⲩⲏⲣ.
Πνηφις = Pnef, -ⲛⲉϥ, -ⲛⲉⲉϥ.
Απυγχις = Ef'ônḫ, Ⲉϥⲱⲛϧ, Ⲁϧⲱⲛϫ.

Place-name: † Παθυρις (-εως) = Pḥathôr (ϩⲁⲧϩⲱⲣ).

(*c*) The termination for feminine names ending in *t*, *ṭ*, *z*. Examples are:

† ? Κελλουθις = Klûz, Klôze.
Ταθωτις = Taṯhowt (Ⲑⲟⲟⲩⲧ).

Σεβτιτις = Shebtit (?).
Σεμμωνθις = Tšenmont (-ⲙⲟⲛⲧ).

Place-name: † Ερμωνθις (-εως) = Ermont, -ⲙⲟⲛⲧ.

-ης, -ου

(*a*) The termination for masculine names ending in *t*, *ṭ*, *z*. Examples are:

Παθωτης = Paṯhowt, (-ⲑⲟⲟⲩⲧ).
Αρυωτης = Ḥarwoz (-ⲟⲩⲟϫ).

Παχρατης = Paḫraṭ, Old Coptic (ϭ)ⲣⲁⲧ.
† ? Κολλουθης = Klûz, ⲕⲗⲟⲩϫ.

This holds good when a terminal consonant, *p* or *f*, has been dropped by the Greek after the *τ*. In the best native pronunciation a short *ĕ* probably interposed between the *t*, *ṭ* and the *p* or *f*, but this would be lost in rapid speaking.

Αρενδωτης, also Αρενοδωτης (in Mah.-Sm.) = Harenṭiôtf, -ϥ.
Νεχουτης = Neḫôtf, -ϥ.

† Αμενωθης = Emenḥŏtp, -ϩⲟⲧⲡ.
Ιμουθης = Imḥôtp, -ϩⲱⲧⲡ.
† (?) Θοτουτης perhaps = Ṯhuṯḥŏtp, -ϩⲟⲧⲡ.

[1] Cf. above, p. 189.

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-ας, -ου

†? Πελαιας = P(e?)l(e)eḥe ϵϱϵ (dial. ⲁϱϵ?) [1]. A plural of ʾḥ may underlie this.

-ας, -ατος, mainly for *a*

Πανας = Panaᶜ (?), ⲡⲁⲛⲁ.

Πασας = Pasa (?).

-ης, -ητος, mainly for *ê*

†Μενδης = Benṭêṭi, -Βενδητις.
Σαλης.
Πατης = Patê, or Patêi (?).
Θατρης (B.M. II, Φατρης *sic*, but fem.) = Tḥatrê, *ϩⲁⲧⲣⲏ.
Μεντεμης = Mentemḥê, ϩⲏ.
Νεμης.
Καιης.
Κελης.
† Τοτοης [2] = Twêt (?).

-ης, -ηους, -ϵους, mainly for *ê*, *ĕ*

Φατρης = Pḥatre, ϩⲁⲧⲣⲉ.
Ψεμμενχης (fem.) = Tšemmenḥê (?).
Πμενχης = Pmenḥe.
Ορσης = Werše.
ασιης = ḥasye, ϩⲁⲥⲓⲉ.
Μαρρης, Μανρης = Manrêᶜ (ⲣⲏ).

ις, -ιτος

Πορτις (Πορτειϲ) = Pwertiw, Old Coptic ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣ-ⲧⲉⲓⲟⲩ.
Παβις (Greek?).
Ταψαις = Tapšai, Old Coptic ⲧⲱⲟⲓ, *ⲧⲱⲁⲓ.
Πμοις = Pmûi, ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲓ.
Cf. Σεντελαιδι (dat.).
Τακμωις.
Τακμηις.
Τακμηυς.
Φαλοις = ⲫⲁⲗⲟⲩ (?).
βαις = bai, ⲃⲁⲓ.
(Φεμπταις = Pḥamptaḥ, -ⲡⲧⲁϩ may be of the form -ις, -ιος.)

-ους, -ουτος, the termination for names ending in *ô*, *û*

Αρομγους = Ḥarenwô (-ⲟⲩⲱ).
Πατσεους = Patseᶜô (-ⲱ).
Μονους.
Φομμους.
Παους.
Ταους.
Πατους = Pa-Tow (?).
Τατους.
Σιεφμους = Siepmû (-ⲡⲙⲟⲩ).

ϵῦς, -ϵῦτος, and -ϵύς, -έως, mainly for *êw*, or *ew*

Θοτεῦς = Ṭḥutêw (-ⲏⲩ?, -ⲉⲩ?), in Mah.-Sm. generally Θοτεύς.
Εριεύς (Εργεύς) = Heriew (?), also Εριεῦς.
Σοκεύς (-εως) = Sek-êw; Σοκεῦς rarely in Mah.-Sm.
Αμεννεύς = Amen-êw.

[1] Probably there was no ς in the native pronunciation: yet Πετπιεϩ (Πετπεϩ) = *Pr-ṭp-ʾḥ* makes this uncertain; cf. ⲟⲟϩ : ⲓⲟϩ.

[2] Genitive Τοτοητος in Mah.-Sm. and Kenyon, iii. no. 1204, but generally -ηους, -ϵους. Apparently the same as Τοτοητις, cf. Στοτοητις.

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Σεμθεύς = Semteu (?), also in comp. Αρσεμθεύς, &c.

Πανεμγευς, cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Mumienetiketten*, p. 23*.

Ανεμπευς.

Πετεευς.

Φαευς.

Πανετβευς. O.C. -ⲛⲉⲧⲃⲉⲟⲩ, *Pap. Mag. L.L.*, 2/9.

-ως, -ωτος, mainly for *ŏ*

Τνεφερως = Tneferḥo, ϩⲟ.

Τεως = Zeḥo, ϩⲟ.

Αρπως = Harpʿo (?), ⲟ (?).

Παως.

Πανως.

Πατως.

-ως, -ωυτος, -ωτος, for *ow*

†Ιναρως = Ienḥarow, -ⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ [dial. -ⲁⲣⲁⲩ].

Ιθορωυτος (gen.) = Ieturow, -ⲣⲟⲟⲩ.

-αυς, -αυτος, for *aw*

Νααραυς = Enḥarow (?), ⲛⲓϩⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ, ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲩ.

Πεσταυς.

Νεχθαραυς.

-υς, -υος : Σαντοβιθυς, and ? Νεχτανηβυς = Nekhtnêbf[1].

-υς, υτος : Παβυς.

[1] For equivalent names in Greek and demotic see SPIEGELBERG, *Mumienetiketten, Dem. Pap. Berl.*, p. 3; BRUGSCH, *Demotisch-griechische Eigennamen* (1851, both Greek and demotic need much revision): for Graecized names alone the Indices to publications of GRENFELL-HUNT, KENYON, MAHAFFY-SMYLY, WESSELY, *BGU.*, WILCKEN, (*Ostraka*), PEYRON, LEEMANS, EGGER-BRUNET (needs checking with facsimiles), and *CIG.*, with PARTHEY, *Aegyptische Personennamen.* For Coptic names PARTHEY (ibid.), GOODWIN, *Ä. Z.*, 6/64, and indices to AMÉLINEAU (*Géographie*), and the publications of CRUM, KRALL, and *BKU.* LIEBLEIN, and BRUGSCH's *Dictionnaire géographique* are of course the main sources for hieroglyphic names. An excellent and systematic collection by SPIEGELBERG of early Aramaic versions has just appeared in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, pp. 1093 et seqq. (*Aegyptisches Sprachgut in den aus Aegypten stammenden aramäischen Urkunden der Perserzeit*, quoted on pp. 185–7): a few Phoenician names can be extracted from LIDZBARSKI's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, chap. vi.

The quotations from the Casati papyrus and some others have been corrected by the facsimiles, as Egyptian proper names in Greek papyri are especially liable to misreading.

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TRANSLITERATIONS, ETC., OF THE PAPYRI IN THE JOHN RYLANDS COLLECTION

The Transcriptions into Hieroglyphic.

IN transition-hieratic and in demotic there is occasionally a difficulty in identifying the *main* signs composing a word-group; but, apart from that, the *subordinate* signs are often impossible to fix, owing partly to the similarity of one sign or ligature to another, and also to the different forms taken by the same sign in different groups or different handwritings. Hieratic of the New Kingdom may present the same difficulties where the subordinate signs are written so cursively that many solutions are possible, and an examination of more carefully written texts shows that the otiose signs generally added to the ends of words and to the determinatives vary in different documents, and even in the course of the same document; it is clear that the precise reading of such portions of words was immaterial. Spelling had at this time become almost entirely a matter of convention, with very small regard to pronunciation; it was built up upon the ancient orthography, much of which had become meaningless through the loss of the old endings and changes of all kinds. Hence numbers of dead or otiose letters were laid on at the ends of words without regard to their being or ever having been appropriate to them. Subordinate signs are often almost or completely absorbed in another sign or in a ligature, as when | alone is traceable out of an original ▷| in the geographical determinative. It seems strange that the very important suffix of the first person singular should have been allowed to disappear in transition-hieratic and early demotic, to be restored later along with the useful determinative , in proper names, &c. As to the subordinate signs desperate problems are presented in most words; one has to lay aside the idea of giving an accurate and definite solution in accordance with the history of the ligature, and simply select some conventional and approximate rendering. Doubtless better results will eventually be obtained than are reached here as the complex history of the writing becomes known in detail. What is the origin of , 'to'? Its form rather suggests . Here for brevity it is rendered by . is sometimes represented in early demotic by two strokes (which are also , besides standing in special groups for , , , &c.), but when a value *y*, or even the vowel-sound *i*, remains firm there are three. This reinforced group represents . As to otiose additions, becomes , and strokes

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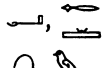
or spots representing 𓏏 or nothing at all are added freely. On the other hand the name of Isis seems to be written simply 𓊪, and Ubaste in early texts 𓊹, perhaps through absorption of the minor elements.

The Transliterations into European Characters.

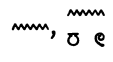
In transliterating demotic texts it is found impracticable to take account of every worn-down phonetic sign. The conventional system of transliteration which was employed for demotic in the *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* is adopted here in a simplified and modified form. It aims especially at representing the radical sounds of the demotic words (as indicated by Coptic derivatives, by Greek renderings of the proper names, or otherwise), but often also takes cognizance of some of the more or less essential features of the demotic spelling, while its details are almost entirely neglected. The complaint has been made that the result is ugly: it is certainly unsystematic and conventional. The object of transliterating demotic appears in the main to be twofold, namely, to make it possible to quote demotic in a less cumbrous fashion than by reproducing the original groups, and to aid in making the demotic groups—or at least the editor's opinion regarding them—recognizable and intelligible to fellow students, where the facsimile or the original is obscure. Here an attempt is also made to render the consonantal skeleton of most of the words as actually pronounced, with an approach to phonetic accuracy.

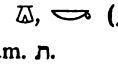
The texts in semi-hieratic are treated in the transliteration from this point of view precisely as if they had been written in demotic.

Demotic possessed an *alphabet* of about 40 signs, consisting in part of derivatives from the alphabetic signs of hieroglyphics, and partly of worn-down syllabics and groups[1]. Many of these signs, however, are homophones. Such are:



𓇋, 𓄿	ʾ = Aram. א.	𓈖, 𓈖 𓏏 𓏏	*n* = ⲛ : ⲛ.
𓂝, 𓂝	ʿ = Aram. *y*.	𓂋, 𓂋	*r* = ⲣ : ⲣ.
𓅱, 𓅱	*w* = ⲟⲩ : ⲟⲩ.	𓎛, 𓎛	*ḥ* = ϩ : ϩ.
𓃀, 𓃀	*b* = ⲃ : ⲃ.	𓎡, 𓎡	(*g*), *k* = ϭ : ϫ.





𓏏, 𓍿 *t* = ⲧ : ⲧ, ⲑ, Aram. ת.

When words are spelt out by the scribe in the demotic alphabet their transliteration letter by letter does not present much difficulty as a rule. In accordance, however, with the principle above laid down the distinctions between several sounds which are more or less obscured even in the alphabet of demotic, but are nevertheless essential when regard is had to Aramaic and Greek versions and Coptic derivatives, have to be marked as far as possible in the transliterations. Difficulties are apt to arise here especially in regard to:

(1) *l* = ⲗ : ⲗ; and *r* = ⲣ : ⲣ distinguished in writing only in later demotic[2].

[1] See the Glossary. [2] See p. 265, note 1.

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(2) *ḫ* = , = ϣ : ϣ, Achm. ϩ : and *ẖ* = , , = ϩ : ϭ, Achm. ϩ. The Greek equivalent for each is χ. But in the first century A. D. the pronunciation of *ḫ* had changed to ϣ in the Faiyûm, as is seen from Σαταβους = *Ḫtbw* (?), Νεστνηφις = *Nẖt-nb-f*, in Ptolemaic writing Νεχθνιβις, Νεκτανιβις, et varr. N.B. Manetho (3rd cent. B. C.?) already writes Σουφις = *Ḫwfw*, Ψουσεννης = *P-sb-ḫ'-n-Ne* (but Νεκτανηβης, evidently as being the standard form of a contemporary name).

(3) *ṯ* = , = ⲧ : ⲧ, ϑ, Aram. ת : and *ṯ* = (), = ⲧ : ⲧ, Aram. ט. The Greek equivalents of the former are ⲧ, ϑ, but the latter is rarely rendered by ϑ. It is often impossible to distinguish *ṯ* from *ṭ* in demotic writing.

(4) *ṱ* = , , = ⲍ : ϭ (Aram. ש[1]): and *z* = = ⲍ : ⲍ, Aram. ז (in צחא). The Greek equivalents of the former are ϛ, ⲧ, ϑ, of the latter ⲧ, ϑ, (κ).

But more often, especially in the earlier stages of demotic, words are not written alphabetically, but with the old *traditional groups*, often drawn together into ligatures. To break them up into their original elements and transliterate them strictly would produce absurd combinations. In accordance with our rule the essential nature of the consonantal skeleton as pronounced is to be indicated. Thus the ligatured group is not to be transliterated *ỉr(f?)ṯ* or *ỉt(f?)ti*, but *yt* (= ειωτ : ιωτ); likewise 'oath' will appear as *'nḫ* = ⲁⲛⲁϣ, while 'life' is *'nẖ* ωⲛϩ, although the old Egyptian root is the same for each, *'nḫ* 'live,' gradually differentiated into *'nẖ* and *'nḫ*.

To carry out this principle faultlessly and consistently is beyond the Editor's knowledge and skill, and he believes to be practically impossible; the Coptic and other sources of information available, even if exhaustively drawn upon, do not suffice to determine the true value in every case, and the old-Egyptian spelling is obviously an unsafe guide. There are cases in which the old produced ⲧ in Boheiric where ϑ would be expected, as in ⲧⲟ : ⲧⲟⲓ, and there is one (ⲉⲥⲑⲏⲗ) in which produced an unexpected ϑ[2]: ⲇ can produce ϭ : ⲍ (in ϭⲓⲛ- : ⲍⲓⲛ-) as well as ⲣ : ⲣ: and so forth. Aramaic spellings are sometimes irregular: *Ṯḥwṭ* is spelt תחות (perhaps to be connected with the admission of the aspirate in the Greek *θωνθ*, a strong *ṯ* followed by *ḫ* remaining ⲧ); the *ṯ* of ⲧⲏϒ : ⲟⲛⲟϒ is rendered by ט, &c. Exactitude being thus unattainable, where there is doubt or serious difficulty the most probable, commonest, or simplest of the alternative letters is chosen.

[1] In *Psmṯk* (p. 201) and *Ṯ-Ḥp-'m-w* (Krall, *Studien*, ii. 384) = שחפימו (*CIS.*, no. 147). Erman kindly reminds me of ⲍ formed from ⲧϣ and Σεν- = ⲧϣⲉⲛ-: but the only instance of ϛ = true *s* that I have observed is *Wz-rn-f*, Berl. 5507/6 = Οσειρι[ος] in Leyd. P/20. if Leemans is correct. Elsewhere when *s* = ϛ, it is for early dem. and late hierogl. , ⲍ : ϭ. Thus *Pa-Zmᶜ* (-*Ṯmᶜ*) = Πα-σημις, Πα-τημις (?), Sah. ⲍⲏⲙⲉ; *Ṯ-sy* = Σισοις (Τιτοης?) ⲍⲓⲍⲟⲓ : ϭⲓϭⲱⲓ in Lieblein, but earlier (*Mumienetiketten*, 45*): cf. Καμβυσης (p. 247), *Ṯb-nỉr* Σεβεννυτος ⲥⲉⲃⲛⲛⲩⲧⲟⲥ, Ass. Ṣabnûti, the Boh. ⲥⲉϩⲛⲟⲩϯ less regular than Fay. ⲥⲉϩⲉⲛⲟⲩϯ. ⲧ (Ψαμμητιχος) and ϑ (Κολλουθης) are less common. In O. C. ϭ = *ỉ* derived from *ỉ* and *ḫ*, and in *Kufi* = both *ỉ* and *ḫ*, suggesting that the letter ϭ originated in .

[2] Sethe, *Verbum*, i. § 303, 2.

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The following table will give an idea of the meaning of the transliteration symbols:

Transliteration.	*Demotic Alphabet.*	*Old Egyptian Alphabet.*	*Aramaic transcription.*	*Greek transcription.*	*Coptic.*
ʾ			א	not shown	not shown
ʿ[1]			ע	not shown	not shown
y			י	ι, γ	ει : ι
w			ו	ο, γ, ου, (α)υ	ογ
b			ב	β, υ	ϧ (ογ)
p			פ	π, φ (*ps*, *pš* = ψ) (*ph*, *pḫ* = φ)	π (ϧ)
f			פ, ו	φ, π, β	ϥ (ϧ)
m			מ	μ (β)	ⲙ (ϧ)
n			נ	ν	ⲛ
r			ר	ρ	ⲣ
l			ל	λ	ⲗ
ḥ			ה	shown only in θ, φ, χ	ⲉ
ḫ			ח		ⲉ or lost
ḫ		= *ḫ*, ()	ח	χ (κ sometimes before *i*)	ϫ / ⲉ : ⲕ } Ach. ⲉ
ḫ		= *ḫ*, ()			
s		= *ś* = *s*	ס	σ (ζ before μ, &c.)	ϲ
š			ש	σ	ϣ
k / *g*	see p. 227 note	, ()	כ	κ, χ	ϭ : ⲝ
q			ק	κ, χ	ⲕ : ⲕ, ϰ
t			ת	τ, θ	ⲧ : ⲧ, ⲑ
ṭ			ט	τ (δ)	ⲧ
ṯ			ש	σ, τ, θ	ϫ : ϭ
z			צ	τ, θ	ϫ : ϫ

[1] Constant in Aramaic forms in the 5th century B.C., but confused with ʾ in some demotic groups of the 7th century (below, p. 204, note 32), the confusion increasing later. It had quite disappeared from Coptic as shown in Arabic transcripts.

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EARLY PAPYRI FROM EL HÎBEH (NOS. I-IX)

PAPYRI OF THE REIGN OF PSAMMETICHUS I (NOS. I, II).

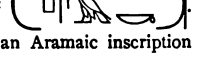
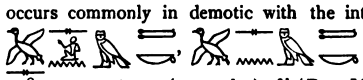
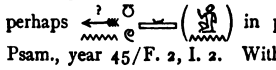
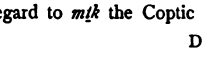
PAPYRUS No. I. Sale to Essemteu of three offices in the temple of Teuzoi. Facsimile on Pls. I–VIII. The text is **(A)** the sale, followed by fifteen witness-copies **(B–Q)** and a signature. **A** is here transcribed with some leading variants noted from the witness-copies (see the hand-copies of **A–Q** in parallel lines in vol. II, Pls. 1–7, the names of the witnesses being on Pl. 8). Translation, above, pp. 44 et seqq.

A. 1.

[a] *sm-ỉ-w* except in A. E.–G. and K. with det. ; in hieratic H. likewise.

[1] *ḥ-ỉ-sp* (see p. 254), 21. The lines of ∩ in early demotic meet at the top without crossing.

[2] See note 4 on p. 44. Cf. Περε-Μαρρης, *OGIS.*, i. p. 254. Abn. hier. documents commonly write .

[3] *P-s-mṯk*, Ψαμμιτιχος (Ψαμμις), Ψαμμητιχος: at Abusimbel (6th or 7th cent. B. C.) Ψαμειτιχος, Ψαματιχος, Ψαμματιχος. The is invariable in this name in hieroglyphic, and is often marked distinctly in hieratic  . The Greek renders it by τ, but in an Aramaic inscription (*Corpus Insc. Sem.*, ii. no. 418, as pointed out by MAX MÜLLER first in *Encycl. Bibl.*, ii. col. 1245, note, and afterwards in *OLZ.*, viii. 367) the name occurs spelt פסמשך, giving the remarkable equation of Eg. *ỉ* = ש, which is usually = Eg. *š*; cf. above, p. 199. The king's name, *Psmṯk* (like other royal names of the early period), is always written in hieratic in the demotic papyri and generally gives only the bare phonetic elements; but as borne by private persons it occurs commonly in demotic with the interesting spelling  , *P-s-n-mṯk* where = ϲαn- 'man (or vendor) of' (*Pap. Mag. L. L.*, v. 25), so that *P-san-mṯk* = Psammêṯk, like ϲαμπεϭοοτ 'man of evil,' STERN, § 174. The spelling is very distinct in *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, no. 3079, verso, l. 5. In 'abnormal hieratic' the king's name is twice written with an uncertain group, perhaps  in place of , viz. in Turin Psam., year 45/F. 2, I. 2. With regard to *mṯk* the Coptic ⲙⲟⲧϫ : ⲙⲟⲧⲉⲧ 'mix,' root as in مزج 'mix (water with wine),' SETHE, *Verbum*, i. § 318, seems to have the same radicals, and the spelling  with the determinative of a vase , which is occasionally found in hieratic (Pap. I, Pl. 4, L.–M., REVILLOUT, *Mélanges*, p. 417, traceable also in IX. 21/12, and written in 'abnormal hieratic' in Turin Psam., year 45, E/4) definitely connects *mṯk* with this word. The editor at first guessed *ⲙⲏϫϭ to mean 'a mixing *bowl*,' in view of Herodotus' story of his improvisation of a libation bowl out of his helmet. Cf. PETRIE, *History*, iii. 321; SPIEGELBERG, *OLZ.*, viii. 562, but Heb. מָסֵךְ mixtura, 'wine mixed (with spices)' (suggested by COWLEY), seems to fit all requirements, as Heb. ס = *ṯ* is already known. A rare feminine counterpart to the masculine name has been noted (EBERS, *Ä. Z.*, xix. 68, WIEDEMANN, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 623), , *T-s-mṯk*. For the Assyrian forms *Tušamilki*, *Pišamilki* see STEINDORFF, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, i. 366.

[4] Past *sṯm-f* or traditional present (?), see p. 256, note 1.

[5] *sy*: in 'abnormal' hieratic the filiation sign is often clearly , Tahr. 3/c, E, F, Psamm. 45/2, 47/5; also , Psamm. 45/2 end, &c. Here in F. G. it is sufficiently clearly (cf. in *Ḥr-sy-'S*, Pap. II, K. 1), and other instances seem only modifications of the same. seems a probable solution of the ligature used by some other early demotic scribes. In uncial hieratic of this period we find (*pn*) ⲡⲁ- below Q. 13, II. A/8 and IX. 23/3. It is

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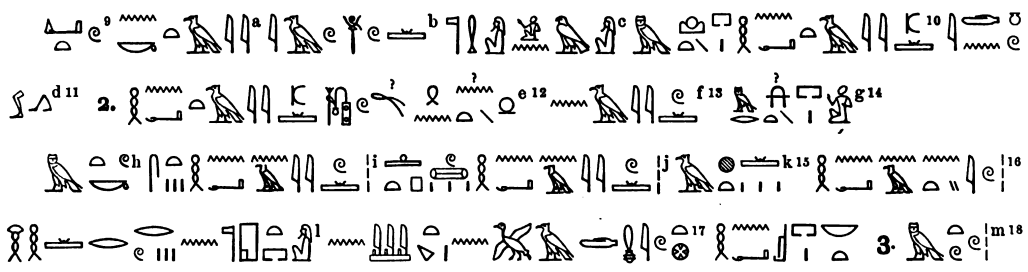

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[a] H. . [b] J. . [c] H. possibly , or else . [d] B. , others have intermediate varieties. [e] B. C. L. O. or . [f] P. omits : none have the plural following as in *ne-w ḥtp-w*. [g] Difficult and variable group: C. faulty (?), but see intermediate forms in Q. N. [h] *mte-k* var. . It is often difficult to decide which is intended, see P. N. (?). [i] *ne-w*, the final in all except E. F. P. Q. [j] *ne-w*, the final in all except G. L. N. [k] *ḥ-tw* C. H. et sim. M. Q. N. P. [l] *ḥ-ntr* with for F. G. K.–N. Q. [m] *mte-w* var. , &c., as elsewhere.

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clear that at a later date the demotic sign of filiation was generally read ⲛⲁ- in spite of its derivation from : see SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxiii. 98.

[6] *P-me*: 'the cat' (ⲉⲗⲗⲟⲩ) = Πεμους (KENYON, i), not 'the lion' Φμοις.

[7] *Ns-sm-t-w*: *ns* before a consonant is rendered by Εσ-, Σ- or Z- in Greek, אס in Aramaic, and is often represented by in hieroglyphic and demotic: cf. note to Pap. IX. 8/8. For *sm-tw* cf. Aram. סמ־תו, Σεμθευς, Σενθευς, above, p. 191, Ποτα-σιμτο (Abusimbel, 6th or 7th cent.), and SPIEGELBERG, *Mumienetiketten*, p. 42*.

[8] Πετησις in MAH.-SM. and other early Ptolemaic, Πετεησις at Gebelên and *Tebt.*, literary Πετισις (Arrian).

[9] The is otiose and the group is to be read *t(-y)*. The sign of the suff. 1 sing. and the personal determinative are seldom if ever written at this period in abnormal hieratic or in demotic.

[10] The word, very common in legal documents, occurs in hieroglyphs in MASPERO, *Momies royales*, p. 705, &c. (Dyn. XXI). It is apparently the origin of the Coptic ⲧⲟ(ⲉ): ⲧⲟⲓ (fem.) portio, from the ancient (SETHE, *Verbum*, i. 54. c. 1, in spite of the retention of ⲧ in the Boh. form), so that the obscure sign must be a late derivative from the hieratic for .

[11] *'ỉn* the spelling varies as in BRUGSCH, *Wtb. Sup.*, 159–61, q.v. for the probable meaning 'substitute' 'agent' 'wakîl.'

[12] *sẖ ỉn·ỉ* 'scribe of the shoni': again in hieratic in No. IX. 22/14. The second word is spelt as in λεσωνις. , MARIETTE, *Cat. Abydos*, 1435, Dakhleh stelae, I/18, II/7, 10, 17 may be compared.

[13] *na* (?) apparently possessive ⲛⲁ- not ⲛⲉϥ-, see the variants. The final ligature may be literally , see *Te-w-sy* in hieratic, Pl. 9.

[14] *mr mỉ* (?). Obscurely written in some copies, but no other reading seems likely except for the middle group . Connect with μοσχοσφραγιστης?

[15] The variants give the earliest instances of the demotic *y* . For *ḥtp*, *'ḥy* see additional note.

[16] *e-w* (*a*) *wḥ* ⲉⲩⲉⲟⲩⲱϩ. The omission of the prepositions *a*, *n* is characteristic of much demotic writing until the late period.

[17] *n ḥ-ntr n sẖ n p ỉm.* The absence of the article from the first two words is probably due to their antiquity: cf. the adverbial expressions *m sẖ·ỉ*, *r sẖ.ỉ* in Pap. D'Orb. But whereas *sẖ* commonly takes the article when defined, IX. 17/16, 18/2, *ḥ-ntr* never takes it in writing: yet it was probably often read Θεπεετε, cf. *ḫn-ntr-* constantly written without the article, read *p-ḫnỉ-* ϥεντ-, below, p. 286.

[18] A valuable parallel to the whole of the foregoing sentence is furnished by the bilingual in the additional note.

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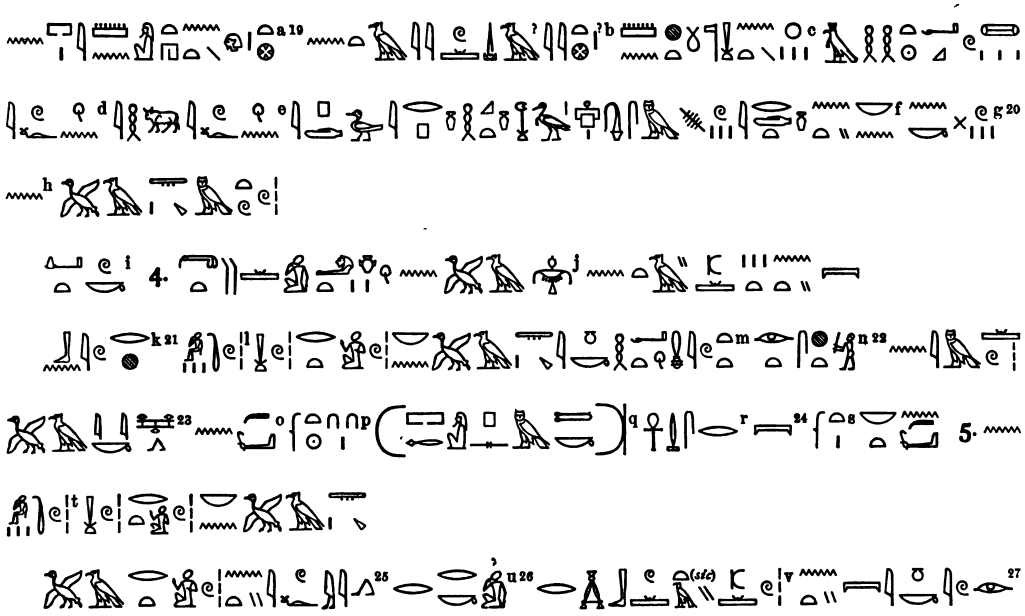

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a *Ṭhn·t* F. K. b *Te-w-zy*: *Te-w* here never has final . *zy* B. O., (cf. II, C. E. J., Pl. 9) P. the |(?) following in A. not in other copies. c *s-ntr* slight variants; D. has alone. d om. *n* O. e om. *n* H. f *nb n* many copies as elsewhere. g *nke* (*sic*) through *n* preceding (?) M. N. h om. *n* D. i *ṭe-k* Q., L. N. P., O. j *n p ḥṭ* om. C. k *rḫ* om. Q. l *ḫrṭ·w* C., Q., E., &c. m *ʾnk ḥʿ mte* om. N. n *sḫ* G., &c. o *n ṯ*: *n ṯ n* G. N., *ṯ* D. p *n* after 21, more or less indicated in most copies except H. J. q *Psmṯk* with det. in L. gradually reduced through M. N. to a dot in O. r *a* om. L. M. s *rnp·t* D. G. J. L. P., C. M., F. N. Q. t *ḫrṭ·w* M.–O. Q. u (?) only in A.–E. G. H. v *ty tʾ* 3·*t* E. F. Q. *ny* (sic) *tʾ* 3·*t* M.–P. *ny tʾ·w* al.

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19 *Ṭhn·t* ⲧⲉϩⲛⲉ, cf. Chabas, *Mines d'Or*, Pl. II, for the geographical sense.

20 On Tab. Eskhons, verso l. 1, &c., we have , and in Pap. Eskhons, l. 47 , the earliest form of this expression.

21 ⲛⲛⲉϣ-, Stern, § 455. Possibly a relic of followed by the emphatic *sdm-f*, Erman, *Grammar*², § 391, if it be not due to an early displacement of the infinitive. Cf. the faulty (?) *ⲙⲡⲉϣ-, *Stories H. P.*, p. 190 (II Kham. 5/33).

22 *ʾr sḫy* Boh. ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ = δυναστευειν, Can. I/14.

23 *n pe-k bl* ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲃⲟⲗ.

24 *a ḥry*, cf. *šʿ p hw a ḥry*, Pap. Eskhons, ll. 98, 100.

25 *nte-f* (*a*) *ʾy* ⲉⲧⲉϥⲉⲉⲓ.

26 Superfluous sign strangely repeated in successive copies.

27 *e·ʾr ṭy*. This auxiliary imperfect participle is commonly used for the future in early demotic; later it is chiefly employed for the past (*Stories H. P.*, p. 86). The vocalization is shown in the Greek series with ορ-, ερ-, Θοτορταιος, &c., above, p. 193, also in Τοργους = *T-e·ʾr-wʾ*, Max Müller, *Rec. de Trav.*, 13/152, and in the Coptic ⲧ-ⲁⲣ-ⲛⲁⲉ below, p. 213. It must therefore have been ⲁⲣ-, *ⲉⲣ- in the dialects.

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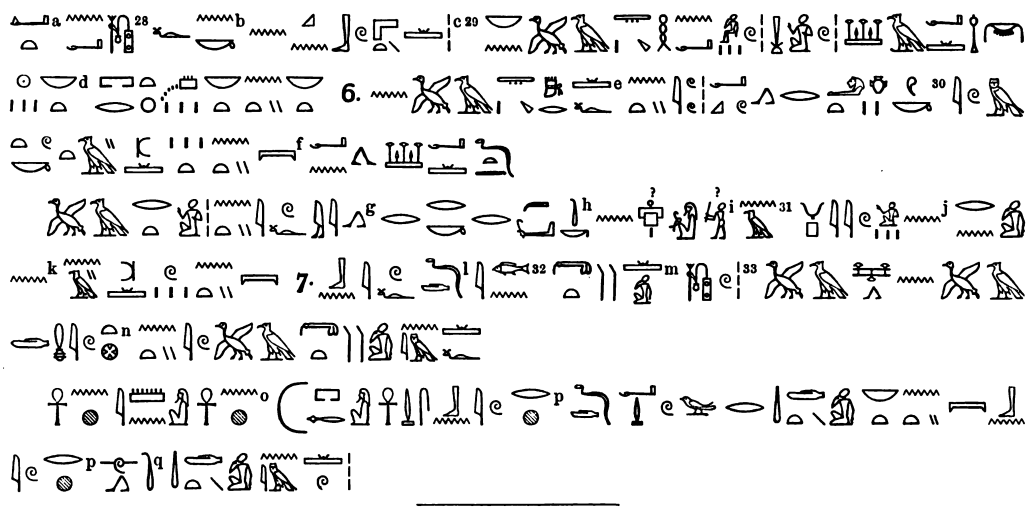

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[a] *ṯy*: L. O. [b] om. *n-k* D.; *n qnb·t* all except M. [c] B., C. F. M., &c. [d] om. *nb·t* Q. [e] B. E. [f] *nt ḫry* om. G. K–Q. [g] *ʾy* om. C. [h] *ṯ·t-k*: B. [i] Or as D. M., om. al.; L resembles (sic). [j] om. *n* D. J. M. O. [k] om. *n* C. D. K. N. P. [l] *e-f rḫ s* C. E. (*rḫ* inserted), F.–J. L. N. P. [m] is in clear hieratic in G. [n] *ṯme* C. P. The form in J. seems incorrect. [o] *ʿnḫ* with det. (?) twice B. [p] *e-y rḫ s . . . e-y rḫ st* om. *rḫ* H. J. L., in second instance also D. N. [q] *st* E.

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[28] *nᶜ* cannot be ⲛⲁ 'go' which is spelt in early demotic, IX. 4/19 &c.; nor will ⲛⲁ:ⲛⲁⲓ 'pity' suit, nor Boh. ⲉⲣⲛⲁⲓ 'deal with?' Goodwin, *Ä. Z.*, 69/145, for in VIII/5 *ṯy nᶜ-s n-k* the subject is the cow not the purchaser. The paragraph is closely like the later formula, *ṯy nᶜ-f n-k n qnb*, &c., corresponding to *ṯy wᶜb-f n-k a qnb·t*, &c., *βεβαιωσω σοι ταυτα απο* in the latter (above, p. 121). Cf. a similar phrase with *nᶜ* in the fragmentary papyrus Vat. Psam. l. 6, and the 'land with tenants' rights cleared (?)' Will of Euerot, l. 6.

[29] *qnb·t* 'warrant (?)' 'title' publicly acknowledged, cf. I Kham. iv. 7: but evidently to begin with an act of or evidence in council, as is shown by the spelling here. Later it has the determinative of writings. Tahr. year 6/10 *ʾr-y qnb r-m-k m-bḥ n sr·w* (?) *n t qnb ʿo Ne* 'I have made a *qnb* with thee before the great council of Ne,' where it refers to some kind of law-suit or arbitration, and see p. 46, note 5.

[30] *ʿq a ḥt-k* lit. 'enter (?) thy heart,' apparently the Coptic ⲱⲕ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲇⲟⲕⲉⲓⲛ, Bsciai, *Rec. de Trav.*, vii. 37; good instances in IX. 14/22–15/1, 15/19.

[31] *n s n wpy·w* also in IX. 15/9, 15; the spelling of ⲛⲥⲁ in other connexions is quite different, e. g. IX. 1/9, but this might be an unetymological spelling of the same word confined to the legal phrase.

[32] *ʾn* = *ʿn*, see the next note. That was weakening to ʾ in early demotic is shown by for ⲏⲓ (*ʾy*) derived from *p(r)*, *ṗy*, (*ṗ-*)*ʾy*.

[33] *ʾn-mtr-sḫ*. is a curious-looking word; it suggests an unetymological spelling for a word *ⲁⲛ-ⲗⲉⲧⲣⲉ like ⲁⲛ-ⲥⲁⲗⲗⲉ which seems to be derived from 'return answer,' 'announce news' (*Stories H. P.*, p. 89); cf. the legal term 'accuse' of crime or 'defend' against accusation IX. 14/21. In fact on referring to the parallel phrase in *Corpus Louvre*, 7 verso (Pl. VIII), the word is recognizable before *mtr*, the especially being distinct. There we have *ʿn-mtr* without *sḫ*. With *mtr sḫ* cf. , Dakhleh stela, i. 16, and often in the 'abnormal' texts, varr. , &c., in the signature of the scribes.

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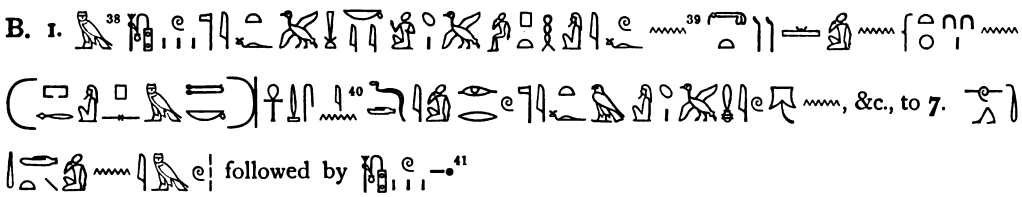
The form in the witness-copies (see Pl. 8 and Pl. 1) is:



The names of the witnesses in these (see Pl. 8) are:

[34] The sign preceding looks like a small = *a*; cf. VI. E/1, &c. (Pl. 17).

[35] If *yt-ntr* is to be read, the is falsely written .

[36] (?). The similar group in D. and II. G. (see hand copy Pl. 8) is that which corresponds to in the name *Z-ḥr* (Zeḥo, Τεως) in demotic. Here and elsewhere the last sign is replaced by (?) which may be a separate element, but more probably is only the determinative. The name is common in these papyri from El Hîbeh, but I fail to find it elsewhere.

[37] *tp-f*. is certain, cf. the det. of *Ṯḥn* in Pll. 3, 9, 10. For parallels see the note to the translation (p. 46, note 11).

[38] In A. 7 the sign preceding *sḫ* is obscure. Q. 13, II. A. 8 give in hieroglyphics (the stroke also accompanying the bird in Q. 13, so meaningless), and in many of the witness-copies we must read (N.) or (C. D., &c.). But more than half with B. have the sign which represents and , and here must be or . Its meaning is not very clear. Can it be a wearing down of the old *mtr-sḫ* or *m-bḥ*? See above, pp. 33, 34.

[39] C. G. omit *n*; in Pap. II it is retained throughout.

[40] is here simply a form of the preposition 'to,' emphasized: so also in Pap. II, VI, and IX. 9/7.

[41] The conventional marks at the end probably replace the name of the scribe; similar marks occur in the body of a document (Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 12/2) and seem to indicate the repetition of a preceding title, like the hieroglyphic . All other copies and Pap. II have (?) —•. In later papyri the marks at the end of the copies resemble the demotic group for *ny* ⲛⲁⲓ 'these.'

[42] *P-sn-ke*, in II. A. 7, otherwise *P-sy-ke* might be read. may be simply determinative of the name unless be S. ⲕⲟⲩⲓ as in ϣⲏⲣⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ, in which case the name would be Psonkui.

[43] *P-šr-* = Ψεν-, *Pshen-*, apparently with change of *r* to *n*, unless *P-šr* be for *P-šr-(n)-*. In papyri of Darius I (e. g. *Corpus Louvre*, I, 1) the form *P-šr-n-* is used: cf. *T-šr-n-*, below VI. A/1 = *T-šr-* in B., &c., hardly *Tsheren-*; but later *T-šr-n-p-šy* = Σερενψαις, *Ä. Z.*, 28/51, *T-šr-n-p-Bs* = Σερενβησις, SPIEGELBERG, *Mumienetiketten*, p. 45*.

[44] *Z-Ṯḥwt-e-f-ʿnḫ*. For this form see above, p. 192.

[45] *Ḥr-wz* ϱερογοϫ (also ϱηρογοϫ, and ϱερογωϫ!). Αρυωθης.

[46] Or possibly as in H. on Pl. 1, but see on Pl. 3 &c.

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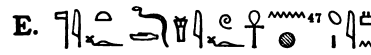
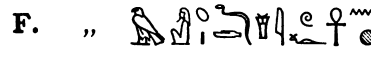
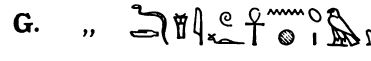
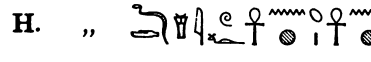


E. [47] (?)

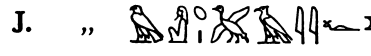


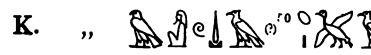


F. „



G. „





H. „ [48]

J. „ [49]

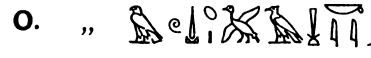
K. „ [50] [51]

L. „

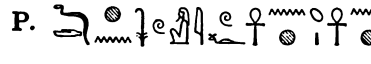
M. [52]

N. [53]

O. „



P.



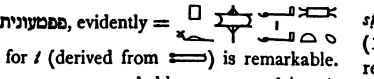
Q.

and they are followed by a single signature of the sixteenth witness in hieroglyphic:

Q 13. [54]

[47] For the pronunciation Ubaste, cf. STEINDORFF, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, I. 349, SPIEGELBERG, *Mumienetiketten*, p. 49*. The Coptic form is best seen in the Faiyûmic place-name **Ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲃⲉⲥϯ**, KRALL, *Rainer Kopt*, p. 72, cf. **Ⲃ-ⲟⲩⲁⲥϯ**. Phoenician treats the *w* here and in **ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲉ** as a vowel עבראבסת = Αβδουβαστιος, עבראסד = Αβδουσιρος, *CIS.*, i. 86, 58. COOKE, *North Semitic Insc.*, 69, 61. Aramaic more often writes Osiris with -או, or in composition -ו-.

[48] Uncertain? *ʿNẖ-s-n-Gb* would only be a woman's name. *ʿNẖ-Ḥp*, Aram. ענח־חפי, Αγχωφις Ankhhopi seems just possible. For the vocalization of see p. 267, note 7.



[49] *Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Spṭ*. Mr. COWLEY has shown me an Aramaic name פומעונית var. פפמעונית, evidently = *Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Nt*. ט for *t* (derived from) is remarkable. The *w* of **ⲧⲏⲩ:ⲑⲏⲟⲩ**, **ⲧⲟⲩ-** was probably pronounced (as *u*), though not written in the Aramaic. is the star-goddess Sothis, Sôpti, not the god ; the is a determinative prefix as in the demotic group for *Nḫt* 'Divine Power.'

[50] Or (?), but this is not in LIEBLEIN.

[51] Possibly or (?).

[52] I owe the identification of this very common name with Ιναρως to Prof. SPIEGELBERG. The very old compound *ỉr·t-Ḥr·w* may have been worn down to *yonḥ* or *yorḥ*, and the verb **ⲉⲓⲱⲣϩ** may possibly be derived from it. The *n* is probably derived from *r*, cf. **ϣⲉⲛ-** from **ϣⲏⲣⲉ**. **ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲟⲩ**, **ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲩ**, Νααραυς, cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Mumienetiketten*, p. 61* is probably a different name from Ιναρως.

[53] *ʿNḫ-p-ẖrṭ* = Χαποχρατης, *ʿnḫ* being here in the abbreviated *sṭm-f* form used in oaths, Coptic **ϣⲉ-**. So also Χευρις (*Tebt.*) presumably = *ʿNḫ-Ḥr* and even *ʿNḫ-f-n-Ḫns* is rendered by Χαποχωνσις, Χαπονχωνσις.

[54] , in II. A. 8 , perhaps connected with **ⲡϥⲉⲛⲧ** 'the worm'; compare also BR., *Wtb.* 557, and **ⲟϥϯ** repere.

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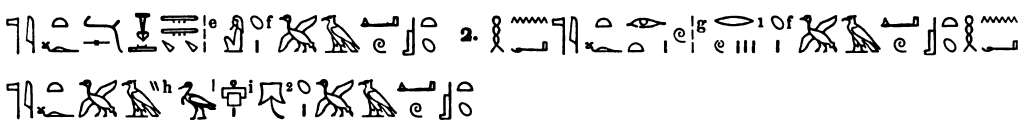
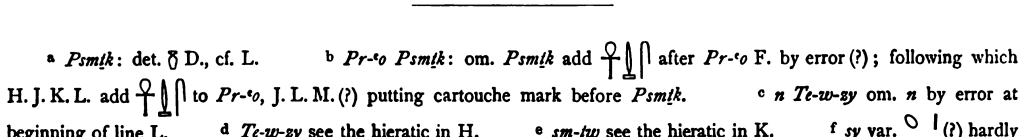
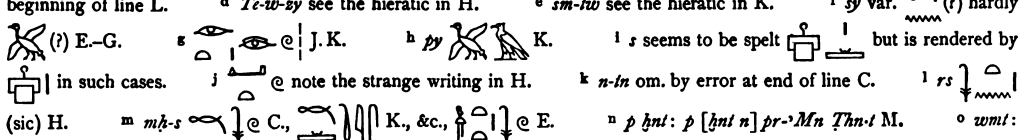
PAPYRUS No. II. Grant of a 'place' in the temple to Essemteu and his two brothers. Facsimile on Pls. IX–XIV. The scheme as in No. I. **A** is here transcribed with some leading variants from the surviving witness-copies (**B**–**M**: see the hand-copies of **A**–**M** in parallel lines in vol. II, Pls. 9–15, the names of the witnesses being on Pl. 8). Translation, above, pp. 47–8.

A. 1.



3. 



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[a] *Psmṯk*: det. D., cf. L. [b] *Pr-ᶜo Psmṯk*: om. *Psmṯk* add after *Pr-ᶜo* F. by error (?); following which H. J. K. L. add to *Pr-ᶜo*, J. L. M. (?) putting cartouche mark before *Psmṯk*. [c] *n Tᵉ-w-zy* om. *n* by error at beginning of line L. [d] *Tᵉ-w-zy* see the hieratic in H. [e] *sm-tw* see the hieratic in K. [f] *sy* var. (?) hardly (?) E.–G. [g] J. K. [h] *py* K. [i] *s* seems to be spelt but is rendered by in such cases. [j] note the strange writing in H. [k] *n-ỉn* om. by error at end of line C. [l] *rs* (sic) H. [m] *mḳ-s* C., K., &c., E. [n] *p ḥnt*: *p* [*ḥnt n*] *pr-ᵓMn Ṯhn-t* M. [o] *wmỉ*: C. [p] *ybt-s* K., &c. [q] *pr-ḥḏ-w*: om. (?) al. [r] *tᵉ-ỉn*: *tᵉ-n* (sic) M.

---

[1] . This common name as written in demotic seems naturally to be transliterated *Yr-ỉ-w-r-w* 'Their eyes upon them,' giving a pronunciation Yeturow, in Greek *Ἰθορωυς gen. Ἰθορωντος in PEYRON, *Zoide*, ii. l. 16. This reading is confirmed by an isolated spelling with pronounced *ỉ* before the suffix in *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, no. 3079, l. 3 (*temp.* Darius). Yet in hieroglyphic the name appears in a careful text of the XXVIth Dynasty as var. L. D. III. 271 *b*, 272, and similar spellings are common. Possibly an old feminine dual *yr-tw* is here preserved.

[2] *Py-Bs*. Cf. LIEBLEIN, 2426.

[3] Read *K-ḥ-k*, see above, pp. 186–7.

[4] *pr-ḥḏ*. The reading is clear enough and confirms the rendering ταμιειον for the demotic group, quoted by SPIEGELBERG from a papyrus in the collection of Lord Amherst (*Dem. Pap. Berl.*, text, p. 4). An equation for this important and common group is given already in BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 958.

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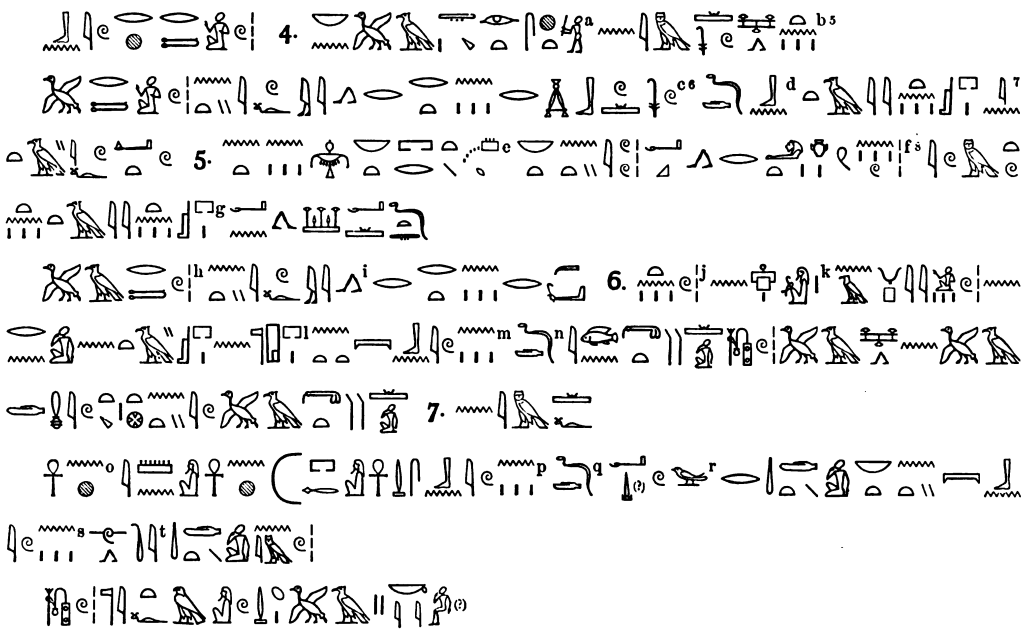
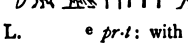
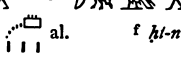
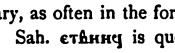
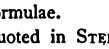


There follows the hieroglyphic signature of the witness and eleven (out of originally fifteen?) witness-copies, of precisely corresponding form to those in Papyrus I.

---

[a] *sḫ·t*: J. [b] *bl-ỉn*: *bl n-ỉn* C.,  D. J.,  (sic) G. [c] *a ỉb-s*: so D. H. K. M.: with *a ỉb·ỉ-s* al. [d] om. *bn* L. [e] *pr·ỉ*: with al. [f] *ḫl-nw*: so L.? *ḫl-* B. *ḫl-* H. J. M., *ḫl-* al. [g] *s*: *s n ḫ-ntr* F.–L. [h] *p rm*: *p* apparently omitted and added later K. [i] *ỉy*: om. M. [j] *ỉ-ỉnw*:  L. M. [k] *s*  H. [l] *n ḫ-ntr* om. F.–H. K. M. [m] *e-n*: *eỉ-n* B., *e(-y)* C., *e-n* corrected to (?) *e-f* D., *e-f* al. [n] *z*: *rḫ z* B. C. E. G.–M. [o] *ʿnḫ* with K. and in the second place L. M. [p] *e-n*: *e(-y)* J.–M. [q] *z*: *rḫ z* F. H.–L. [r] *ʿq* (?) K. L. [s] *e-n*: *e(-y)* J. (L. M. destroyed). [t] *st*: *rḫ st* H.–K.

---

[u] *bl-ỉn* and *pe-ỉn bl* vary, as often in the formulae.

[v] *a ỉb-s* var. *a ỉb-ỉ-s*. Sah. ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲏⲛϥ is quoted in Stern. The ⲧ of ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲏⲛⲧϥ is probably a late development in the Egyptian word; the verb *dbȝ* was triliteral (Sethe, *Verbum*, iii). But ⲧ is perhaps omitted here only in writing, as in *mḫ-s* for *mḫ·ỉ-s* in l. 2.

[w] *bn* .... *ʾn* = Late Egyptian .... as has been admirably explained by A. H. Gardiner, *A. Z.*, 41/130. In demotic *ʾn* is never omitted where Coptic requires post-negative ⲁⲛ; in abnormal hieratic, on the other hand, it is not found and the older equivalent only once, where it is still emphatic, Tur. Psam. 30/28. The reading of L. which om. *bn* is a very early instance, at present isolated, of the use of ⲁⲛ without ⲛ̄, if it be not a mistake of writing.

[x] *tn·w* = Boh. and Faiyûmic -ⲟⲛⲛⲟⲩ, -ⲧⲛⲟⲩ, very rare in Sah. (in Achm. -ⲧⲛⲉ), Stern, § 89, 196; with verb in stat. constr. § 342, see ⲥⲓⲟⲛⲛⲟⲩ below, IX. 20/15.

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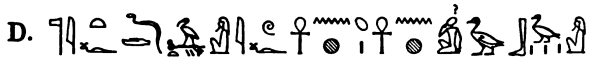
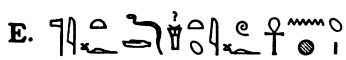
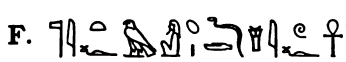
The names are:

B.

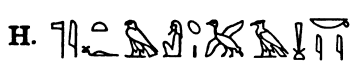
C.

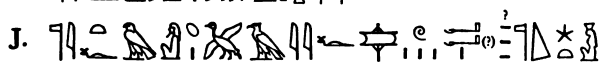
D. 

E. 

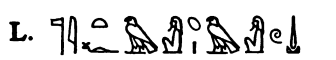
F. 

G.

H. 

J. 

K.

L. 

M.

PAPYRI OF THE REIGN OF AMASIS II (Nos. III–VIII).

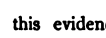
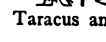
The texts of Nos. V, VI, VIII are here transcribed into hieroglyphs, Nos. III, IV, VII are transliterated into European characters.

PAPYRUS No. III. Acknowledgement of servitude. *Recto*: facsimile on Pl. XV, hand-copy in vol. II, Pl. 16. *Verso*: almost entirely destroyed, see below. Translation, above, p. 52.

(1) [ḥ-sp 2 ʾbṭ 2 . . . . . Pr-ʿo]ʿ.w.s. ʿḤ-[ms ʿ.w.]s.

ze P- . . . . sy Hry-Wbst[2] mw·t-f Qʿ-w-s-n-ʾS[3] n s·wz ʾb yt[4] ḥn-ntr tp (2) [sḫ mz-ntr Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿn]ḫ sy Ḥr

[1] *Ḥr-ḫb* Ἀρχηβις in MAH.-SM. Aram. חרחבי, *CIS.*, 140.

[2] As is rendered in Greek Εριευς (gen. -εως) (e. g. in No. XLIV), it would seem to be read *Hry-ʾb*, especially when in VI. E it is spelt  : but against this evidence is to be set the fact that seems generally to correspond to earlier . In the XXIInd Dynasty , *Ä. Z.*, 35/14, takes the place of  which occurs in the legal papyri of Taracus and Psammetichus I, and at the same period the present name is found spelt , *Rec. de Trav.*, xxii. 10; cf. LIEBLEIN, *Suppl.*, 1180. Εριενουπις, Εριανουφις (*Gr. Pap.* I, II and *Amh. Pap.* II) is thus the equivalent of *Hry-ʾNp*. Εριευς more precisely corresponds to the pseudo-participial (?) form *Hry·w*, see p. 267, note 6, but the vocalization is not clear; see pp. 191–2. (The text has been erased as far as , see p. 52, note 1.)

[3] *Qʿ-w-s-n-ʾS*. The name occurs in the papyri curiously varied and abbreviated, see especially No. VI, but this is the full and correct form, meaning 'she is abandoned to Isis'; cf. LIEBLEIN, 876, 2281.

[4] *s·wz-ʾb(-n)-yt* (see V, VI for the *n*). Cf. *s·wz ʾb* 'com-

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[ʾnk pe-k] bk š[ʿ z.t] bn e(-y) rḫ ʾr nmḥ eʾr-n-k [1] ʿn sp sn [2] r-ʿ [3] ḥṭ nb pr (3) [nb nt nb n p t ḥnʿ ne ẖ]rṭ·w [nt ms] ḥnʿ [n nt] e-w ms-w [4] n-n ḥnʿ nt nb nt mte-n ḥnʿ n nt e-n (4) [ṭy ḫp-w ḥnʿ n ḥbs·w nt] ḥr ʾ[t]-n [5]

bn e [rḫ rm nb] p t ʾr sḫy nʾm-n n pe-k bl n ṯ ḥ-sp 2 ʾbṭ 2 [6] (5) [. . . . a ḥry a rnp·t nb] šʿ [z·t]

[sẖ] s·wz ʾb [yt] Ws-ʾMn [7] sy P-šr-Wbst

On the back the last signature is partly legible (in demotic):

. . . . . Yr-Ḥr-r-w sy [. . . . .]

Papyrus No. IV. Transfer of contract. *Recto*: facsimile on Pl. XV, hand-copy in vol. II, Pl. 16. *Verso*: facsimile on Pl. XXII, hand-copy in vol. II, Pl. 20. Translation, above, p. 52.

(1) . . . . z s·wz ʾb n yt ḥn-ntr tp sẖ mz-ntr [8] Ze-Wbst-e-f-ʿnẖ sy Ḥr n s·wz ʾb (2) [n yt . . . . .
[te(-y) wy·k (?)] [9] aḥr-k [10] n py zmʿ bk [11] e·ʾr n-y Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Ḫns sy Hry- (3) [Wbst . . . .
bn e(-y) rḫ ʾr sḫy nʾm-f
bn e(-y) rḫ ʾn zmʿ ʾs (?) [12] z- (4) [mʿ (?) mʾ (?) . . . .
mte(-y) (?) ʾn [13] n rn py zmʿ bk a·ṭ-y [14] n-k

fort the heart' or 'promote the wish'? very common in the epistolary formulae of the Middle Kingdom (*Kahun Papyri*).

[1] might be read as *e-ʾr(-y) n-k* 'which I have done to thee,' but the antecedent would be very vague. It is undoubtedly a preposition, cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 203. Perhaps its earliest occurrence is in *Corpus Louvre*, no. 7 (Psammetichus II). The spelling is probably quite unetymological. *eʾr* seems to be the form of the same before substantives, for the *n-* cf. *bl n-k* = ⲛⲃⲗ̄ⲗⲁⲕ. If, however, the spelling is etymological, the lit. meaning would be , 'to act unto thee.' The idiomatic meanings are 'to' (of motion and action), 'in the presence of' and 'in the time of,' and it is used only before persons.

[2] *ʿn sp-sn* after a negative 'never again'; cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 88, note to l. 7. It occurs in Dyn. XXI, Pap. Eskhons, l. 46.

[3] , so also in VII/3, corresponding to in V, VI.

[4] *ms-w*, cf. Boh. ⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩ. The parallels rarely write the older Sahidic *ms·t-w* ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲟⲩ, see VI, though perhaps a *t* was pronounced in reading.

[5] *ʾ·t-n*. The scribe has written unetymologically, taking the from *ʾ·t*. Cf. the converse mistake *ḥt-nw* for *ḥt-tnw* in II, Pl. 13 A (p. 208).

[6] The best proof that not or is to be read is that in *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3110 (Darius) l. 1, the same group occurs with subsequent months ||| and |||| clearly written. Otherwise the great width of the ligature for the || in these early texts by contrast to the later would render the reading doubtful.

[7] , cf. Lieblein, 2035, 2365, &c.

[8] *sẖ mz-ntr*; for the reading cf. *PSBA.*, xxi. 270.

[9] *wy·t* is found as well as *wy·k* for the 1st sing. qual. as early as Darius I (Berlin papyri). The pronoun ϯ- is generally written (ibid.).

[10] is usual in the 'normal' series instead of the earlier .

[11] *zmʿ bk* lit. 'papyrus of slave,' cf. *zmʿ n ḥm* 'papyrus of wife,' i. e. marriage contract in *Corpus Louvre*, 19/8, 9 (Ahm. abnormal hieratic).

[12] would here seem to be an abbreviation of ⲁⲥ 'old,' in demotic written . In Tur. Psamm. 47/13 (abnormal hieratic) the old title-deeds and the new one to some land are handed over *ne-w hre ʾs ḥnʿ te-w hre mr* (sic): so here we may have *zmʿ ʾs* followed by [ ]. But there seems to be no other example of = *ʾs*. The ordinary reading is *ḥsb* and *zmʿ ḥsb* might mean 'papyrus of account,' or, with the sense of , 'papyrus of labourer (?),' 'corvée (?)-warrant.'

[13] One would expect *mte-y ʾn.t-f* if the meaning suggested in the translation is at all correct.

[14] *a ṭy* probably represents *a·ṭe-y*, *ⲁⲧⲁⲓ, since *p rm* in all probability begins a new paragraph and is not the object of *ṭy*.

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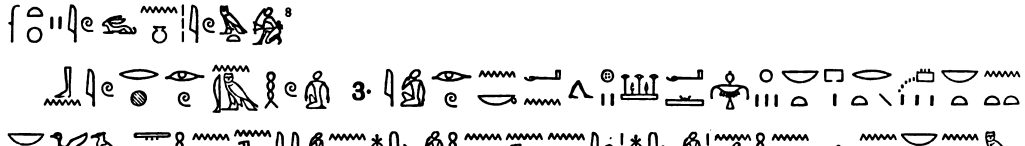
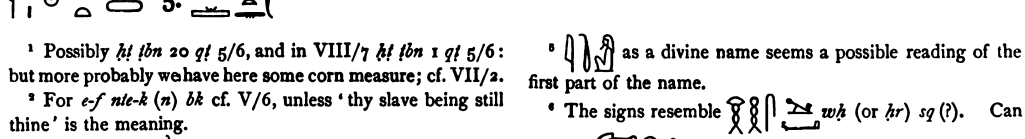
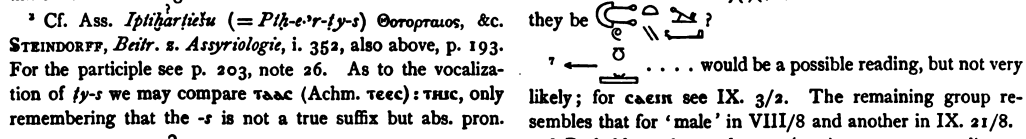
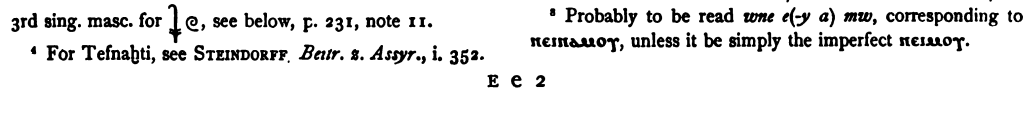
p rm nt e-f ʾn z- (5) [mᶜ (?) . . . . . e-f] ṭy n-k . . . . . .[1] e (-y ?)[2]
mte-k pe-k bk ᶜn šᶜ z.t
sḫ (6) . . . . . .
(7) [sḫ . . . . . Ze-Wbst]-e-f-ᶜnḫ sy Ḥr [tp]-f

verso. Ns-Ḥr-Ṭḥwt sy P-šr-Ptḥ
Yr-Ḥr-r-w sy P-me
Pe-f-tw-ᶜw-ʾMn sy Ḥr-wz
ᶜḤ-te-f-nḫt sy Ḥr
(5) Wsr-nḫt sy P-šr-Wbst
ᶜḤ-eʾr-ṭy-s[3] sy Ḥr
ᶜḤ-eʾr-ṭy-s sy [P-sn]-ke
Ze-Wbst-e-f-ᶜnḫ sy Ḥr
A (?) -ḫr sy P-sn-ke
(10) ᶜḤ-te-f-nḫt[4] sy . . . . .
Ze-ḫr sy Yr-Ḥr-r-w
Yr- . . -r-w sy ʾT(?)-te-f-nḫt[5]
Ze- . . . [-e]-f-ᶜnḫ sy . . . . . Ḥr (?)
Ḥr [sy Ze-]Wbst-e-f-ᶜnḫ
(15) Ze-W[bst-e-f-ᶜnḫ] sy Ḥr-(?) . . . .

PAPYRUS No. V. Contract of servitude. *Recto*: facsimile on Pl. XVI. *Verso*: facsimile on Pl. XXII. Translation, above, p. 53.

Recto.

1.
2. 

3. 
4. 

5.

[1] Possibly *ḥḳ ṯbn* 20 *qṭ* 5/6, and in VIII/7 *ḥḳ ṯbn* 1 *qṭ* 5/6: but more probably we have here some corn measure; cf. VII/2.

[2] For *e-f nte-k* (*n*) *bk* cf. V/6, unless 'thy slave being still thine' is the meaning.

[3] Cf. Ass. *Iptiḫarṭiešu* (= *Ptḥ-eʾr-ṭy-s*) Θοτορταιος, &c. STEINDORFF, *Beitr. z. Assyriologie*, i. 352, also above, p. 193. For the participle see p. 203, note 26. As to the vocalization of *ṭy-s* we may compare ταας (Achm. τεες): ΤΗΙΣ, only remembering that the *-s* is not a true suffix but abs. pron. 3rd sing. masc. for , see below, p. 231, note 11.

[4] For Tefnaḫti, see STEINDORFF, *Beitr. z. Astyr.*, i. 352.

[5] as a divine name seems a possible reading of the first part of the name.

[6] The signs resemble *wḫ* (or *ḫr*) *sq* (?). Can they be ?

[7] . . . . would be a possible reading, but not very likely; for ϲαειπ see IX. 3/2. The remaining group resembles that for 'male' in VIII/8 and another in IX. 21/8.

[8] Probably to be read *wne e(-y a) mw*, corresponding to πειπαμογ, unless it be simply the imperfect πειμογ.

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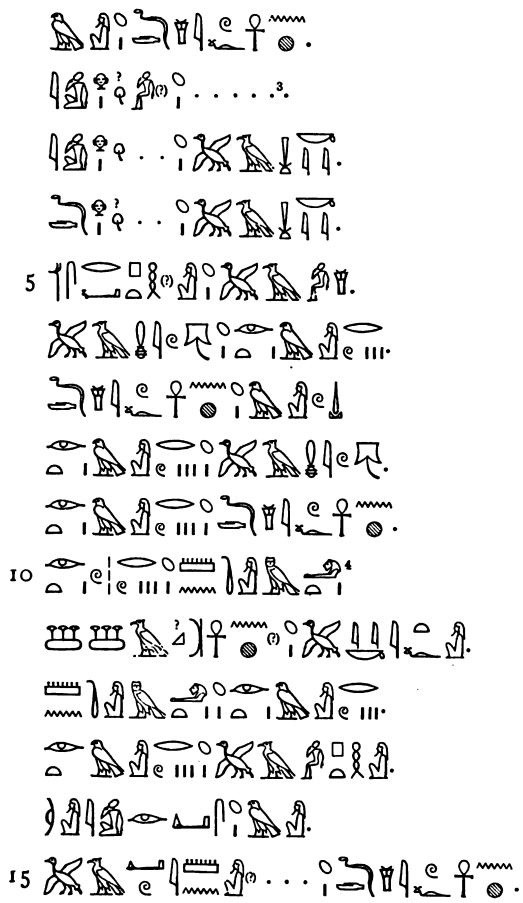
Verso.



[1] *a z.* This retaining of the [hieroglyph] as in late Egyptian (Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 371) is found also in VIII/5. No trace of it remains in Coptic ϫⲉ.

[2] *s-w-f* very doubtful; perhaps [hieroglyphs]. The initial group occurs in a name in Turin Dar. 5/1.

[3] Apparently [hieroglyphs] preceded by one or two signs. The names in ll. 1, 2 are additional (p. 54, note 1).

[4] Μεντεμης.

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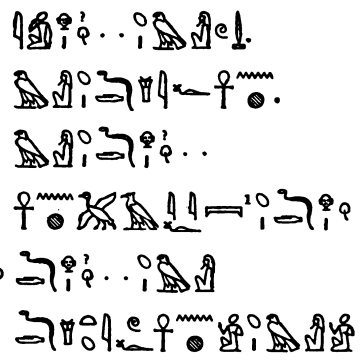
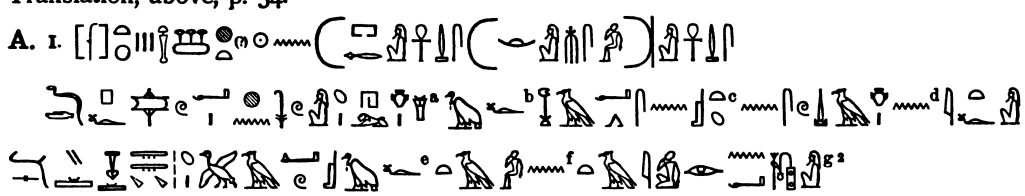


Papyrus No. VI. Contract of servitude. *Recto*: facsimile on Pls. XVII–XIX. The text is **(A)** the sale, followed by five witness-copies **(B-F)**. **A** is here transcribed with some leading variants noted from the witness-copies (see the hand-copies of **A-F** in parallel lines in vol. ii, Pls. 17–18). *Verso*: facsimile on Pl. XXII, hand-copy in vol. ii, Pl. 20. Translation, above, p. 54.

A. 1. 

2.

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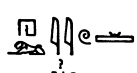
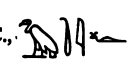
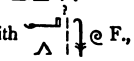
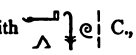
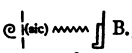
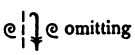
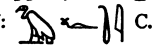
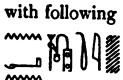
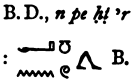
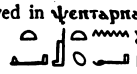
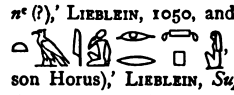
[a] *Hry-Wbst*:  E. [b] *mw·t-f*: (sic) C.,  D. [c] *Qᵉ-s-n-ʾS*: so (with) E., with  F., with  C., (sic)  B., with  omitting *n-ʾS* by confusion with following *n* D. [d] om. *n* B. C. E. [e] *mw·t-f*:  C. [f] *n* only in A. [g] *T-šr-T-nᵉ·t*:  E. [h] *pe ḥṭ ʾr*: *pe ḥṭ n ʾr* B. D., *n pe ḥṭ ʾr* C., *n pe ḥṭ n ʾr* F. [i] *bne(-y)*: om. *e* B. [j] *nmḥ*: B. C., followed by \ (?) E. [k] *ᵉn*:  B. [l] *sp-sn*: om. E.

---

[1] See Lieblein, 1028, 1247.

[2] 'The daughter of Her that hath pitied (?),' var. with *T-nᵉ*, *T-nᵉ·t*, or 'of Her that is *nᵉ*.' The precise equivalent (masc.) is preserved in ⲯⲉⲛⲧⲁⲣⲛⲁⲉ (for ⲡϣⲉⲛ-), *Coptic Mon.*, 8602. Compare  'She that is given by Isis the *nᵉ* (?),' Lieblein, 1050, and for the form of the second part  , 'She that hath concealed (i.e. her son Horus),' Lieblein, *Suppl.*, 1627. The reference in all these may be to Isis.

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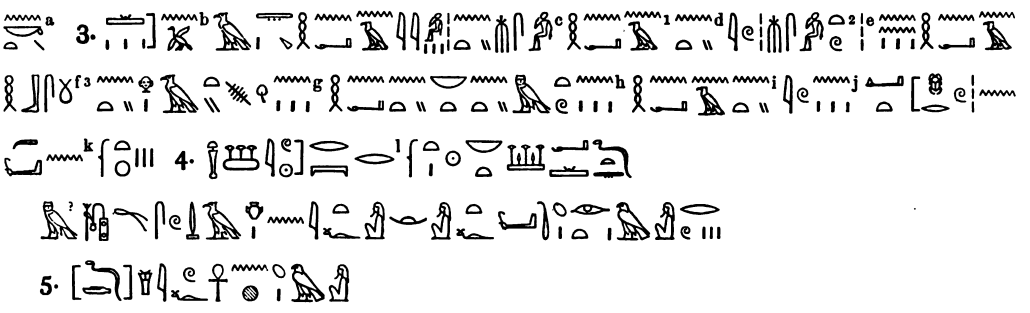
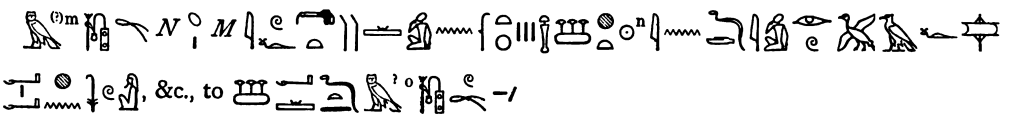
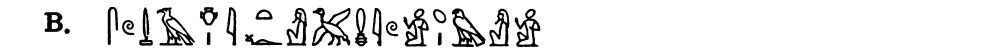
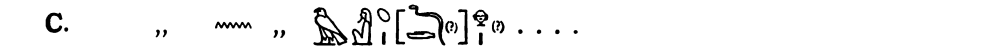


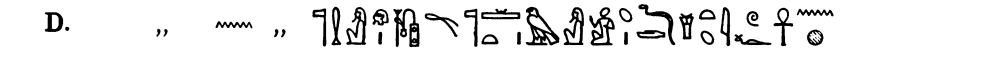
The formula in the witness-copies is as follows:

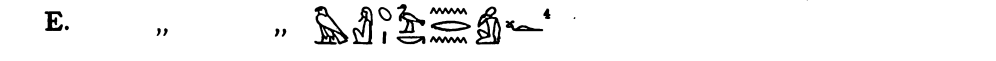


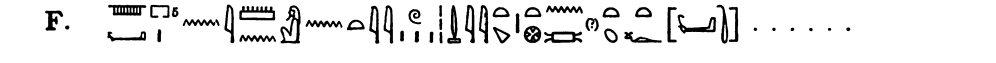
The copies are in the names of:

B. 

C. ,, ,, 

D. ,, ,, 

E. ,, ,, 

F. 

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[a] *nk*: om. C. F., *n nk* F. [b] om. *n* B. [c] *ms*: D. [d] *n nt*: om. *n* E. [e] *ms·t-w*: om. *t* B. D. E. and F. (?). [f] *ḫbs*: D. [g] *·t-n*: = *·t(-y)* D. [h] *mte-n*: *mte-w* E. [i] *n nt*: om. *n* C. E. [j] *e-n*: D. [k] *n ṯ n*: *n ṯ* C. [l] om. *a* B. C. [m] om. B.–D. [n] om. date D. [o] om. B.–D.

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[1] *ḥnᶜ nt* (see varr.) for *ḥnᶜ n nt* occurs regularly in the Ptolemaic writing of *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3116 (e.g. 2/15).

[2] ⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩ and ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲟⲩ are both seen here. The ideogram for the verb *ms* occurs also in *Corpus Louvre*, no. 7.

[3] The variant is interesting as a confirmation of the reading *ḫbs* for in later demotic.

[4] *ⲃⲉⲕⲣⲣⲓⲛⲩ (cf. *Á. Z.*, 38/82, note to ll. 16, 20) Βοκχορις, Βοκχωρις (literary form), Βοχοριν̣ις in Mah.-Sm., Ass. *Bukur-ninip*. Cf. Οσερινι[ος] (genitive), Leyd. P/20 = *Wsr-rn-f*, Berl. 5507/6. The derivation of Βοκχωρις from the king's prenomen *W3ḥ-k3-rᶜ* (Wehkarêᶜ) is very improbable.

[5] *wn* with determinative , generally written in hieroglyphs, e. g. in Dakhleh stela, I. 20 and many instances in Lieblein. Cf. Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxiii. 99, who reads *wn-pr* on the strength of the demotic spelling, perhaps rightly.

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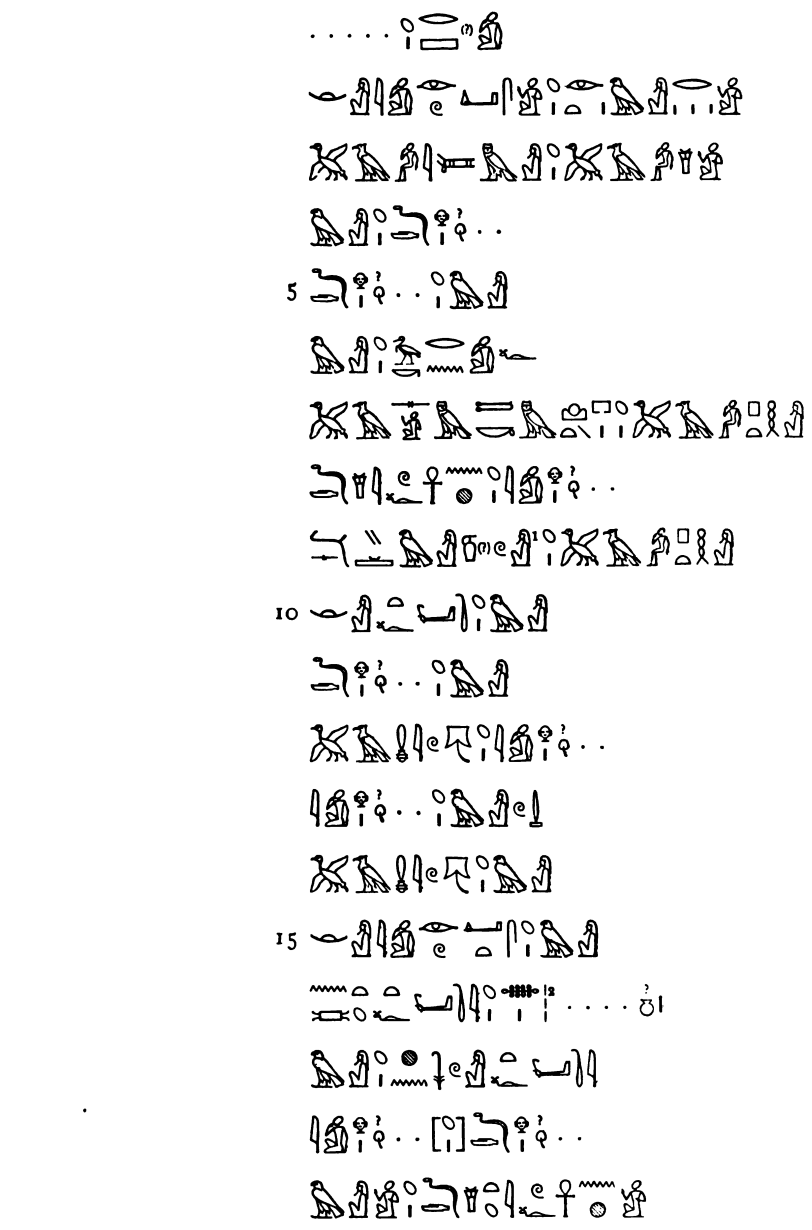
Verso. The names of the witnesses on the back are :



[1] Probably the same individual as in IV, verso 1, but here the last element is more like Khnum than Thoüt. For Horus as Khnubis see LANZONE, *Dizionario*, 567.

[2] See p. 212, note 2.

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PAPYRUS No. VII. Contract of servitude. *Recto*: facsimile on Pl. XX, hand-copy in vol. ii, Pl. 19. *Verso*: facsimile on Pl. XXII, hand-copy in vol. ii, Pl. 20. Translation, above, p. 55.

(1) ḥ-sp 8 ʾbṭ 4 ʾḫ n Pr-ʿo ʿḤ-msy ʿ.w.s.

z bk Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Ḥns sy Hry-Wbst mw·t-f Qʿ-w-s-n-ʾS n s·wz-ʾb n yt (2) Ns-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS mw·t-f T-šr-t-nʿ

ḫp(-y) erm-k ʿn n ḥ-sp 8 tp ʾḫ 5 a ḥ-sp 9 tp ʾḫ 5 pe (?) . . . . bṭ (?) 100 . . . p ḥṭ (?) (3) [T]e-w-zy(?) yt mḥ (?) . . . 1150 (?)[1] e-y mnt-k šʿ z·t

bn e(-y) rḫ ʾr nmḥ e·ʾr n-k ʿn sp-sn r ʿ ḥṭ nb pr nb nt nb nk (4) n p t ḥnʿ ne ḫrṭ·w nt ms ḥnʿ n nt e-w a ms-w n-n ḥnʿ n ḥbs·w nt ḥr ʾt-n ṯ ḥ-sp 8 tp ʾḫ (5) a ḥry a rnp·t 50 (?)[2]

e(-y) mnt-k šʿ z·t

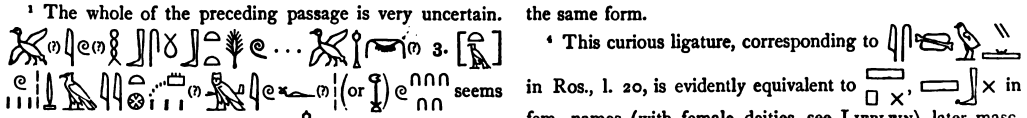
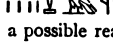
sḫ swz ʾb n yt P-me sy ʾ-Ḥr (?)

Verso. P-me sy Ḥr
Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ sy Ḥr-wz
ʿḤ-te-f-nḫt sy Yr-Ḥr-r-w
Yr-Ḥr-r-w sy . . . . . .
(5) Z-ḥr sy Ns-Ḥr-Ṭḥwt
Ḥr sy ʾ-Ḥr (?)

ʿḤ-e·ʾr-ṭy-s sy Ḥr
Ḥr sy Bk-n-rn-f
ʿḤ-e·ʾr-ṭy-s sy Ḥr (?)
(10) ʿḤ-te-f-nḫt sy Ḥr
Yr-Ḥr-[r-w] sy P-šr-Pṭḥ

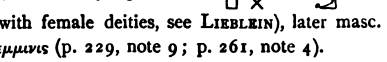
PAPYRUS No. VIII. Sale of a cow. *Recto*: facsimile on Pl. XXI, hand-copy in vol. ii, Pl. 19. *Verso*: facsimile on Pl. XXII, hand-copy in vol. ii, Pl. 20. Translation, above, p. 59.

1.

[1] The whole of the preceding passage is very uncertain.  seems a possible reading: and instead of  very likely some word for corn should stand; cf. IX. 11/6, 7, perhaps also IV/5 above, and VIII/7.

[2] 50, or perhaps only a peculiar form of .

[3] *T-b-ʾy-t*, cf. the masculine form *P-b-ʾw* in l. 10. occurs in LIEBLEIN, no. 1252. Νιτ-ηπις is of the same form.

[4] This curious ligature, corresponding to in Ros., l. 20, is evidently equivalent to  in fem. names (with female deities, see LIEBLEIN), later masc. with Min, Σπεμμινις (p. 229, note 9; p. 261, note 4).

[5] *ſšr* also in Tur. Dar. 35/2: the masculine is *ſš*, Ahm. *Corpus Louvre*, 20/3.

[6] *sk* 'plough,' 'cultivate.' This word occurs in very variable orthography in Ahm. *Corpus Louvre*, 11–15, also *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Dar. 3110/2, 4.

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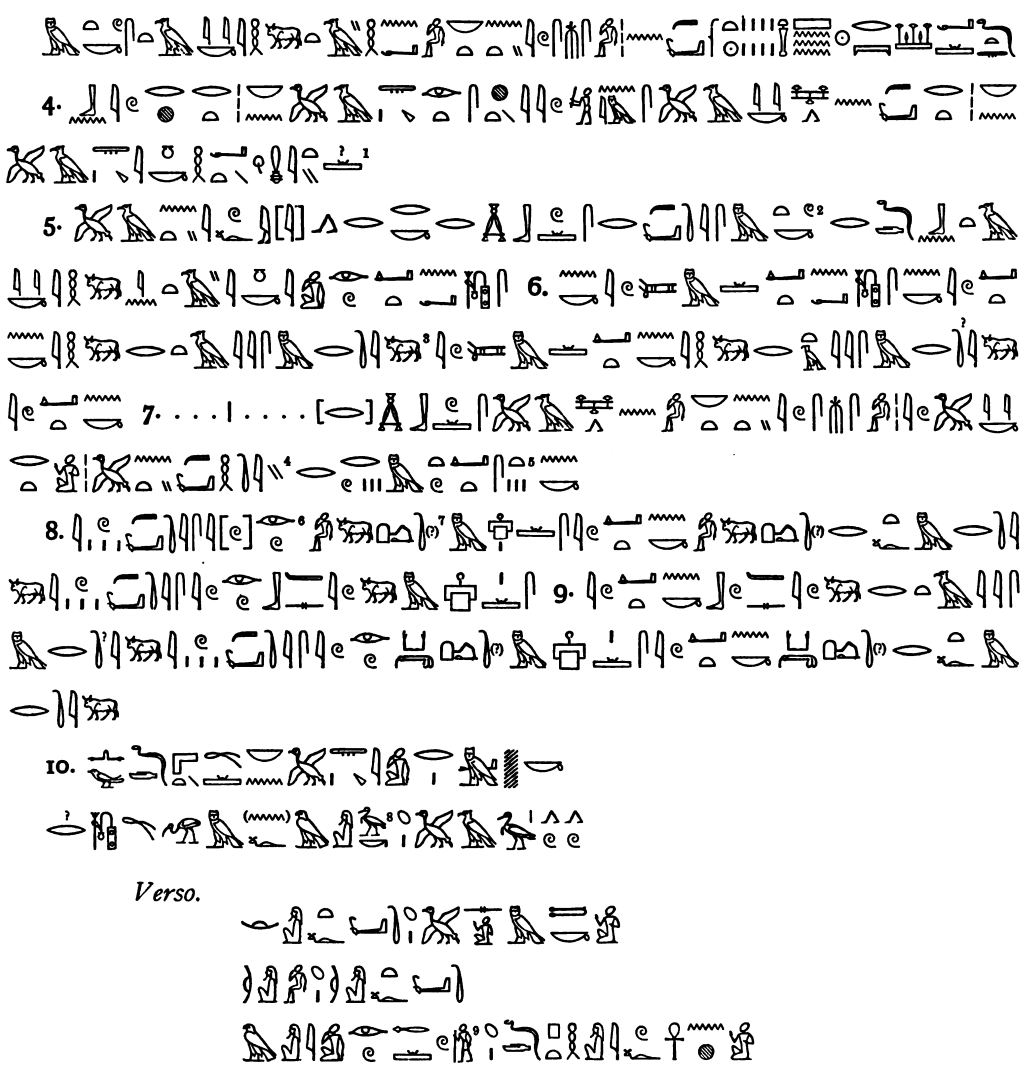

Verso.

[1] The group resembles . . . but is probably intended for *m³t* in the peculiar hand of this MS.

[2] 'From' as Late Eg. , ERMAN, *Neuäg. Gram.*, § 110.

[3] *a te-s mrt.* Cf. the parallel *a pe-s smt n ʾḥ* 'of its kind of cow,' *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Dar. 3110, l. 4, *Corpus Louvre*, 23/7.

[4] *nḥt* (cf. ⲛⲁⲅⲧⲉ), not *ṯ-ḥt*, might be suggested since here takes a different form: but the converse reason can be alleged against reading *nḥt* in X/3 (p. 255).

[5] *ṯy st* obscure, but cf. the parallels X/4, &c.

[6] *ʾr* seems strange here, and the meaning of ⲛⲥⲱⲥ following is not clear.

[7] Or . .; it looks as if it should be read *ḫwt* and not taken as a determinative, though ⲗⲁⲁⲥⲉ alone means 'bull-calf.' The same group follows *k* 'bull' in l. 9. *ʾḥ s-ḫm* 'female cow,' is frequent, so *k ḫwt* 'male bull' may also be correct.

[8] 'Hôr hath found himself a servant,' LIEBLEIN, 1056.

[9] , LIEBLEIN, 2393.

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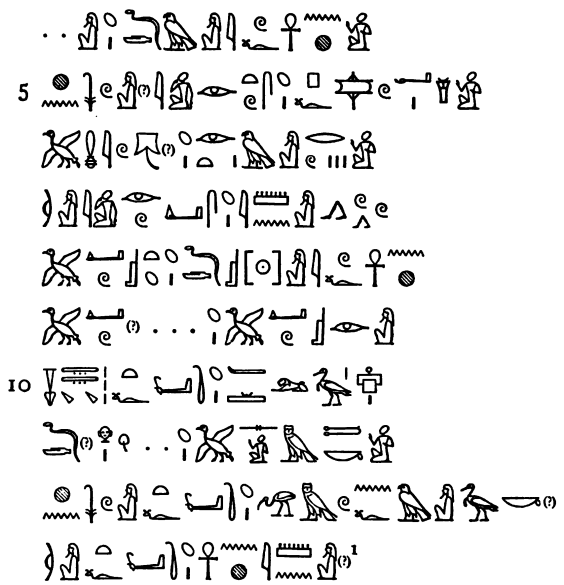

PAPYRUS OF THE REIGN OF DARIUS I.

PAPYRUS No. IX. The Petition of Peteêsi. Facsimile on Pls. XXIII–XLVII, hand copy in Vol. ii, Pls. 21–42. For divisions and summaries of the contents, see above, pp. 60 et seqq.

An example of transcription of the demotic into hieroglyphs is given here, in col. 15, accompanied by transliteration into European characters and a specimen of transcription on the lines of Sahidic. The hieratic of cols. 21–3 is simply transcribed into hieroglyphs: with this exception the whole of the text is transliterated into European characters, and a second example of Coptic transcription is given for 24/2–5.

A. cols. 1–5/13. Narrative addressed to the Governor of events in the reign of Darius. Translated, above, pp. 64 et seqq.

(1/1) ʾy ṭe ʾMn [qy] pe-f [ʿḥ][2] ḫp ḥ-sp 9 ʾbṭ 3 pr[3] n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Trʾwš[4] ʿ.w[s.] ʾḤ-ms sy P-a-ṭe-Ḥr-n-P[5] (2) ʾw[6] n p [t] rs a Te-w-zy z-f n Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ sy Yr-Ḥr-r-w e-f n

[1] Or [hieroglyphs].

[2] Completed from 5/13.

[3] For the popular names of the months see above, p. 185.

[4] [hieroglyphs]. The usual spelling in demotic documents is *Trywš*, [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], once *Trwyš* [hieroglyphs] (Turin, year 5). *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3079, 3110 A, give [hieroglyphs] *Trʾwš* in hieratic cartouches. In the Persian cuneiform inscriptions the name is Darayavash, &c.: in the Strassburg Aramaic papyrus (EUTING) דריהוש: in Biblical Aramaic דריוש.

[5] [hieroglyphs], cf. p. 100, is perhaps ποι: φωι, φοι; مصطبة, PEYRON and KABIS, *Ä. Z.*, 14/13, connected with the original meaning of □, GRIFFITH, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 47. But the name is very ancient and may have taken a shorter form.

[6] *ʾw*, *ʾy* 'come' are solely used in this papyrus of going

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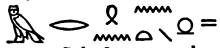
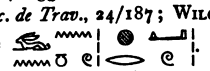
mr šn[1] n ʾMn wne ḥr[2] ṭe-w (3) n-y pe ḥtp[3] n Te-w-[z]y ḥr[4] rnp n ṯ n ʾr ḥn-ntr[5] ʾMn Te-w-zy eʾr p . . . . .[6] z n-f Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ (4) sy Yr-Ḥr-r-w p mr šn wz pe-k tw ʿnḫ ʾMn nt ḥtp ṭy[7] tes[8] e ʾbṭ 3 pr pe mn bṭ (?)[9] (5) n t (?) šn[10] n ʾMn mn ḥṭ n t ʿfṭ[11] n ḥ-ntr wḫ[12] [ḥṭ ?] a ms[13] a ṭy a p ḥre[14] n p šnʿ (?)[15] (6) p nt e-n a ʾr-f n ṯ n p-hw[16] n rm nte ṭʾ-t-w zr[17] n py ṭm bn ḥr-n[18] (7) ʾn e wn rm(?)n py ṭm blnn-w[19] z n-f ʿḤ-ms nm p nt e(-y) a rḫ šn-t-f mte-f z n-y

to Teuzoi, the home of the writer, except once (3/4) to Memphis, the place to which the petition was addressed. For the peculiar use of *ʾw* as predicate of nominal sentence in narrative past see *Stories H. P.*, p. 84, and below, p. 221, note 14.

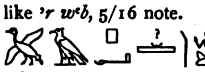
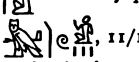
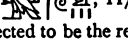
[1]  = λεσωνις which must represent *Λεϣονι, Sah. ⲗⲁϣⲁⲛⲉ should be different: it is doubtful whether it can be connected with ϣⲓⲛⲉ 'inquire,' though a passage remarked by Spiegelberg, *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, p. 18, note, suggests this. See *sḫ šn-t* above, p. 202; Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.*, 24/187; Wilcken, *Archiv*, ii. 122.

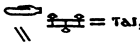
[2]  . Coptic employs auxiliary *ʾr* to produce ⲛⲉ-ϣ-ⲁⲩ-ϯ.

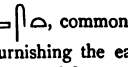
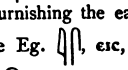
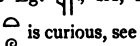
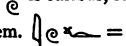
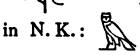
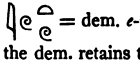
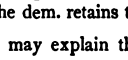
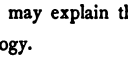
[3] *ḥtp·w* = προφαι (of priests) in Can., l. 71. This masculine word is distinct from the fem. *ḥtp* applied to land which forms the endowment of tombs, *Corpus Louvre*, 9/3, 10/3, 25/8, &c.; perhaps like *ḥtp-ntr* of temples, though that again is masc.

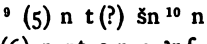
[4] ϱⲣ- in ϱⲣ-ⲉⲛⲟⲩ, Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.*, 19/90.

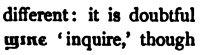
[5] *ʾr ḥn-ntr* like *ʾr wʿb*, 5/16 note.

[6] Possibly  . □ seems almost certain, and extremely probable, on general grounds; cf.  in  , 11/11, &c. *p Prs* 'The Persian' may be suspected to be the reading; *ḫšṯrpn* 'satrap' is hardly possible.

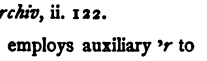
[7]  = ⲧⲁⲓ, Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.*, 21/46.

[8]  , common in most demotic literary texts, the present furnishing the earliest instances. It is evidently  , late Eg.  , ⲉⲓⲥ, Erman, *Gram.*², § 347. The spelling with  is curious, see below, 17/14. But cf. late Eg.  = dem. = ϥ, in which the *t* was perhaps silent even in N. K.: , Pap. D'Orb. 4/4;  , ibid., 1/3;  = dem. *e-w* ⲉⲩ-, &c. In  = ⲛⲉϥ : ⲛⲧⲁϥ the dem. retains the late Eg. spelling *nte-f*. Such usages of may explain the above spelling of ⲉⲓⲥ : ⲓⲥ by false analogy.

[9] Note the distinction between the sign for 'corn' and that for silver. It is clearer in the collotype than in the hand-copy. If the former is not only another way of writing *bṯ* it must mean 'corn' in general  , see its use in 11/6–7.

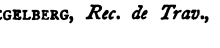
[10] The word is fem., cf. 16/13, and is probably  , Boh. ϣⲉⲩⲛⲓ, ⲧ, though the phonetic group is identical with that in the word for sealing in 2/3. *n šn*[*·w*] is possible.

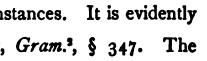
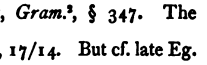
[11] Cf. Brugsch, *Wtb.*, 185.

[12] *wḫ ḥṭ* (?) . . . *p nt e-n a ʾr-f*, cf. *ṯy eʾw rm . . . p eʾwnee-f ʾr-f*, 21/6. Instead of *ḥṭ* the word for 'corn' might equally well be restored. With the ligature for  cf. the form in Pap. Eskhons, l. 69.

[13] *ms* not inf. ⲙⲁⲥⲉ which would be written out fully, but ⲙⲁⲥⲉ: cf. ϯ ⲉⲗⲗⲏⲥⲉ, ⲟⲩ ⲉⲗⲗⲏⲥⲓ.

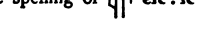
[14] *ḫre*, cf. Brit. Mus., Darius, year 5 (*TSBA.*, viii), l. 4: 'Thou hast given me 3 silver teben of the treasury of Ptah, *n ḫr*, = 2 teben and 9⅔ ½ ⅛ ⅒ ⅓₀ ⅙₀ ⅓₀ ⅙₀ kiti, = 2 teben of the treasury of Ptah again'; *n ḫr* taking the place of *n wtḥ* 'refined (?)' in the formula of other documents, cf. p. 228, note 2. may therefore be 'money,' 'refined silver,' 'standard,' or 'tax silver.' ϩⲣⲉ is fem. in demotic as in Coptic.

[15] The group here transliterated as equivalent to  is identical with that for in *ʿ-sḏ*, 8/3, but ʿ is fem. We can read the passage as *p ḫre n ḫr ʿ*: cf. *wʿ ṯgs n ḫr ḥ*, 3/3; *p sḫ n ḫr wḫ·w*, 8/17.

[16] As in later texts, so here,  *p-hw* is ⲡⲟⲟⲩ 'to-day,' while ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ 'the day' is spelt  *p hw*, 9/8.

[17] The group might be read *srf*, but it is elsewhere equivalent to *sr* in I Kham. Cf. 11/10, 19/12, 18, 20 for the meaning 'bind' or 'be bound, fastened,' but it might mean 'be strong' or 'scattered.' Perhaps *srʿ* or *srʾ* would be more accurate, cf. ϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ.

[18] *ḫr-n*. The only instance in the papyrus of the simple preposition with the suffix, (elsewhere ϱⲓⲱⲧ-). I have no parallel for the construction *ỉn ḫr-n ʾn e*, ⲛ̄ . . . ⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲉ- nor for the apparent meaning 'it is not our fault if.'

[19]  = Sah. ⲛⲃⲗⲗⲁⲩ. It cannot be 1st pl. ⲛⲁⲗⲗⲁⲛ. The spelling of *bl* with suffixes is curious and variable: perhaps some preposition intervened between *bl* and the suffix.

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p (8) gy [n] ṭy ʾq p ṭm e·ʾr-w z n-f Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ p mr šn mn rm ee-f[1] a (9) rḫ z [n-k p] gy n ṭy ʾq py ṭm e·ʾr-w m-s P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Ns-sm-tw py sḫ ḥ-[ntr] (10) mte-f p nt [e-f a?][2] z n-k mṭ mʿ.

ṭe ʿḤ-ms ʿš-w a ḥr(-y)[3] z-f n-y e·[z] my[4] n-y p gy n ṭy (11) ʾq [py ṭ]m e·ʾr-w z-y s[5] n-f ʾn wn(?) a ṭy qr(?) . . . ḥ . . . .[6] p nt e-k ʾr-f ʾnk ḥʿ(-y) (12) n . . . . . .[7] n rm bn e(-y) rḫ z n-k n mṭ nt ḫp n p[y] ṭm [z n-y] ʿḤ-ms mt-k p nt (13) ṭy [ʾq? p]y ṭm n ḥw a n rm nt ṭy ʾq n-ʾm-f [ṭe-f] rm[8] msʾ(-y)[9] ṭe-f ḥw- (14) [y-w (y)[10] a pe-f rm]s[11] e-f z e(-y) a ṭ·t-k n p . . . . e·ʾr(-y)[12] tm mḫ[y·t]-k z mt-k rm e[-f] ʿ- (15) [y n ms[13] w]nee-k [a?] mt.

pḥ ʿḤ-ms a Ḥ-nn-stn[14] z-f n-y šʿ p-hw[15] ʾn e-k a z n-y (16) [p gy] n ṭy ʾq Te-w-zy

[1] , used as the relative form also in 4/16, but not in *rm e-f ʿy*, 1/14, 2/20. *ee-* for *e-* occurs also after , 14/7.

[2] This restoration gives a better sense than *nt* [*rḫ*] *z* but the space for it is rather small.

[3] . . apparently for εροι as in later demotic, *Stories H. P.*, p. 82; so also *a ḫr-n*, 2/13, *a ḫr-tn*, 20/13, but *ar-k*, &c.

[4] . For the restoration see 10/3. The enclitic *my* following the imperative appears also in *m·š my n-k*, 4/2, *ỉ my p rỉy*, Dem. proph., verso 2/1. In *Destruction des Hommes*, Sety I, ll. 3, 16, 21, 56, 62, we have , &c. Pankhy, l. 86, is similar. GARDINER adds JUNKER, *Gram. Dendera*, § 245, SPIEGELBERG, *Corresp.* and unpubl. journal of Theban necropolis (Ram. ix. y. 17) recto 3/2–3 (*ỉ·sd my p sḫr*).

[5] *z-y s*. The *y* of the 1st sing. suffix is always written in this expression. For isolated instances see 1/18, note.

[6] is fairly certain, cf. the group in 25/4. , , are possible for the next group.

[7] The first remaining ligature seems to be , not : the second is hardly .

[8] Plural? or there is perhaps room for [*ṭe-f wʿ*] *rm*.

[9] The unusual spelling with det. ϱ is seen also in l. 18.

[10] For *ḫwy* see 2/8. The 1st sing. obj. pron. after *sṭm-f* (Eg.) is sometimes not marked in writing, cf. *wṭ-f* (*y*), 2/5: in 12/16, 21/6 as in later demotic it is written *ỉ* (*-y*): cf. also p. 246, note 17.

[11] [*rm*]*s* or [*ṭg*]*s*. A *rms* was given to Peteêsi (I) for his official work, 6/4, and was used for the transport of soldiers, &c., *Stories H. P.*, p. 100, note: though, according to SPIEGELBERG, *Corresp.*, p. 230, and *Pap. Mag. LL.*, 6/31, note, it was built of papyrus. *Ṭgs* is frequently used in this text: it was fairly commodious, and one was owned by Peteêsi (I), 11/13.

[12] Cf. 21/1.

[13] Cf. 2/20 for the restoration.

[14] . The value of the in this has been a puzzle. Since supplies the initial ϱ of ϱнис, the remainder, which is all that appears in the older form, does not require an ϱ, and should read or , a reading which is indicated by late values and by the name ϭϭϭ , &c. The earliest examples are at Siut, where we have , Tomb V, l. 24, Tomb IV, l. 11, and , Tomb IV, l. 16. The last is evidently a picturesque rearrangement of the signs which was generally adopted in later writing, as and even , BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 601, and *Ä. Z.*, 24/75 (where a reading *Ḫn-n-stn* was founded on a single variant in the Book of the Dead, which must now be regarded as faulty).

The key to the puzzle is given by a word , 'child,' recently discovered in the Pyramid Texts (cap. 76, W. 540 = T. 296: cap. 89, W. 557; cf. *L. D.*, ii. 118 B (M. K.) and at Edfu, PIEHL, *Inscr.*, ii. 4 G). I am indebted to Mr. A. H. GARDINER for pointing out to me this instructive word, and to Prof. ERMAN and Herr ROEDER of the Commission for the Egyptian Dictionary at Berlin for the references to its occurrence. Mr. GARDINER has also kindly noted for me another early instance of the name of Hnês , LACAU, *Sarcophages*, p. 230, and the confirmatory spelling in a papyrus of the XXIst Dynasty, *Leid. Pap.*, i. 369, l. 3.

Thus the name was originally *Nnỉ-stn* 'King's child,' in late papyri *Ḥ·t-nn-stn* 'Residence of the King's child' ϱнис (cf. ϣнс from *šš-n-šm*). The Ar. اهناس Ehnâs (and Ehnâsyeh) shows the same change from н to â that is observable in another interesting name which I may be pardoned for citing here as an illustration. The modern village near the site of the Labyrinth is Hawâra,

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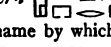
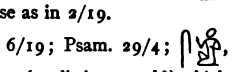
e·ʾr-w z-y s n-f ʾy pḥ(-y)[1] a p . . . . mte(-y) gm p ḫp e (17) . . . . . t(?)[2] Te-w-zy e(-y) a ʿn n-f smy n mṭ nb nt ḫp n [Te]-w-zy z n-y ʿḤ-ms e-w (18) [a ṭy z-k s(?)] n-y (?) [e(?)] bn mte-k[3] rm ʾn ṭe-f rm s[4] 2 m-s-y[5] z my [ʿḥ ?]-f n p šwe(?)[6] šʿ-te- (19) [w(?)[7] z n-y mṭ] nb nt ḫp n Te-w-zy šp(-y) yʿb[8] ʿo·t n p šwe(?) z-y s n-f my ṭe-w wʿ·t ḫt (2/1) n zmʿ sḫ(-y)[9] n-k mṭ nb e·ʾr ḫp ṭe n-y ʿḤ-ms wʿ·t ḫt n zmʿ sḫ(-y) mṭ nb e·ʾr-w a ṭy ʾq (2) Te-w-zy ʿš ʿḤ-ms p zmʿ ʿš-f skp z-f n-y ʿnḫ P-Rʿ gm(-y) p ḫp e mte-k p-e·wne mʿ·w(?)[10] (3) z(-y) ʾy z(-y) n-k n mṭ nt ḫp n[-ʾm(-y?)] a[11] ny wʿb·w a ḫṭb(-y)[12] ḫtm(?)-f p zmʿ ṭe-f ḫtm(?) (-y) s erme-f (4) ṭe-f s n wʿ rm ṭe-f ʾn-w s a p ʿy[13] nt e p . . . . n-ʾm-f ʿḥ ʿḤ-ms n Ḥ-nn-stn e-f mnq (5) n te-f mṭ wṭ-f (y) ṭe(-y) ʾy·k[14] a Te-w-zy ss sbq·w n e·ʾr[15] ḫp P-kp[16] sy Pe-f-tw-ʿ·w-ʾMn ʾw (6) a Te-w-zy ʾn-f p zmʿ a·ṭe ʿḤ-ms sḫ(-y) n n wʿb·w mḥ-w n-ʾm(-y) erme pe šr erme 4 sn·w (7) mte(-y) ṭe-w n n hyn·w gršt(?)[17] zṭḥ-w n n wʿ·t s n ḥ-ntr lky[18]

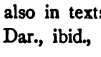
ⲁⲩⲁⲣⲓ, and Αυηρις occurs in the lists of village names in Mah.-Sm. There can be little doubt that Αὔηρις is Hawêri, *Ḥ·t-wr·t*  , 'The Great Residence,' and that this is a name by which the enormous building of the Labyrinth (see Petrie, *Hawara*, p. 5, for its real extent) was known, at least in the Greek period, though it seems at present not to be traceable in early texts. On a late pre-Ptolemaic coffin we find Sobk lord of Hawêri(?) (Petrie, *Hawara*, Pl. III) and Sobk .

[1] Regularly means 'until now,' 3/18, &c., and here the meaning conveyed is 'Dost thou still hesitate to tell?'

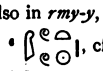
[2] The *sḏm-f* after is optative, but in 2/3 narrative.

[3] It is difficult to make any restoration of this lacuna. The first sign after the gap seems to be , but a preposition 'to,' 'in,' 'from' would be expected before the name of Teuzoi.

[4] *bn mte-k* can hardly be for ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲣ.  *rm* apparently in superlative sense as in 2/19.

[5] *s* in abn. hier. , Tahr. 6/19; Psam. 29/4; , Psam. 45/F. 1; with a third variety (or distinct word?) which I cannot transcribe, Tahr. 6/B. 3, C. 3, 5/4. The present form, which is found also in texts of Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 12/3, and others of Dar., ibid., 23/5, &c., appears to be  .

[6] Note the full spelling of the *-y* in ⲛⲥⲱ·ⲓ in this place; also in *rmy-y*, 4/11, and in *s-y s*, 1/11 et pass.

[7]  , cf. 2/9.

[8] It seems unlikely that should be carried over to the next line: is more probable.

[9] *yʿb*, cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 167, note. From the instances in this text, 9/12, &c., the meaning seems to be 'fatigue' rather than 'illness.' of the fem., marked after the determinative, is confined to adjectives in this text.

[9] Final *sḏm-f*.

[10] . The simple form is , 1/10. In 18/8 we have *sḏm-f* in the causative ⲧ-ⲥⲁⲁⲉⲓⲟⲩ, here probably the masc. qual. which is often marked by the plural sign *w* in later texts = ⲟⲩ (?), Eg. .

[11] *a* () *N. a sḏm* is the regular form of the future in this text with nominal subject, the suffix form being *e-f a sḏm*.

[12] NB. not yet ϩⲟⲧⲃⲧ.

[13] , cf. Erman, *Ä. Z.*, 31/96. ʀɪ often in the vague meaning 'place' in these older demotic texts: see note on *ḥr* below, p. 228, note 6.

[14] as narrative past (cf. p. 218, note 6) corresponds to *e-f ʾw* (passim); *te-n ʾy·t*, 19/20; *st ʾw*, 2/13. Cf. the 3rd fem. in the name *T-b-ʾy·t*, VIII/1; later demotic probably uses *ʾw* throughout, e.g. *te-y ʾw*, I Kham. 4/13, 19.

[15] The form *N. p e·ʾr sḏm* is emphatic and seems generally used to mark a more or less strong contrast to the preceding sentence, which can be often rendered by 'however' or 'but'; or 'when lo!' cf. 2/15, 3/5, 16, 18. The emphasis on the subject may be only slight; in the present case the first phrase is temporal and the emphasis seems rather transferred to the subsequent sentence.

[16] . The variants , L., *D.* iii. 277 *b*, , ibid., *d*, *f* show how it is to be read. Cf. Φχωιφις in Mah.-Sm. Perhaps 'bird-catcher,' Spiegelberg, *Rechn.*, 35.

[17] *gršt* or *grše*, cf. the spelling of *šwe*, 3/8, &c. The may be the same as the *ʾm-wn·tw* of l. 10. The determinative probably indicating a staff like the nabbût carried by the modern ghafîr, the of l. 13 (Brugsch, *Wlb.*, 939).

[18] Λο : Λωϫι, cf. ϯⲁⲗⲱⲟ : ϯⲁⲗⲱⲟ, not ⲡⲓⲕⲉ which would be written with *q*.

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P-kp (8) Z-Wbst-e-f-ᶜnḫ sy Yr-Ḥr·r-w e-f [n] mr-šn ṭe-f ṭe-w s n wᶜ ᶜy n ḥmt[1] ṭe-f ḫwy-w ḥmt a t s a·wnee-n (9) n-ᵓm-s ṭe-f šp n-f[2] Yr-Ḥr-r-w sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥp[3] ḫp ᵓbṭ 2 pr ss 13 p ḥb n p šwe ḫp rm nb nt n Te-w-zy (10) e-w sw ḫq sw [n] ᵓm-wn·tw[4] a·wne ḥr r-n[5] ḫq sṭr-w n-w š n-f Z-Wbst-e-f-ᶜnḫ (11) sy Yr-Ḥr-r-w nhs n ᵓm-wn·tw bn p-w gm Z-Wbst-e-f-ᶜnḫ š n-w n ᵓm-wn·tw a·wne ḥr (12) r-n stm Yr-Ḥr[-r-w] sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥp p mr šn e-f ᵓw a ḥ–ntr erme ne-f sn·w erme ne-w (13) ḫwᶜ·w st ᵓw a ḥr-n ḫṭb-w (y)[6] n sḫy eᵓr-w qᶜn e-w z s·t mwt·t[7] fy-w (14) n-w[8] n-ᵓm-n a wᶜ mktr ᵓs e-f ḥr tb[9] n p sb n ḥ-ntr ḫwy-w n ar-f (15) e-w z e-w a wls-f a ḥr-n . . . . . sy P-a·ṭe-ᵓS p-eᵓr ᵓy[10] e-f ᶜš skp z ᵓn ḫṭb (16) rm n mtre py nt e-tn a ᵓr-f ty mṭ nt e-tn ᵓr nᵓm-s e-s a ph a p . . . .[11] e-s a ph a (17) p ḥry[12] n Km wᶜb s 6 ny nt e-tn ḫṭb nᵓm-w e-tn z e-n a w[ls] wᶜ mktr (18) a ḥr-w[13] bn e(-y) rḥ tm hb (?) n p . . . . nᵓm-w[14] e-w sṭm-w e-w a ḫṭb tnw[15] e[-w z(?)] ḫf ḫf[16] n (19) Te-w-zy eṭb·[17]t-s bn e-w[18] rḥ ḫp n ṭm e wn rm nᵓm·f ᵓn-w n a ḥry n p [m]ktr fy-w n (20) a ḫ[19] n ḥ-ntr eᵓr-s ḫp wne mn

[1] The sign for ▭ is scarcely distinguishable from that for 𓎛, but there can be no doubt that the reading is correct, 'bronze,' here meaning locks or bolts, &c.

[2] *šp n X* means 'to succeed a person' in an office or position, e. g. of a son succeeding a father, &c.; cf. 14/16; Dem. Proph., verso 2/21, 3/1; stela of Tefnakhte (*Rec. de Trav.*, xxv.), l. 11; Dakhleh stela, ii. l. 12. In this idiom 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛 lit. 'receive to him' is evidently a pregnant expression for 'take over from and give receipt to him.' When an office was vacated, an inventory was made of the property attached to it, and the successor taking it over wrote a receipt for the property: see this proceeding in a temple of the Middle Kingdom, as published by BORCHARDT, *Ä. Z.*, 37/97. The same idiom with a similar meaning is found in the formula at the beginning of taxation receipts (see Nos. 29–31, 40, 64, above, p. 22) given at the end of the year's tenancy or agreement, 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛 *wš (?) (a) šp n X* 'vacant (?) for (?) succession to *X*': or possibly 'period (ϣⲟⲉⲓⲱ) for succession to *X*.' There is an allied instance in Pap. D'Orb., 13/5, 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛𓈖𓎛𓈖𓎛𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤: see also GARDINER, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 18, 19.

[3] 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛𓈖𓎛𓈖𓎛𓏏𓎛, see later examples quoted by SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxvi. 156.

[4] 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛𓈖𓎛𓈖𓎛𓏤𓏤𓏤𓏤, *ᵓm-wn·tw* = ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧ: cf. p. 238, note 2.

[5] Cf. 11/16. The literal meaning must be 'at our door,' i. e. guarding us as prisoners. There seems to be no such use of ϱⲓⲣⲉⲛ-, ϱⲓⲣⲱ- in Coptic.

[6] The text probably needs correction to *ḫṭb-w* (𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛𓏤𓏤𓏤) *n sḫy*.

[7] Note the spelling 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛𓏏𓎛 of ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ.

[8] The force of the reflexive ethical dative (common also in Late Eg.) is sufficiently obvious in *sṭr-f n-f*, *šᶜ-f n-f* (ⲁϥⲱⲥ ⲛⲁϥ), *ḥms-f n-f*, and even in *ᶜḥ-f n-f*, 14/10, but here it seems out of place: the context forbids the rendering 'They betook themselves from us.' The meaning must be 'they carried us away, for their own safety.'

[9] 𓂋𓏏..𓈖𓎛𓈖𓎛, evidently ϱⲓⲧⲟⲩⲛ-, ϱⲓⲧⲟⲩⲱ- in later texts *ḥr twn*, *ḥr twe*, I Kham. 5/29, already conjectured to be derived from ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ▭𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛, in late Eg. 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛𓏏𓎛, 'sandal,' *Stories H. P.*, p. 132. The change of *b* to *w* is seen also in *šbš* = ⲥⲓⲟⲩ, *Śbk* = Σⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ (above, p. 191), and *šbg* = O. C. ⲥⲟⲩⲕⲏ, *Ä. Z.*, 38/77.

[10] The same construction with a similar adversative meaning in 3/5, marking a fortunate turn of circumstances: cf. 2/5; in 3/16 it marks an unfortunate change.

[11] The remains at the lacuna, though not quite definite, indicate the group for 'the Governor.'

[12] Cf. II Kham. 6/18 where *ḥry* may mean 'world-sovereign,' as here perhaps 'the Great King.'

[13] *a ḥr-w* ⲉϩⲣⲁⲩ, not simply *ar-w* ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ. In l. 15 *a ḥr-n* is ⲉϩⲣⲁⲛ, while in l. 13 it is ⲉⲣⲟⲛ. See p. 220, note 3.

[14] This is the proper construction with *ḥb*: cf. *ḥb-f n S. n szy nb*, 11/16.

[15] The object-suffix 2nd plur. is always so written in this papyrus; cf. p. 208, note 8, p. 236, note 5.

[16] Somewhat obscure; for *ḫf* 'destroy' see 12/17: here it seems to be an interjection 'Woe!' cf. 15/8.

[17] This group, originally 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛𓏏𓎛, (*r dḥ*) *a ṭḥ*, by this time had become thoroughly amalgamated and is used in spelling *seṭḥ*, 21/1, 24/14. It is here transliterated *eṭḥ* not *aṭḥ* because ⲉⲧⲏⲉ not ⲁⲧⲏⲉ is the Achm. form. The suffix form has *-ṭ* invariably at this date, by contrast to the earlier instances in Pap. II (p. 208).

[18] The suffix, though plural, probably refers vaguely to the city of Teuzoi; there is a clear case of this in 19/4.

[19] *ḫ* 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛 must be for 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛 *ḫ*, an interesting sign that the distinction between ϭ and ϱ was weakening. 𓂋𓏏𓈖𓎛 is com-

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rm e-f ʿy ṅ ms nʾm-w bln-y ʾq ḥt(-y) bn-p(-y) rḫ mṭ (3/1) n p t e-s ḫp·t[1] ḫp-s n ḥt·w[2] z bn e P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾr wʿ·t wne e-f ʿnḫ ṭe-w fy-w (y) a (2) pe ʿy ʾr(-y) hw 4 e b rḫ(-y) mṭ n p t e(-y) ḫn-s ʾr(-y) ʾbṭ 3 ḫr ṭʾ n n syn·w e (3) b-p-te t sḥy ·ʾr nʾm(-y) nfr[3] e·ʾr(-y) ʿl a wʿ tgs n ḫr ḥ n grḥ (4) e(-y) ʾy[4] a Mn-nfr ʾr(-y) ʾbṭ 7[5] e(-y) smy n p . . . . erme ne-f rm ʿy·w e P-kp sy (5) Pe-f-tw-ʿw-ʾMn ḫn n rm nb z m-ʾr ṭy pḥ-f p . . . . Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt sy ʿNḫ-Wn-nfr p e-ʾr swn-n (6) e(-y) z n-f n mṭ e·ʾr ḫp nʾm(-y) e-f ṭy ʿḥ(-y) e·ʾr ḫr n p . . . . ṭe p . . . . ʾr-w sp 4 n (7) hb m-s-w e b ʾr-w ʾy e·ʾr-w ʾy n pe-w sp mḥ 5[6] p hp[7] aʾr-w n-w ṭy[8] šp-w (8) sḫ[9] n šwe[10] 50 a s(?) 1 mte-w qʿ-w[11] š-w a Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt sy ʿNḫ-Wn-nfr z e-n (9) a wḥ-k[12] n ḥtp erme pe-k sn pe-k šr s(?) 3 ṭmṭ(?)[13] ḥtp 5 my ʾn-w zmʿ ʾr-n p (10) sḫne[14] n pe-k ḥtp 5 n p-hw ṭe Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt ʾn-w wʿ·t ḥt n zmʿ ʾr-w p sḫne n pe-f ḥtp (11) 5 š Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt e·ʾr ḫr n p . . . . z ʾy ʾr-f p ʿḥ n P-Rʿ ny wʿb·w te-s ṭe (12) p . . . . ʾr-w n-w hp te-w mṭ ʾq·t ṭy my wṭ st p . . . . ṭe-f ʿš (13) p . . . . z my š-w n-w e·ʾr-s ḫp e(-y) ʿḥ e·ʾr-ḫr n p . . . . n rhy erme (14) Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt z-y s e·ʾr-ḫr n p . . . . t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn Te-w-zy wnee-s (ḫr)[15] pe yt (15) erme k·t tʾ ḥn-ntr n 16 n n ntr·w n Te-w-zy mte-w ṭy n-f ḥtp 16 n rn-w pe (16) yt p e·ʾr š a p t Ḥr[16] erme Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Psmṭk Nfr-ʾb-Rʿ erme p ʿnḫ[17] (17) n ʾMn š n wʿb·w a Ḥr-wz sy Ḥr-ḫb(?)[18] [pa(?)][19] Ḥ-nn-stn.ze t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn Te-w-zy tʾ Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. (18) te wʿ wʿb n ʾMn p e·ʾr ṭ·t-s e pe[-f yt][20] n Ḥ-nn-stn te-s e-s ḫr p šr n pe-f šr šʿ p-hw (19) te-s e š-f a p t Ḥr [er]me Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. my eʾw[21] Pṭḥ-nfr[22] sy Ḥr-wz pe-k

mon with suffixes, 11/8 &c., and occurs once with the name of a person, *ḥ P-a·ṭe-ʾS*, 11/16: with nouns not signifying persons seems to be used for ϭε and for ϱн indistinguishably.

[1] Cf. l. 12 *e te-w mṭ ʾq·t* fem. qual.

[2] Cf. 4/6 *ʾn st n ḥt-k s*, also 25/1.

[3] Cf. ϸnoqpe (?).

[4] Quite distinct from the simple past with qualitative *ṭe-y ʾy·k*, being the circumstantial form with e. The use is curious but not uncommon, cf. l. 6.

[5] A stroke is written over the numeral again in 4/12, but is omitted in 5/1. 8 occurs in 9/20, and is quite distinct from this.

[6] Cf. *pe ʾbṭ* 7 4/11 and Coptic ⲡⲉϥϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ, &c. Stern, § 253.

[7] *ḥp*, lit. 'justice,' 'custom,' regularly used in sense of legal 'punishment.' *p ḥp* = το δικαιον, οι νομοι, Ros. 11, 19.

[8] *p ḥp . . . . ṭy*. Note the abrupt construction in past time without verb or copula.

[9] *sḫ*, the penultimate sign not phonetic, and omitted in 4/12.

[10] *šwe*, not *šwṭ*; see the spelling *šw* in 5/8. The det. here is perhaps , and in II Kham. .

[11] *qʿ-w* does not mean 'dismissed them,' which is expressed by *wṭ*, but 'ceased beating them'; cf. 2/13, 5/8. No doubt they were held during the process of beating and were 'released' from that.

[12] Cf. 4/14: *wḥ* probably means 'add,' and so 'adopt,' 'engage,' 'secure.'

[13] It is difficult to fix the reading of this sign: I suppose it to be , short for .

[14] Cf. *sḫn·w n wḥ mw* Dar. y. 5, Athyr (*TSBA.*, viii).

[15] *ḫr* omitted accidentally through its resemblance to the *p* of *pe* in this papyrus, cf. l. 18. The use of for *ns* (see p. 230, note 1) cannot apply here.

[16] See note on p. 96 and Hess's excellent article on Πχοιρις = *P-Ḫr*, *Ä. Z.*, 30/119, the Greek text of the ostrakon (120/119 B.C.) being best published in Wilcken, *Ostr.* ii, no. 1234. The vocalization implied by Πχοιρις is uncertain, see p. 267, note 7, and it is not clear that it would be the same as in the name of the land.

[17] , 'bouquet?' cf. Brugsch, *Wb.*, p. 200, esp. L. *D.*, III. 240 b, c, and the note on p. 96. The of the Mendes stela (Sethe, *Hierogl. Urk.*, II. 29, 50) can hardly be connected with this. Cf. Pʿankhi, l. 103.

[18] (?) seems to represent , , (?), Lieblein, 2415, and above, p. 209.

[19] [*pa-*]*Ḥ.* is restored on the analogy of 19/8 et seq., though this title is not elsewhere given in the narrative before the reign of Amasis. Perhaps [*n*] 'in Hnês' is the true reading.

[20] The original supports this reading.

[21] , so always in IX with *my* and *ṭy*: also after *ḫr* 6/18.

[22] A common name, v. Lieblein.

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šr sḫ- (20) n n-f a[1] t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn Te-w-zy ṭe-f [e]ʾw Pṯḥ-nfr pe-f šr a Te-w-zy sḫ-w n-f a t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn (4/1) ṯ n wʿb·w t k·t tʾ 16 pš-w st a n sʾ·w pḥ-w tʾ 4·t a wʿ sʾ z n-y p . . . . ny szy[2] nt e-k z nʾm-w (2) n-ʿš-w[3] m·š my n-k a wʿ ʿy my ṭe n-k Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt wʿ·t ḫt n zmʿ sḫ mṭ nb e·ʾr ḫp n (3) ne-k yt·w n ṯ n p ss n ḫp ḥar-w a·wne ty tʾ nʾm-f[4] sḫ p gy n ṯ·t-s e·ʾr-w ḥr pe-k (4) yt erme ny ke·w[5] tʾ·w sḫ n szy e·ʾr ḫp nʾm-k a . . .[6] a p-hw ḫp ṭwe ṯ-(y) wʿ·t ḫt n zmʿ (5) m-ṭʾ·t(-y) ḫp-f e(-y) sḫ n[7] n mṭ a·z n-y p . . . . sḫ st[8] n wʿb·w ʾw a r n[9] p ʿy a·wnee(-y) nʾm-f (6) z P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾn st n ḥt-k z e·ʾr p . . . . ṭy mḥy-w n eṭb·t-k ʿnḫ P-Rʿ bn-p-f ṭy mḥy-w n (7) eṭb·t-k e·ʾr-f ṭy mḥy-w n z ʾr-f sp 1[10] n hb m-s-n e b ʾr-n ʾy z-y s n-w ʾnḫ Pṯḥ st (8) ḫp·t[11] e·ʾr-tn[12] nw a p hp nt e-f a ʾr-f n-tn eṭb·t(-y) ʿn e b rḫ(-y) z ṭe Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt wṭ (9) sṭ p . . . . ḫp rhy Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt ʾw a bl n p ʿy n sḫ ṯ(-y) n-f p zmʿ a·sḫ(-y) z ʿš s ḥr-f[13] (10) ny z(-y) n-y ḥr[14] n wʿb·w wṭ st p . . . . š-w a bl mn mnte-k ḫw n ṯ n-f zmʿ ʾn ṭy (11) š-w m-s-w ʿn p nt e-f a ʾr-f rmy-ỿ[sic] e·ʾr-ḥr n Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt z ʾn e·ʾr(-y) ʾy[15] a ʾr pe ʾbṭ (12) 7 ṭy e(-y) smy n p . . . . erme ne-f rm ʿy·w n mne eṭb py sḫ 2 n šwe a·ṭe-w šp (13) ny wʿb·w z ʾsq-tn e-w hb m-s-tn bn-p-tn ʾy ʿnḫ P-Rʿ e·ʾr(-y) ʾy a smy n p . . . . (14) a tm ṭy ṭe-w sny(-y) n pe ṭme ʿn sp-sn e b rḫ(-y) z sḫ-w n Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt a wḥ-f n ḥtp (15) e b rḫ(-y) z mte-f p e·ʾr ṭy wṭ-w st z n-y Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt mʾr mṭ erme ḥt-k ʿnḫ P-Rʿ bn e-w lky-w (16) e-w snṭ n-k ʿn sp-sn ʾm ṭe(-y) ʾr n-w ʿḤ-ms p ḥn-ntr Ḥr šʿ ʾr(-y) n-w šʿ nm·t[16] ḥʿ(-y) ee-w a snṭ n-w (17) n ḫw a t šʿ n p . . . . e-f ʾw erme(-y) e·ʾr[17] ʿḤ-ms p ḥn-ntr Ḥr ṭe-f ʾr-f n-w šʿ ʾr-f n-w šʿ ḥʿ-f (18) wṭ-w (y) ṭe(-y) ʾy-k a rs pḥ(-y) a Ḥ-nn-stn e·ʾr(-y) gm . . . .

[1] The regular idiom: it seems to mean literally 'write (a title) for him with regard to'; cf. 7/5, *my ṯ-w sḫ a p nk*.

[2] (from), 'event' rather than story, as in l. 4.

[3] ⲛⲁⲱⲟⲩ. The prefix of the nominal verb is also found with *sḥq* 6/12; *zr*, 11/6; *wḥ*, 24/6; *bʾn*, 24/6; *nfr*, 13/18–19. *Zr* occurs without prefix as an ordinary verb in *sṭm-f* with the usual past meaning: so also does *nfr*, 6/1, 8/14, 10/12.

[4] Lit. 'the time of being in their possession, in which (time) this portion was.'

[5] There seems to be no special form of the fem. plur. adj.

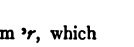
[6] , 'onwards,' of time, is exceedingly common in the legal style; cf. above, p. 203. On the other hand, while is frequent in this papyrus of position, 'upwards,' 'up,' 2/19, &c., the second sign in the temporal expression is very different from and resembles the determinative . is usual in later times outside legal formulae; so here perhaps *a ḥn*.

[7] *sḫ n* (, 'part of'), so also with ʿš 'read,' *Stories H.P.*, p. 91, leading to the Coptic ⲛ- before object.

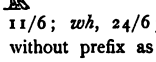
[8] *sḫ sṭ*, imperative followed by abs. pron., cf. ʿš *s* (masc.) in l. 9.

[9] ⲉⲣⲛ-, perhaps simply 'to' of buildings, STERN, § 537, like ⲉⲓⲣⲛ-, ibid., § 554: so also *n r*, 7/19, &c.

[10] Possibly *sp·w*, '(several) times.'

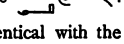
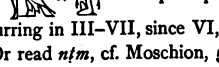
[11]  . *sṭ* must here be fem. sing. (cf. *e-s ḫp·ṭ*, 3/1) as often: see p. 231, note 4.

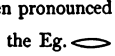
[12] *e·ʾr-ṭn*, doubtful whether emphatic *sṭm-f* from *ʾr*, which would be future here rather than past (cf. the latter, note 15), or for ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ- as *e·ʾr-k* for ⲉⲕ-.

[13]  , cf. 24/4, not .

[14] Cf. *ḫr n ḫl·w . . . sṭ n ḫ-nṯr*, 14/2: an idiom used in emphatic speech and probably giving rise to the later form, *ḫr-f sṭm*, by omission of the absolute pronoun.

[15] *e·ʾr-y ʾy* ⲁⲓⲉⲓ, cf. l. 13, emphatic past *sṭm-f*, the unemphasized form being replaced by *ṭe-y ʾy-k*.

[16] The word for letter here seems to be  : cf. *mšʿ*, 25/2.  is perhaps identical with the word *nmḫ* occurring in III–VII, since VI, B.C.E. (on Pl. 18) omit the *ḫ*. Or read *nṭm*, cf. Moschion, 5.

[17]  . This preposition may have been pronounced ⲁ, like the past auxiliary *e·ʾr*, and so represent the Eg. and be only a graphic variant of dem. *a*, perhaps pronounced with more emphasis, like for ⲛ̄. For this text it is used only with persons after verbs of motion (see the glossary), and it does not occur with suffixes: but see III/2 note p. 210), and p. 256, note 5.

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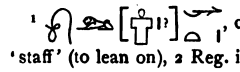
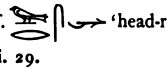
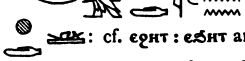
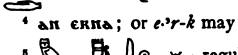
sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS erme ʿḤ-ms-ḥr-n-wr[s](?)[1] (19) e-w n-ʾw[2] a m-ḫṭe[3] z-w n-y ʾn mnte-k P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾn eʾr-k nʿy[4] a Te-w-zy mʾr šp yʿb pe-k (20) ʿy ḥwy-w sṭy ar-f ṭe(-y) ʾy·k a mḫṭe ʿš(-y) skp a p . . . . z ḥwy-w sṭy a pe (5/1) ʿy z-f n-y mṭr[5] nm z-y s n-f mṭr ny wʿb·w a·wnee(-y)[6] smy n-k ar-w n ṯ n ʾbṭ 7 a p-[hw] (2) e-w ṯy š-w n-w e bn-p-w ʾr n-w hp ṭe p . . . . ʿš-w a ʿḤ-ms sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-n-P z m·š n-k a (3) Te-w-zy erme P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾ·ʾn[7] n-y ny wʿb·w e·ʾr ḥwy sṭy a pe-f ʿy ʾr ʿḤ-ms hyn (4) hw·w e-f z ṭe(-y) n-ʾy·k a rs erme-k ṭe-w st(-y) s[8] ʿn ḫp wʿ hw ʿḤ-ms p ḥn-ntr Ḥr ʾw a ḫry (5) ʿš-f a Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ-mr-Rʿ(?)[9] wʿ bll(?)[10] z m·š a Te-w-zy ʾ·ʾn ny wʿb·w nt e P-a·ṭe-ʾS sm- (6) y ar-w Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ-mr-Rʿ(?) ʾw a Te-w-zy ṭe-w n-f ḥṭ qṭ 5 bn-p-f ʾn wʿb a mḫṭe nʾm-w[11] (7) m-s Yr-Ḥr-r-w sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥp p mr šn z-w n Yr-Ḥr-r-w sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥp ʾḫ p ṯy ḥwy-w sṭy a p ʿy n (8) P-a·ṭe-ʾS e·ʾr-k z-f b rḫ(-y) s ṭe-w šp Yr-Ḥr-r-w sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥp sḫ n šw 50 qʿ-w s a bl ʾr(-y) ss (9) ʿš ḫr n sḫn·w e(-y) smy e(-y) šll n mn bn-p-w mnq mṭ mte(-y) e bn-p-w wṭ Yr-Ḥr-r-w (10) sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥp p mr šn z n-y ʿḤ-ms p ḥn-ntr Ḥr ʾn e-k a mwt ḫr ny sḫn ʾm ṭe(-y) ʿrq s n-k Yr-Ḥr-r-w (11) p mr šn z e(-y) a š nḫt-k[12] n mṭ nb mnte-k ṭe ʿḤ-ms p ḥn-ntr Ḥr ʿrq n-y Yr-Ḥr-r-w sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥp z e(-y) a š (12) nḫt-k n mṭ nb mnte-k wṭ-w p ḥn-ntr Ḥr ṭe(-y) ʾy·k a Te-w-zy erme Yr-Ḥr-r-w p mr-šn m-s[13] tm nḫt(-y) ʾnk p-e (13) ·wne ṯ rm ar-w a ṯy ḥtp-w n-y

B. Cols. 5/13–21/9. Narrative, addressed to the Governor, of events from the reign of Psammetichus I to that of Cambyses. Translated, above, pp. 77 et seqq.

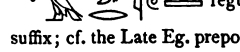
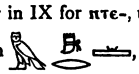
ʾy ṭe ʾMn qy pe-f ʿḥ a ṯy sṭm p . . . . n szy (14) e·ʾr ḫp n pe yt ḫp ḥ-sp 4 n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Psmṭk p ʿo wne p t rs ḥn n P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy ʿNḫ-Šsq[14] (15) p ʿo n mr[15] n ṯ t rs rs n

[1]  , cf.  'head-rest' ογραc 'staff' (to lean on), 2 Reg. iii. 29.

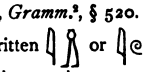
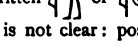
[2] Cf. 5/4 *ṭe-y n-ʾy·k* showing that the qual. forms of *ʾw* (p. 221, note 14) are followed: cf. II Kham. 2/8, note.

[3]  , evidently Eg. *m ḫd*  : cf. eϩнт : eϫнт and probably ϩaтe : ϫaϯ.

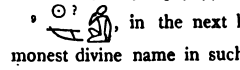
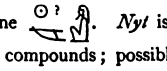
[4] an ennа; or *e·ʾr-k* may be future.

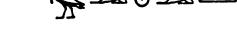
[5]  regularly in IX for nтe-, unless with suffix; cf. the Late Eg. preposition  , 'by reason of,' Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.*, § 128, which was no doubt fused with .

[6] The relative *sṭm-f* of *wn* survives in Coptic enеq-, which is not for *enеq. as Steindorff, *Gramm.*², § 520.

[7] anaı (O.C.), anı- always written  or  in IX.

[8] Or *ṭe-w sṭ-s*. The meaning is not clear: possibly final, 'That they may repay (?) it.'

[9]  , in the next line  . *Nyt* is the commonest divine name in such compounds; possibly the spot is intended for that.

[10]  , perhaps ϩeλλe.

[11] i. e. 'of the priests,' or 'from Teuzoi.'

[12] *ỉ nḫt-k*; probably *a* is to be understood before the inf., though it is not written in such cases; cf. 9/10, &c. *nḫt(-y) k* is impossible and in 11/1 we have the 2nd pers. *e-k ỉ ṯ-t-s n-f*.

[13] *m-s* cannot here mean 'after.' *m-s ḫp* (p. 227, note 1) means 'except that,' 'but,' and similarly here *m-s tm* must mean 'except that not,' 'but not.' The use of nca- in these cases is already like that of , Erman, *Gram.*², § 340.

[14] , cf. the hieratic spelling, 21/15, 22/11. The Serapeum stelae give , and even , *Rec. de Trav.*, xxiii. 83. Assurbanipal wrote Susinqu, and Manetho's Σεσωγχις retains the *n*, but the Heb. שישק omits it. See Steindorff, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, i. 351, for the vocalization. The pronunciation of *ʿNḫ-* may be *Khe-* (p. 206, note 53) or *ʿAnkhe-*, or *ʿAnkh-*.

[15] . The spellings with (p. 72) show that *mr* is not = 'canal.' It may be , 'quay,' 'harbour,' ampω: or it may be the *mr* of *a mr*, *ḫr mr*, 'on board,' which seems to be the

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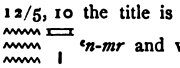
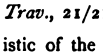
Mn-nfr šᶜ Swn P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy ᶜNḫ-Ššq p ᶜo n mr wne (16) šr n wᶜb n ʾMn-Rᶜ-stn-ntr·w pe[1] e·ʾr-w ʾn·t-f[2] a p pr[3] Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. e b-p-te-f[4] ʾr wᶜb[5] n ʾMn e·ʾr-f (17) wᶜb n Ḥr-šf[6] e·ʾr-f wᶜb n Sbk[7] wne wn mte-f wᶜ sn šr n p sn ḫm n pe-f yt pe P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w rn-f mte-f (18) p-e·wne n mḫ-2 n P-a·ṭe-ʾs p ᶜo n mr mte-f p-e·mšṭe[8] n ṯ n t rs[9] rs šᶜ Swn ḫp (19) ḥ-sp 4 n Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. Psmṭk š P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy ᶜNḫ-Ššq p ᶜo n mr m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. z-f pe nb (20) ᶜo ʾy ʾr-f p ᶜḥ n P-Rᶜ ṭe(-y) ᶜy·k n ms my ʾr-w n-y ty mṭ nfr·t m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. wn mte(-y) wᶜ sn P-a·ṭe-ʾS [sy] (6/1) Yr·t-w-r-w rn-f mte-f p nt ʾr n p t rs n wpy[10] mte-f ṭy ḫp pe-f ḥṭ pe-f bṭ[11] e·ʾr-s ḫp[12] e nfr[13] p t rs m-šs[14] (2) ʾr pe-f ḥṭ pe-f bṭ 1 a 1½ my ʾn-w s m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. my z-w n-f mṭ nfr·t m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. my z-w n-f p (3) t rs ḥn n-k e-f ḥn n-y ᶜn e-f rḫ tqn(?)[15] n rn-s ʾn-w P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. z n-f Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. (4) z n-y p ᶜo n mr pe-k ʾr ḫpry[16] n rm z Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. my ṭe-w n-f wᶜ rms my ṭe-w n-f ḥte(?)[17] (5) z n-f Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ṭe-k mšṭe[18] a p t rs e·ʾr(-y) a ṭy[19] ʾp-w s erme-k z P-a·ṭe-ʾS pe nb ᶜo e·ʾr-f[20] ḥn (6) n P-a·ṭe-ʾS p

origin of ⲉⲗⲗⲏⲣ, ⲣⲓⲗⲗⲏⲣ, *Stories H. P.*, p. 98, note. In the latter case ⲗⲏⲣ seems literally to mean 'shipping.' In 12/5, 10 the title is written unetymologically  *ᶜn-mr* and with little doubt it was pronounced *ⲁⲛⲛⲏⲣⲱ or *ⲁⲛⲗⲏⲣ; cf. ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ, SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, 21/21. Titles formed with  are characteristic of the end of the New Kingdom and of the Deltaic dynasties, where we have *ᶜo n wᶜb*, 'chief of the priests,' and many others: cf. SPIEGELBERG, ibid.

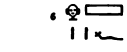
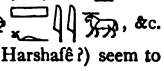
[1] ⲛⲉ . . . . ⲛⲉ; in l. 17 ⲛⲉ is omitted before the ⲛⲉ owing to the previous ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ-.

[2] Periphrasis for emphatic *sḏm-f* (*sḏ̈m-f*) formed with auxiliary *ʾr*, the independent form being obsolete; cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 88.

[3] Var. *ḥr n Pr-ᶜo*, see the glossary, so probably pronounced *ⲡⲓⲙ(ⲛ?)ⲉⲣⲟ; cf. STEINDORFF, *Ä. Z.*, 27/107-8.

[4] ⲉⲗⲗⲁⲧⲋ-.

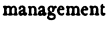
[5] *ʾr wᶜb*, 'qualify (?) as priest,' but ⲣⲟⲩⲏⲏ is 'minister as priest.'

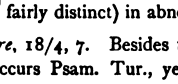
[6]  : in early hieroglyphic , 'He that is over his lake.' Later spellings  , &c. (and Ⲁⲣⲥⲁⲫⲏⲥ, *De Is. et Osir.*, cap. 37=Harshafê?) seem to preserve a trace of the ancient vocalization of the suffix derived from *fy*; cf. SETHE, *Verbum*, ii. p. 423.

[7] For the pronunciation see above, p. 191.

[8] Read *p-e·(wne?) mšṭe*.

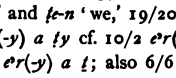
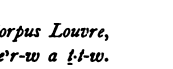
[9] ⲉⲣⲥⲱ ⲉⲡⲁⲩⲗⲓⲍ, but here 'watch-tower (?).'

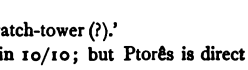
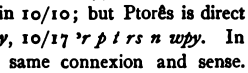
[10] *ʾr n p t rs n wpy*, so also in 10/10; but Ptorês is direct object in 10/2 *ʾr-f* (ⲁⲁⲥⲩ) *n wpy*, 10/17 *ʾr p t rs n wpy*. In 10/14 *ʾr wpy* occurs in the same connexion and sense. In Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 15/5, a man arranging for the cultivation of his land says to the contracting farmer: *mte-k e·ʾr ʾr te ʾḥ n wpy*, 'thou shalt do my (ploughing-)cow as business,' i.e. undertake the management of it.  is here ⲉⲓⲟⲡⲉ.

[11] The reading  is given by clearer groups (with initial fairly distinct) in abnormal hieratic, e.g. PSAM., *Corpus Louvre*, 18/4, 7. Besides the instances noted p. 78, note 11, it occurs Psam. Tur., year 33-42, Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 16/4, Dar., *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, 4/3. In Egyptian *bd·t* is fem., in dem. probably masc. as in Coptic, cf. *Corpus Louvre*, 18/7. Of the equivalents in the scalae الحمص (old MS. note on p. 194 of a copy of KIRCHER'S *Ling. Aeg. Rest.* in my possession), الدرا (*sic*) الحمّص (LORET, in *Ann. du Serv.*, i. 62) the chick-pea *ḫummuṣ* is absurd on every ground, and *durâ* cannot be equated with ὄλυρα. These only show that the Copts had forgotten the obsolete cereal.

[12] Precisely ⲁⲥⲱⲙⲛⲉ=*ḫp-f* in the Khamois stories.

[13] Past *sḏm-f*, even more clearly in 8/14, cf. p. 224, note 3.

[14] Cf.  , Pap. Eskhons 86, also  , ibid. 75; and *Stories H. P.*, p. 85.

[15]  or  , cf. ⲧⲱⲕⲁⲗ, extrahere. *rn-s* is hardly doubtful.

[16] Cf. 10/4 and *ḫpr n ᶜy* 8/13, Copt. ⲱⲡⲉⲉⲣⲉ.

[17] *ḫte* (?) 'yoke' or 'pair'; cf. Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 14/3, 15/4.

[18] 1st pres. ⲏⲗⲗⲟⲩⲱⲧ, cf. *ṭe-k rḫ* 8/1, also the spelling of *ṭe-y* 'I,' and *ṭe-n* 'we,' 19/20.

[19] *eʾr(-y) a ṭy* cf. 10/2 *eʾr(-y) a rḫ*, Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 14/14, *eʾr(-y) a ṯ*; also 6/6 *eʾr-w a s*, 24/5 *eʾr-w a ṯ-t-w*. This seems simply one way of writing (Achm.) ⲁⲓⲁϯ, ⲁⲩⲁⲁⲟⲩ, &c., though in 9/11 *e(-y) a ṭy ḫ-f* occurs. The form is found only in 1st sing. and 3rd pl., in which the suffixes begin with a semivowel (in Can., l. 70, with personal subject). Cf. *eʾr* for *a* p. 224, note 17. To explain it as a development of the future *e·ʾr-f sḏm* seems a worse alternative. Cf. *D'Orb.*, 3/1, *pȝ wn i·ir pe sn* *sin n-y*.

[20] *e·ʾr-f ḫn* apparently (emphatic) preterite ⲁⲭⲭⲱⲛ with the inf. in the passive sense: unless it can be 2nd pres. (Achm. ⲁⲭ-) with qual.

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ʿo n mr z n-f Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. e-f ḥn n-f ʿn erme-k m-s ḫp[1] e·ʾr-w a z te-f mṭ erme-k[2] ṭe-w n-f nb šs-stn (7) m-bḥ Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w ʾw a rs e-f mšṭe n ṯ n t rs rs šʿ Swn ḥms n-f (8) P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy ʿNḫ-Šsq p ʿo n mr n Ḥ-nn-stn e-w ʿn n-f smy n mṭ nb nt ḫp n p t (9) rs pḥ P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w a Te-w-zy š-f a ḥ-ntr mšṭe-f ʿy nb nt n ḥ-ntr n (10) Te-w-zy e·ʾr-f gm[3] ḥ-ntr n Te-w-zy e-f[4] n gy n ʿy ʿo m-šs m-s ḫp e-f sbq (11) n rm bn-p-f gm rm n ḥ-ntr m-s wʿ wʿb e-f ʿy n ms erme wʿ wn ṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy (12) sy (*sic*) Yr·t-w-r-w ʾn-w p wʿb z-f n-f tes e bn n-sbq-k n ms ʾn e·zy-s my n-y p gy n ḫf (13) e·ʾr py ṭme z n-f p wʿb st ḫp[5] wne b ʾr rm ʾr wʿb ṭy m-s n wʿb·w n ʾMn-Rʿ-stn-ntr·w (14) ne-tn yt·w ʿy·w n-e·wne ʾr wʿb ṭy mte-w s·ḥṭ[6] py rpy n nt nb ḥtp-ntr e-f ʿš p-e· (15) wne šp[7] a ʾMn Te-w-zy py ʿy t-e·wnee-w zt-s[8] z t s ḥ·t (?)[9] n ʾMn-Rʿ-stn-ntr·w te (16) ḫp py hʾ bʾn[10] ṭe-w ṭe n rpy-ʿy·w n Km škr[11] bke-w[12] py ṭme (17) n šgr e-f ʿš bn-p-w rḥ mḥ p šgr a·bke-w st n-ʾm-f š-w n-w te-s e wy-w[13] (18) a n rpy·w ʿy·w n Km ḥr e·ʾw-w a-ḥr-n z ʾ·ʾw[14] škr šʿ p-hw ḫṭ- (19) y P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w a Ḥ-nn-stn ʿḥ-f e·ʾr ḥr n P-a·ṭe-ʾS p ʿo-n-mr z-f n-f gy nb a·gm-f e-w[15] (20) ḫp n Te-w-zy z-f n-f n szy a·z n-f p wʿb[16] ʿo a·gm-f n Te-w-zy z-f n-f z n-y py wʿb wne b ʾr (21) rm ʾr wʿb ṭy m-s n wʿb·w n ʾMn-Rʿ-stn-ntr·w z n-f P-a·ṭe-ʾS p ʿo-n-mr ʿnḫ ʾMn-Rʿ-stn-ntr·w st ḫp ṭr-w (7/1) mṭ nb nt e-k z n-ʾm-w wne ḫr stm(-y) st n r n ne-n rm ʿy·w ṭe-f ʾn-w n sḫ·w n tš n rṭ·w (2) ṭe-f ʾn-w n rm nt e-f rḥ šn·t-w šn-w st e·ʾr-ḥr n p ʿo-n-mr ṭr-w z Te-w-zy ʾn wne ḫr ṭe-w škr (3) n-ʾm-f e b-p-te py hʾ bʾn ḫp mte-w[17] ṭr-w n z wne b ʾr-w ṭy nt nb n p t nʾm-f wʿ n n ʿy·w (4) ʿy·w n py tš pe ṭe p ʿo-n-mr šp-w sḫy ʿo·t eṭb·t-s z wne b ʾr-tn zt-s n-y z ḫr (5) ṭe (?)-n ṭe-f[18] z p ʿo-n-mr n P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w m·š my ṯ-w sḫ a[19] p nk a·ṭe-w n Te-w-zy n ṯ n wy a n (6) rpy·w ʿy·w n p t rs a·ʾr-w my ṭe-w s n n wʿb·w n ʾMn Te-w-zy P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w ʾw a Te-w-zy (7) ṭe-f ʾn-w n rm nt

[1] *m-s ḫp* as in l. 10, 16/4, Story of Amasis, l. 11, in 13/12 without following *e*. Cf. *p bl ḫp* with the same meaning in Dem. Proph., 3/2. Also *m-s ỉm* p. 225, note 13.

[2] Note the idiom; in 10/11 *ʾr pe-f ʿp erme-f*.

[3] *e ʾr-f gm*; emphatic form common with this verb. Cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 88, note.

[4] *ḥ-ntr* is presumably fem. in dem. as in Eg. (cf. ϱεπεετε). Probably *ʿy* was in the mind of the scribe when he wrote *-f*. Compare l. 15, where causes the substitution of fem. pron. for masc. .

[5] *st*, fem. sing., with *ḫp*, infin., cf. p. 224, note 11, or plural below, l. 21.

[6] = επιφανη ποιειν in *Ros.*

[7] The idiom *šp a* occurs outside this papyrus in Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 20/3, Dar., *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, 5/4.

[8] ϫοτϲ; cf. *Pap. D'Orb.*, iv. 1. *m-ỉr* *n-y ʿn*.

[9] apparently for ϱοϒι†.

[10] ϱεϩωωπ, but perhaps not yet restricted to the meaning 'famine.'

[11] : φορολογια in *Ros.* *g* is absolutely interchangeable with alphabetic *k* in demotic: e.g. Bibl. Nat. 218 writes wherever Berl. 3119 has , Ptolemaic.

[12] (*sic*). The verb in the transitive sense 'oppress?' is not known elsewhere.

[13] Lit. 'they abstained from,' 'withdrew from,' the technical word for 'give discharge to.'

[14] , the origin of the Coptic imperative ⲁⲩⲓ-.

[15] Nouns with *nb* are always referred to as plural in dem., which therein differs from both Eg. and Coptic.

[16] The group is here incorrectly written with the determinative of divinity , which renders it indistinguishable from that for *Ḥp* 'the Nile.'

[17] *mte* followed by *n* seems to mean 'agree in,' 'agree to,' rather than 'bear witness'; see the Glossary. Compare the meaning 'be suitable,' Boh. ⲁⲁϯ convenire and the legal formula, p. 256, note 2; see also Spiegelberg in *Pap. Th. Reinach*, p. 207.

[18] The first word is written over an erasure and is not well formed. The phrase also seems awkward: one would expect *ṭe-n ṭe-w s*; but *stm-f* with passive meaning is not uncommon after causative *ỉy*, cf. 10/20 and *Stories H.P.*, p. 87: the present instance shows that the dependent verb is in *stm-f*, not infin., as was suggested there.

[19] Note the idiom, cf. p. 224, note 1.

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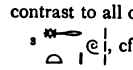
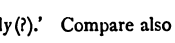
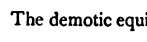
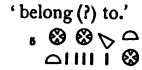
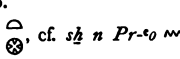
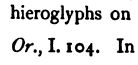
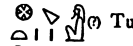
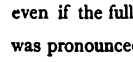
ʾr wpy[1] ṭe-f n-w ḥṭ 200 n wṯḥ[2] nb 20 ṭe-f ʾr-w st n ʾpt-w n ḥṭ nb n ʾMn ṭe-f ʾr-w (8) t gʾ ń ʾMn ḥry-s-wry ṭe-f ʾn-w n wʿb-w n wn-w n ḥ-w[3] rm nt pḥ[4] a ḥ-ntr a Te-w-zy (9) wne wn rm n-ʾm-w e pḥ-f šʿ Ne[5] ṭe-f ʾn-w st ṭr-w ṭe-f ṭe-w p ḥtp-ntr a gm-f e-f šp a ʾMn (10) ṭe-f wḥ-w st 1000 yḥ a p ḥtp-ntr n ʾMn ṭe-f wḥ-w ʿb mnḫ m-bḥ ʾMn m-bḥ Wsr n Yr-wz (?) ʾr-f s·ḥṭ (11) Te-w-zy a ḥ n wʿ n n rpy·w ʿy.w n p t rs ʾr-f ne-f ḫrṭ·w n wʿb n ʾMn Te-w-zy ṭe-f qṭ-w (12) wʿ pr[6] e-f- ʾr mḥ ntr[7] 40 ḥr ḥ mḥ ntr 40 e wn wʿ ḥ nḥ[8] n pe-f qṭy n ʾnḫ[9] ṭe-f

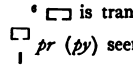
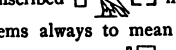
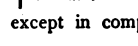
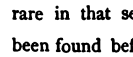
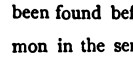
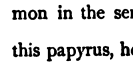
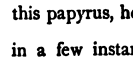
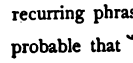
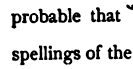
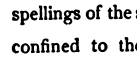
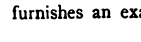
[1] Here as in pεqϣειοπε τεχνίτης.

[2] . The is of a strange but not uncommon form, due to exaggerating the spot which is placed below it in late hieratic. The reading is assured by Tur. Dar. 5/4, where the spelling is perfectly clear in contrast to all other instances.

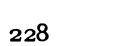
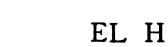
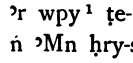
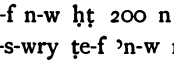
[3]  , cf. 8/13. In KIRCHER, p. 287, ϭa (i.e. ϭε?) = ϫⲙⲛ, 'family (?).' Compare also  , 'others.' The demotic equivalent of  , SPIEGELBERG, *Ä. Z.*, 37/39, must be read *ḫ rm*.

[4] Cf. 8/13 and *pḥ a Te-w-zy* 13/3; perhaps qual. 'belong (?) to.'

[5]  , cf. *sḫ n Pr-ʿo*  hieroglyphs on a coffin from Antaeopolis, *Bull. de l'Ins Or.*, I. 104. In abnormal hier. the spelling is  , once  Tur. Psam. 30/D. 5: Heb. נֹ, Ass. Ni', Old Coptic ne (?), ERMAN, *Ä. Z.*, 21/103, cf. Ψουσεννης = *P-sḏ-ḫʿ-n-Ne*. SCHÄFER, *Ä. Z.*, 41/140, now argues for the older reading *Nw·t*, especially on the strength o ⊗ representing Nαυ- in Ναυκρατις. The plural form in demotic seems to support his reading: yet it seems probable that even if the full value of  was *nw·t*, the name of Thebes was pronounced *Ne* at this time.

[6]  is transcribed  in Sign Pap. Tanis 16/1.  *pr* (*py*) seems always to mean 'house' at this period, except in composition.  *ʿy*, on the other hand, is rare in that sense in early demotic.  has not yet been found before the papyri of Darius, in which it is common in the sense of 'locality,' &c., while  is 'house.' In this papyrus, however,  seems to mean 'house' clearly in a few instances: in 19/10 it takes the place of  in a recurring phrase, and in 8/7 this house is called  . It is probable that  and  are only the new and the old spellings of the same word ʜɪ, the spelling , however, being, confined to the more original meaning: if this is so, it furnishes an example of the weakening of the *ỿ*, cf. above, p. 200, note 1. But to judge by the meaning of in early demotic it may possibly be derived from as in &c., and only gradually became assimilated to , *pr* having probably lost the initial *p* as STEINDORFF has pointed out *Ä. Z.*, 27/108.

[7] also in the houses of XXIV, XXV of the 1st century, A.D. Add to note 9 on p. 81 that the 7-span cubit or king's cubit (*PSBA.*, xiv. 403–6) is the *βασιλικος πηχυς*, HULTSCH, *Metr. Script.*, i. p. 180, the Νιλομετρικος of *Oxyrh.*, iv, no. 669, and of a Vatican table quoted by HULTSCH (from TANNERY) *Archiv f. Pap.*, iii. 440, note 2. The designation 'divine' or 'of God' may have special reference to Thoth, the finding of whose cubit is claimed by the author of the Geog. Pap. Tanis. In the Oxyrhynchus papyrus (end of 3rd cent., A.D.) the *πηχυς δημοσιος και αρχιτεκτονικος* was of 6 spans, but this has no force for the Saite period. [See SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/189, esp. 'cubit of god' in Alexander's building at Luxor.]

[8] *ḫ-n-nḫ* 'stick of cord,' cf. *PSBA.*, xiv. 407. The *ḫ·t-n-nwḫ*, or simply *ḫ·t* 'stick' was from ancient times the measure of 100 cubits which formed the side of the *αρουρα*, and is the same as the standard *σχοινιον* of the papyri (KENYON, ii. p. 130, *Amh. Gr.*, ii. p. 82, SMYLY in MAH.-SM., pp. 346–7). Here, however, it is intended in some way to express an area.  appears instead of  *st·t αρουρα*—though perhaps a mere orthographical blunder—in a tomb at Anibe (*PSBA.*, ibid. 417). Thus we may suppose that the house stood in the midst of an enclosure measuring an *αρουρα*, or was perhaps a rope-measure distant on every side from the enclosing walls; but no precise metrological meaning is intended by the word, for then not *wʿ ḫ-nḫ* but *ḫ-nḫ* 1 would have been written. The Boh. ⲱⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ (*Sophon.*, ii. 5, 7) is still further removed from the original meaning, being the equivalent of *σχοινισμα* 'a measured allotment'? or simply 'region'? Similarly the old  , 'thousand (cubits) of land,' survived in the New Kingdom as  , apparently meaning 'farm' (ibid., p. 415, SPIEGELBERG, *Rechn.*, 34).

[9] ⲟⲛϩ : ⲁⲛϩ. *αυλη* in bilinguals, e.g. XLIV, XLV below.

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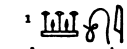
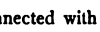
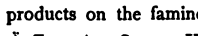
(13) qṭ-w te·f s n ḥ-ntr š-f a p t rs e-f mšṭe pḥ-f a Yb ṭe-f (14) ḥt-w wᶜ·t wṯy n ʾny n Yb erme n šwe[1] n twt 2 n tmgy[2] ṭe-f ʾn-w (15) st a Te-w-zy e-f ʾw a mḥṭe pḥ-f a Te-w-zy ṭe-f ʾn-w n gy·w[3] n ṯ-(16) bsn n sḫ·w pr-ᶜnḫ n sḫ·w qṯy[4] ṭe-f ʾr-w n mṯ·w nfr·w aʾr-f n Te-w-zy ḥr (17) t wṯy[5] ṭe-f ʾr-w pe-f twt 2 n ṭmgy e-w hbq[6] a pṯ-w e wᶜ twt (18) n ʾMn n qn n p wᶜ e wᶜ twt n Wsr n qn n p ke twt ṭe-f qᶜ-w wᶜ (19) n r n t qnḥ n ʾMn ṭe-f qᶜ-w p ke n r n t qnḥ n Wsr ḫṯy P-aṭeʾS sy (20) Yr·t-w-r-w a Ḥ-nn-stn ḫ-f eʾr-ḥr n p ᶜo-n-mr ᶜn-f smy n mṯ nb aʾr-f n Te-w-zy z n-f (8/1) P-aṭe-ʾS p ᶜo-n-mr ḥs t-k[7] Ḥr-šf Sm-tw[8] a ʾMn a ʾr n-k te-w šb[9] n mṯ nfr·t ṭe-k rḫ[10] p ḥp e t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn Te-w-zy (2) ḥnᶜ pʾ-ntr·w-f ʾnk s[11] n-ṯ ḥp-f[12] eʾr-k mr·t-f[13] n ᶜy e(-y) a sḫ n-k a t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn Te-w-zy ḥnᶜ pʾ-ntr·w-f ṭe p ᶜo-n (3) mr ʾn-w wᶜ sḫ n ᶜ-sb sḫ-f n-f a t tʾ ḥn-ntr ʾMn n Te-w-zy[14] ḥnᶜ pʾ-ntr·w-f

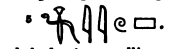
P-aṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w ʾw a rs (4) pḥ-f a p tš n Pr-Mz e-f mšṭe gm-f wᶜ wᶜb n ʾMn-Rᶜ-stn-ntr·w e hb s n wᶜb·w n ʾMn a p ʾmn (5) n ʾḥ ʾpṭ nt pr[15] n p tš Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ᶜw-Wbst rn-f eʾr-s ḥp p wᶜb nt e-w hb-f a p ʾmn p mr-pr-ḥṭ[16] n ʾMn p nt (6) e-w zt-f n-f n n ss·w nt e-f ʾr-w e-f hb a p ʾmn ʾn P-aṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ᶜw-Wbst p mr-pr-ḥṭ n ʾMn a Te-w-zy (7) erme-f ṭe-f wᶜb-f s[17] erme-f n pe-f ᶜy aṭe-f qṭ-w n Te-w-zy ṭe-f ʾn-w te-f ḥm·t erme ne-s ḫrt·w s-ḥm·w[18] (8) a ḫry e-w swr ḥq·t eʾr-ḥr-w nw Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ᶜw-Wbst

[1]  , apparently connected with  , and so meaning exactly 'blanks.'

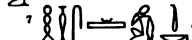
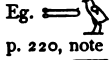
[2] , (in l. 17 with), possibly to be connected with and the below. The nearest approach to this name in the list of Nubian products on the famine-stela of Sehêl is  , *Ä. Z.*, 29/31, Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, ii. 79.

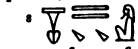
[3] A new word: 18/17 shows the meaning.

[4] *p sḫ qṭe* Berl. 3119/3 = ζωγλυφος, Grey, l. 15.

[5]  . The variants of the traditional and alphabetic spellings of this word in the papyrus are remarkable.

[6] . The det. may imply either embracing or crouching.

[7]  . is the regular form in dem. for Eg.  of obj. pron., 2nd sing. For the 1st sing. see p. 220, note 10.

[8]  *Sm-tw*, for *Stn-tw*, the correct form of the title of Arsaphes in hieroglyphic. The former is a title of Horus, but they were pronounced alike, and no attempt was made to distinguish them in early demotic. The true demotic for *stn* is seen in Αμονρασονθηρ, l. 4.

[9] πτεϥωεϩιω (*n t šb n* is spelt out in abn. hier., *Corpus Louvre*, 19/8); *ανθ ων* = *t šb·t ny Ros.* 20, *te-w šb·t* Can. I/20; *šb* = μετατιθεσθαι Can. I/37; *e-f šb·t* eqϣoϩe discordans = ιδιον τυπον ib. 73. Cf. the reading *šp* above, p. 216, note 4.

[10] Cf. 17/4 where *ṭe-k rḫ(-y)* is not possible, and 6/5. The qual. 2nd sing. apparently has lost the *t*.

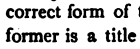
[11] *ʾnk s*: so also *ʾnk t tʾ* 9/12, , Pap. Unamûn, 2/24, Psam., *Corpus Louvre*, 18/5, and *ʾn-n* (ανοκ) *te-s pš* 'ours is its half,' Psam. year 29/4, &c. Cf. Gardiner, *Ä. Z.*, xli. 135.

[12] πτερεqϣωπε, cf. I Kham. 5/35. In late Eg. also followed by *sdm-f*='when he did,' Pap. Boulaq, no. 10 (c. Amenhotep IV), &c. The sign seems to represent and is used for the prep. πτε(π)- as well as for the conj. πτε(peq); see the Glossary.

[13] *e-ʾr-k* for ek- as in later dem., or it may be past eak-; cf. 13/5, and for a peculiarity of *mr* p. 231, note 12.

[14] A rare variant of *ʾMn Te-w-zy*.

[15] . written and employed as in Brugsch, *Gr. Dém.* (time of Darius), Pl. III, l. 5.

[16] *mr pr-ḥṭ*. The word *pr-ḥṭ* 'store-chamber,' 'treasury,' seems to have acquired later a more general meaning; see I Kham. 4/6, 5/13, 28. For the reading  see p. 207, note 4.

[17] *wᶜb-f s*, cf. II Kham. 1/14, 3/23–4, Story of Amasis, ll. 3, 20.

[18] Cf. Old Coptic πτερ ϩcιλλε, 'female gods,' *Ä. Z.*, 38/88, showing that *s-ḥm·t* was really used as pl. adj. The sing. occurs in the next line, see p. 231, note 1.

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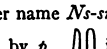
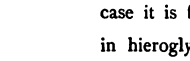
a wʿ·t ḫl s-ḥm·t ʾs[1] P-a·ṭe-ʾS Nyt-m-ḥ (?)[2] rn-s z Ḥr-wz (9) sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst n P-a·ṭe-ʾS my ṭe pe-f . . . . .[3] gm(-y) pe ʾr bk[4] te-s pe-f . . . . . wʿb n ʾMn-Rʿ-stn-ntr·w pe wne ḫr ʾr (10) pe yt wʿb ṭy n Te-w-zy e(-y) a ṭy gm[5] pe-f . . . . . p ḫp e wne ḫr ʾr-f wʿb ṭy e(-y) a ʾn n qnb·tw n pe yt (11) eʾr-ḥr n pe-f . . . . . my ṭe pe-f . . . . . ṭe-w n-y Nyt-m-ḥ(?) t ḫl n ḥm·t z n-f P-a·ṭe-ʾS b-p-te pe-s wš[6] ḫp eʾr(?)[7] wʿb n (12) ʾMn-Rʿ-stn-ntr·w e(-y) a ṭy-s n-k ss nb nt e-k a ʾr-w e p ʾmn n Pr-Mz ḥn n-k eʾr-k wḥ a Te-w-zy (13) nʾm-w te-s ḫpr n ʿy pe ʿy n wʿb pe mn ḥ 2·t n rm nʾm-f m-s wʿb rm e-f pḥ a ḥ-ntr ʾr (14) Ḥr-wz sm[8] z-f m-šs[9]

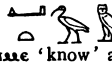
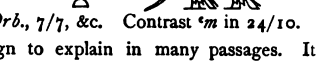
ḫp ḥ-sp 15 n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Psmṭk[10] nfr p t rs m-šs sp-sn ṭ-w P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w a p ʿy n (15) sḫ ʾr pe-f ḥṭ pe-f bṭ 1 a 2 ṭ-w P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w m-bḥ Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. tḫb-w s n sšn z n-f Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. ʾn wn mṭ nfr·t (16) e-k z my ʾr-w s n-y z P-a·ṭe-ʾS m-bḥ Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. ʾr pe yt wʿb n ʾMn-Rʿ-stn-ntr·w ʾr-f wʿb n n rpy·w n p tš n Ne (17) ʾr-f wʿb n Ḥr-šf ʾr-f wʿb n Sbk ʿš Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. a p sḫ n ḫr wḥ·w z eʾr wḥ a n rpy·w nt e P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w a z (18) ʾr pe yt wʿb nʾm-w z my ʾr P-a·ṭe-ʾS wʿb nʾm-w ʾnne mte pe[11] ʾr-w wḥ·w a n rpy·w a·z P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾr pe (19) yt wʿb nʾm-w wṭ-w P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w m-bḥ Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. e-f ʾw a rs ʾr-f wʿb n Ḥr-šf ʾr-f wʿb n Sbk-štt[12] ʾr-f wʿb n ʾMn-Rʿ-(20)stn-ntr·w ʾr-f wʿb n Wsr nb ʾBṭ[13] ʾr-f wʿb n ʾN-ḫr n Tne[14] ʾr-f wʿb n Mn P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w ʾw a mḫṭe e-f mšṭ- (9/1) e pḥ-f a Pr-Mze gm-f Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst p wʿb n ʾMn nt hb a p ʾmne e-f ʾw (2) a Te-w-zy erme P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w ʾn Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst n qnb·tw n pe-f yt eʾr-ḥr n P-a·ṭe-ʾS (3) ṭe-f gm-f p ḫp e wne ḫr ʾr Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst pe-f yt wʿb n ʾMn Te-w-zy ṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾr-w (4) Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst n wʿb n ʾMn Te-w-zy ṭe-f n-f Nyt-m-ḥ(?)

[1] is always rendered by in this papyrus, except in the proper name *Ns-sm-tw*, cf. 10/4, &c. In every case it is followed by *p*. is found for also in hieroglyphs at this period before the □ of Ptah in the common name  , LIEBLEIN, 1222, &c. The spelling may indicate a special pronunciation, ⲁⲥ- or ⲉⲥ- (as opposed to ⲉ-?), but the two initial consonants of Πτaϩ do not explain it; for other instances with ⲡⲉⲧⲉ-, ⲡⲉϥ-, &c., see the Glossary. For the pronunciation of before a vowel there seems to be no evidence as yet.

[2]  seems to be the reading; for the reading *Nyt* cf. the interesting place-name Ⲡⲉⲣ-χⲙⲁⲥ-ⲥⲓ-ⲛⲏⲓⲧ (evidently -Aḥmas-si-Neït) in GOODSPEED, *Papyri*, no. 9.

[3] The signs may be □(?) (?) (?).

[4] *ʾr bk* ⲣⲁⲱⲙ.

[5] and  often seem to have the meaning of ⲉⲓⲙⲉ 'know' and ⲧⲁⲙⲟ 'inform' in demotic. It would almost seem that the same group is made to do duty for both *gm* and *ʿm*, but if so the group takes the form of very decidedly, and no sign of differentiation is to be found. In Late Eg.  is common, *Pap. D'Orb.*, 7/7, &c. Contrast *ʿm* in 24/10.

[6] a difficult sign to explain in many passages. It would hardly at this time stand for *šn* and mean 'puberty.' Probably *wš* is the reading here, as usual; in II Kham. 6/36 it seems to stand for ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ.

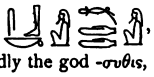
[7] Imper. ⲁⲣⲓ- as in l. 17; or *eʾr(-y)* ⲁⲓ- as oath.

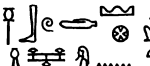
[8] *sm* ⲥⲁⲱⲟⲩ, in conversation, I Kham. 6/2, II Kham. 3/1; in letters, Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 16/1, 8.

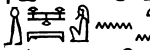
[9] =ϣⲟ; cf. II Kham. 4/18, 5/22.

[10] is omitted.

[11] Cf. I Kham. 5/10 *p nt mte pe*, here ⲉⲡⲉ with nominal sentence.

[12]  , *štt* representing the adj. , hardly the god -ⲥⲩⲑⲓⲥ, above, p. 192, note 3.

[13]  (?).

[14]  *ʾN-ḫr*, ⲧⲟⲛ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲁⲅⲟⲣⲉⲩⲟⲙⲉⲛⲟⲛ Ⲁⲅⲩⲡⲧⲓⲥⲧⲉⲓ Ⲟⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉⲓ (l. Ⲟⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓ), Ⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛⲓⲥⲧⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ· Ⲁⲣⲏⲥ, Leyden Papyrus U, where also the genitive Ⲟⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ occurs. Cf. the name Ⲡⲁⲛϩⲟⲩⲣⲉ in CRUM, *Cairo Cat. Tn* is Θῖς, Θῖνος, in O. C. ⲧⲓⲛ, ERMAN, *Ä. Z.*, 21/94, in Coptic also ⲧⲓⲛ, KRALL, *Rec. de Trav.*, vi. 71.

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te-f šr·t n ḫm·t ḫty P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w (5) a Ḥ-nn-stn ṭe-f ʾn-w ne-f s-ḫm·w[1] ne-f ḫrṭ·w a mr[2] e-f ṭy ʾn(?)-w n-ʾm-w a Ne pḥ-f a Te-w-zy (6) gm-f Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst n Te-w-zy ʿl P-a·ṭe-ʾS a ḫry[3] a pe-f ʿy nt n Te-w-zy z-f n Ḥr-wz st (7) pḥ[4] n ṭy ʾr-n p-hw ʾn[5] swr ḥq·t m-bḥ ʾMn n Te-w-zy e b-p-te-n š a Ne (8) ʾr P-a-ṭe-ʾS p hw[6] n swr ḥq·t erme ne-f s-ḫm·w ne-f ḫrṭ·w erme Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst z n-f Ḥr-wz (9) sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst te-s e pe-f . . . . . nʿy a Ne ʾḥ n nt e pe-f . . . . . z n-y eʾr-s z n-f P-a·ṭe-ʾS (10) ḫms n-k ṭy n Te-w-zy e(-y) a š ṭy ʾr n wʿb·w n ʾMn pe-k ʾp e(-y) a ṭy n-w p nk (11) nt e-f a sp ar-k ʿo p nk[7] nt pḥ-k e p ʾmn ḫn n-k e(-y) a ṭy pḥ-f ar-k e-k ḫms·t[8] n-k (12) ṭy n Te-w-zy e bn-p-k šp yʿb te-s ʾnk t tʾ ḫn-ntr n ʾMn Te-w-zy erme k·t tʾ 16 (13) mnt-k p nt e-k a ʾr ʿrš[9] n ʾMn ḫnʿ pʾ-ntr·w-f e-w a ṭy n-k p r-5 n p ḥtp-ntr n ʾMn p nk nt e-f (14) a spy ar-k p nt e-k ṭy-s[10] n-y rmy Nyt-m-ḥ(?) ta P-a·ṭe-ʾS z ṯ-t(y) a Ne erme-k z n-s (15) P-a·ṭe-ʾS eʾr-t ʾy a Ne e-ṭb ʾḥ e(-y) a qʿ·t e pe-t ʿnḫ nfr n ḫw[11] a n ḫl-w ṭr-w (16) ṯ n-t py pr nt ṭy n Te-w-zy e·z wʿ·t tʾ ḫn-ntr e mr(-e) s[12] sḫ(-y?) n-t ar-s z Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst (17) pe-s hy my sḫ n-s pe-f . . . . . a t tʾ ḫn-ntr n Ḥns sḫ n-s P-[a·ṭe-]ʾS a t tʾ ḫn-ntr n Ḥns ʾr P-a·ṭe-ʾS (18) ḥt[13] a Ne erme ne-f s-ḫm·w ne-f ḫrṭ·w ḫms n-f Ḥr-wz sy [Pe-f]-tw-ʿw-Wbst n Te-w-zy erme Nyt-m-ḥ(?) (19) ta P-a·ṭe-ʾS e-f ʾr ʿrš n ʾMn ḫnʿ pʾ-ntr·w-f mte-w ṭy n-f p r-5 n p ḥtp-ntr pḥ P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w a Ne (20) ṭe-f ʿl ne-f ḫm·w[14] ne-f ḫrṭ·w a Ne qʿ-f st n p ʿy n pe-f yt nt n Ne

ḫp ḥ-sp [1]8[15] n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. (10/1) Psmṯk š P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy ʿNḥ-Šsq p ʿo n mr eʾr ne-f yt·w

[1] The plural of the well-ascertained demotic group *s-ḫm* ϩⲓⲗⲗⲉ is regularly used for the pl. subst. 'women,' where ϩⲓⲟⲗⲗⲉ would be expected: cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 87. Whether ϩⲓⲗⲗⲉ is so used in Coptic (cf. p. 229, note 18) seems doubtful. [, properly *ḫbs*: replaces *throughout* demotic (cf. Spiegelberg, *Pap. Libbey*, p. 7, note 2)], but not in abn. hier. (see esp. Tahr. y. 6, 1/3, 15, &c., Psam. 47/2): apparently to be read *ḫm-t*, being used for ϩⲓⲗⲗⲉ, ϩⲓⲟⲗⲗⲉ (note 14). Cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 87, *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/190.

[2] , ⲉⲗⲗⲏⲣ, lit. 'to the quay' or 'to the shipping,' and so 'on board ship,' cf. note to I Kham. 3/24 (*Stories H. P.*, p. 98). *ỉ a mr* 14/5 is paralleled by *D'Orb.*, 11/1 cf. Shipwrecked Sailor l. 169, but with primitive meaning retained.

[3] *ʿl a ḫry* of going on land from the shore, I Kham. 6/7, and see l. 20 below.

[4] Cf. 17/13–14. *nỉ pḥ n ʾr-w = των νομιζομενων, Ros.* 19, *n p gy nỉ pḥ = ως καθηκει*, ib. 20. In 12/17 *ʾn e-s pḥ a ỉy* seems to show that *st* is really fem. sing., not plural; cf. 4/8.

[5] for ⲛ as in Pap. I, II (p. 205, note 40). In the parallel, l. 8, there is only .

[6] Note the contrasted spelling , ⲛⲟⲟⲧ, in the last line with this ⲛⲉϥⲟⲟⲧ.

[7] *ʿo p nk* looks like a nominal sentence, cf. *ʿo s* 16/19, but 20/20 shows that *ʿo p nk* has a technical meaning which fits well also here, lit. 'excess,' balance.' Cf. in the arithmetical papyri Kahun and Rhind of the Middle Kingdom.

[8] *ḫms-t.* The 2nd sing. qual. has generally lost the *t*, see p. 229, note 10. With its survival here compare the Achm. ϩⲁⲗⲁⲥⲧ.

[9] , λειτουργια, see additional note.

[10] The infin. is regularly followed by the absolute pronoun in old demotic and abnormal hieratic texts; cf. 13/6, 7: also occasionally later, *Pap. Mag. L.L.* 5/25, 24/35; cf. above, p. 211, note 3.

[11] may be 'excess,' ϩⲟⲩⲟ, 'good beyond' or 'profit,' ϩⲏⲩ, 'better in profit than.' The same group seems to stand for either, see 1/13, 15/18.

[12] , 'that thou (fem.) desirest.' The form *sṭm-f* is used for the present tense with the verbs *mr* 'love,' *msṭ* 'hate'; see 20/6, p. 253, note 5, *Pap. Mag. L.L.*, p. 82. The omission of the mark of the 2nd fem. suff. is paralleled in l. 15, where, however, has been added afterwards as a correction.

[13] ϧⲱⲧ, used only of sailing up stream in this text, the literal meaning being 'sail.'

[14] ϩⲓⲟⲗⲗⲉ: so also (for pl. subst. and adj.) in *Rhind bil.*, instead of the usual *s-ḫm·w.*

[15] No trace remains of ∩ before but there seems to be room for it.

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ṭe Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ʾn-w P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w z-f n-f p t rs (2) ḥn n-k mnt-k p nt e-k a rḫ ʾr-f n wpy z P-a·ṭe-ʾS m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ᶜnḫ ḥr-k eʾr(-y) a rḫ ʾr-f n wpy e-f ḫp e wn wᶜ sry[1] (3) e-f ḥn n-f erme(-y) ᶜn z n-f Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. e·z my p sry nt e-k z my ḥn-w s n-f z P-a·ṭe-ʾS pe nb ᶜo wn m-ṭe (4) P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy ᶜNḫ-Šsq p ᶜo n mr pe-f šr rm ʾs p pr n Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. pe ḫpry n rm m-šs pe Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt rn-f (5) a Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. a gm pe-f ʾr ḫpre n rm my ṭe Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ḥn-w n-f p sḥne n pe-f yt šn Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. n sry·w n- (6) ʾm-s mte-w n z m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. my ʾr-w s ḫpry n rm pe ʾr Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt n ᶜo n mr ḥn-w n-f p (7) t rs ᶜn a p gy a·wne ḫp n pe-f yt wṭ-w Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt p ᶜo-n-mr m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. e-f ʾw a Ḥ-nn(?)-stn (8) z-f n P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w m·še n-k a rs mšṭe n p tš m-ʾr ṭy ʾq mṭ e(-y) a ᶜḥ ṭy n Ḥ-nn-stn (9) šᶜ-te-w qs p ᶜo n mr P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w ʾw a rs e-f mšṭe a pe-f gy ᶜn ʾr P-a·ṭe-ʾS p ᶜo n mr (10) hw 70 n syḥ qs-w s n te-f ḥ n Pr-Wsr-eʾr-ʾr(?) ḫp P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w e-f ʾr n p t rs n wpy (11) eeʾr-w[2] ʾr pe-f ʾp erme-f ḫr rnp e bn-p-f bʾn(?)[3] e wḥ ḥṭ[4] bṭ ar-f ḫr rnp p nt e-w ʾr-f

ḫp ḥ-sp 19 n Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. (12) Psmṭk ʾr-w p ʾp n p t erme P-a·ṭe-ʾS nfr pe-f ʾp z n-f Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ʾn wn mṭ e-k z my ʾr-w s z P-a·ṭe-ʾS (13) m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo my ʾr-w n-y ty mṭ nfr·t m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ṭe(-y) ᶜy·k n ms my wṭ-w (y) m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. bn e(-y) rḫ šp yᶜ-(14)b z n-f Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ʾn wn mnt-k šr e-f rḫ[5] ʾr wpy z-f m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. n-ᶜš n bk·w Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. nt e-w a rḫ ʾr wpy (15) e-w a ʾr wpy ḫr ṭ n p ᶜo n mr bn e-w ṭy ʾq mṭ z n-f Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ʾn wn nk e-k wḥ-f z P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾr-w[6] (16) Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. n rm ᶜo mn mṭ nfr·t e bn-p Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ṭy ʾr-w s n-y z Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. n Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt p ᶜo n mr rḫ[7] t nt e P-a·ṭe-ʾS (17) z n-ʾm-s z ṭe(-y) ᶜy·k n ms my wṭ-w (y) ʾn wṭ(-y) s[8] ʾn e-k a rḫ ʾr p t rs n wpy z n-f Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt (18) my wṭ-w s pe nb ᶜo pe-n yt pe e-f ʾr ᶜo-f n ḫp[9] e-f ḥms mte-f p nt e-f a ḫp e-f sḥne n-ʾm-n ᶜn wṭ-w (19) P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. e-f ʾw a rs pḥ-f a Te-w-zy ᶜl-f a ḥry wšṭ-f m-bḥ ʾMn ṭe-f ʾr-w kll ṭe-f ʾr-w (20) wṭn m-bḥ ʾMn ṭe-f fy-w[10] a pe-f ᶜy nt n Te-w-zy wᶜb-f s nʾm-f erme Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ᶜw-Wbst z-f t ḫ mṭ[11] eʾr- (21) ḫr n Ḥr-wz z ṭe(-y) wṭ-w(y) m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. z Ḥr-wz [m-ʾr] ṭy stm-s ny wᶜb·w nt ṭy rm swg·w[12] ne z n-f P-a·ṭe-ʾS

[1] (in hieratic) perhaps to be transliterated *sy* rather than *sr*, *sry*.

[2] ϵαγ-.

[3] or . Here it is necessarily the infinitive of a verb after ⲁⲡⲉϥ-; cf. ⲁϩⲟⲩ (?). In 24/2 it is an adjective, in 24/15 a substantive, and in 24/6 it has the verbal prefix to adjectives . The instances in col. 24 point to reading it simply *bʾn* ϩⲱⲱⲛ as a variant writing of : and in later demotic this word often has a stroke over the (?), e.g. in ⲁⲉⲧϩⲟⲟⲛⲉ, I Kham. 4/25, which in this papyrus is written with the simpler group, 12/18–20.

[4] My hand-copy (lithograph, Pl. 27) makes the lines of *ḥṭ* too nearly vertical, so approaching the sign for 'corn.'

[5] N. B. not the usual *e-f a rḫ*. Probably there is a difference in the meaning 'who knows how to administer affairs' as opposed to 'who shall be (is) able to administer affairs.'

[6] Optative without *my*, as in other forms of address.

[7] 'Consider' judicially, cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 108, note.

[8] ϵπϵ- with past ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲧϥ, cf. STERN, § 630, but his account throughout is vitiated through identifying ϵπϵ- (Eg.) with ϵ + πϵ- of the imperfect.

[9] 'His balance of existence,' cf. 9/11; 'his old age (?) in being resting,' &c., making *e-f ḥms* depend on *ḫp*, is not likely. Note the suffix with *'o*.

[10] *fy* passive or intransitive after *ṯy*, 'caused them to proceed': cf. 14/1, 16/13: also *my fy-w*, Story of Amasis, l. 3, II Kham. 6/5, and p. 227, note 18. One may suspect, however, that *ṯy fy-w* means 'cause them (i. e. the litter-bearers or the horses) to carry (him)' since the nobles rode in litters (in early times) or in chariots.

[11] 'The copy of thing,' cf. *ḫ* (*ḥ*?) *sḫ ḫw·t-f*, Bibl. Nat., 218/1 = *αντιγραφον*, Grey, l. 1.

[12] *rm swg*, or 'madmen'; cf. Pap. Unamûn, 2/23: the word is frequent in dem.

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[te]-s (**11**/1) e(-y) ṯ·t-k[1] n Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt p ʿo-n-mr t mṭ nt e-s šlf mnt-k e-k š zt-s n-f ṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS š-w m-s n sn·w ʿy·w n (2) n wʿb·w ṭe-f wʿb-w st e·ʾr-ḥr-f ʾr-f hw·w[2] e-f wʿb n Te-w-zy ʾr-f ḥt a Ne

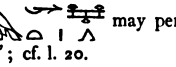
ḥp ḥ-sp 31 ʾbṭ 3 pr ʾn-w n bṭ (3) e·ʾr ḥp n p ḥtp-ntr n ʾMn Te-w-zy a ḥry pn-w[3] st n ḫ n ḥ-ntr sq[4] n wʿb·w a ḥ-ntr z-w e·zy-s my ʿnḫ P-Rʿ (4) e-f a ṯ p r-5 n p ḥtp-ntr ʿn py ḥm-bl(?)[5] n rm rs e·ʾr-ḥr-n[6] ḥn-w n hyn n ḫl·w rm swg·w z ʾm-n erme (5) ne-tn ḥwʿ·w n rhy sṭr n-tn ḥr ḥr n ny bṭ ṭms·w[7] ne-tn ḥwʿ·w ḫn-w šʿ ṭwe e·ʾr-s ḥp e ḥp ḫl (6) 2 n Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst e n-zr-w ḥp ṭwe n wʿb·w ʾw a ḥ-ntr a pš n bṭ(?)[8] a n s·w p ḫl s(?) 2 n Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst (7) ʾw a ḥ-ntr z my ḫy-w n(?) p r-5 ʾn n ḫl·w[9] wʿb·w ne-w ḥwʿ·w a bl ḫn n bṭ(?) qṭy-w n p ḫl 2 n Ḥr-wz ṭe-w (8) šp-w sḫy pṭ-w a ḥry a p nt wʿb[10] ḥ·t-w pṭ-w a ḥry m-s-w e·ʾr-w pḥ-w n r n t qnḥy n ʾMn ḥṭb-(9)w st n sḫy ḥwy-w st a wʿ pr-ḥṭ ḫr(?) ḫn[11] n p bke[12] n ʾny e·ʾr-s ḥp wne bn Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst n Te-w-zy ʾn (10) wne e-f ḥr p ʾmnt n n ʿy·w n T-Qḥy[13] ṭe Nyt-m-ḥ(?) ta P-a·ṭe-ʾS t mw·t n p ḫl 2 zr[14] pe-s ʿy a ḥr-s sṭm s (11) Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst z ḥṭb-w pe-f šr 2 ʾr-f te-f šnṭ n pky[15] š-f e·ʾr p ḥry-Mzy(?)[16] n T-Qḥy ṭe-f rḥ-f s sq p ḥry-(12)-Mzy(?) n . . . . . ·w[17] n T-Qḥy ṯ-f st a Te-w-zy

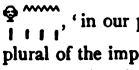
[1] *e(-y) ṯ-t-k . . . e-k š*, lit. perhaps 'I take thee . . . and thou goest,' a lively way of expression in the present tense but implying a future meaning. *ṯ* is written in a manner that is unusual in this papyrus, approaching hieratic. We might read *e ṯ-y ṯ-k* 'when I have taken thee . . ., thou, thou goest, &c.'

[2] *hw·w* rather than *hw* 1 is probable, since *wʿ hw* would be the natural expression for 'one day'; cf. 12/9.

[3] Eg. *pnʿ*: it is remarkable that the *y* is not marked in the demotic here, perhaps because the change to ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ had already taken place. Later demotic marks it with in such instances.

[4] , ⲥⲱⲕⲓ, ⲥⲱⲕ, the characteristic word for the assembling of priests at this period; cf. Dar., GOLENISCHEFF, 2/2 (*sqy*).

[5]  may perhaps mean 'shavings,' 'off-scourings'; cf. l. 20.

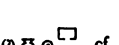
[6]  , 'in our power'; cf. I Kham. 4/7.

[7] Note the plural of the imperative.

[8] Here and in l. 7 the det. is somewhat different from the ordinary form of *bṭ*. While so little is known about the groups for such substances it is perhaps rash to affirm that this too represents *bṭ*.

[9] Possibly *ḫrṭ·w*; *wʿb·w* adjective (?).

[10] = το ἁδυτον, Ros. and Can., Coptic ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁϩ = ἁγιασμα 'sanctuary.' Cf. title of pastophorus *wn p nt wʿb n Pr-Ptḥ*, LIEBL., 1219.

[11] (or ), cf. 16/16. *Ḫn* is almost certainly ϩⲟⲩⲛ, 'interior.' The first sign is not quite like .

[12] , cf. Pʿankhi, l. 32, KRALL, *Hist. Rom.*, no. 91. It clearly means a raised platform, perhaps with a ramp or staircase to the top.

[13] . Eg. generally with place-name following, meaning 'the territory' (of Siût, &c.). See SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, XXVI. 162; also BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géogr.*, p. 818. Other instances are 'the territory (?) of Kebt,' in Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 11/3, 12/3, 13/3, &c.; 'the territory (?) of Hu (Diospolis Parva),' Dar., *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 5/5. All of these places are nome-capitals. Evidently *qḥy* has the same significance as ; compare Installation of Nitokri, l. 17 et seqq. The unqualified word Tkohi or Tkahi here may stand as a distinct name; cf. the Κωιτης toparchy in the Heracleopolite nome.

[14] *zr*, cf. I Kham. 4/36, *ṭe-f zr m-s-f*.

[15] . *Pky* is the name of the funerary garb in I Kham. 4/22; whether as 'rent in pieces,' or as sackcloth or fine linen (cf. *Pap. Mag. L. L.*, Glossary), is uncertain; but the expression here looks like 'tearing his clothes.'

[16] apparently the older (see note 4 on p. 87), hardly Ἑρμοτυβιες.

[17] Probably with the meaning 'soldiers,' being not unlike in *mr-mšʿ*, ll. 17, 18. It has little resemblance to the later forms of *mšʿ*, as collected in HESS, *Rosette*, p. 54, and *n mšʿ·w* would mean 'the armies,' not 'the soldiers.' The later demotic spelling of the late foreign (?) word *glšr*

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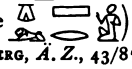
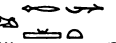
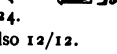
e-w lbš[1] n ne-w grᶜ·w[2] ne-w ḥnw[3] ṭe-f rs[4] n p qṭy (13) n p ᶜy nte Nyt-m-ḥ n-ᵓm-f pṭ Ḥr-wz a Ne e-f n pe-f pky eᵓr Ḥr-wz pḥ a P-a·ṭe-ᵓS ᵓtp[5] P-a·ṭe-ᵓS a pe-f ṭgs (14) erme ne-f ḥrṭ·w ne-f rm ḥṭe-f eᵓr-f pḥ a Te-w-zy bn-p-f gm rm n p t n Te-w-zy m-s n rm n p ḥry-Mzy(?) nt rs (15) n p qṭy n p ᶜy nte Nyt-m-ḥ n-ᵓm-f š P-a·ṭe-ᵓS a ḥ-ntr bn-p-f gm rm n ḥ-ntr m-s wᶜb s(?) 2 e-w ᶜy (16) n ms erme wᶜ wn pṭ-w a p nt wᶜb ḥ P-a·ṭe-ᵓS ṭ P-a·ṭe-ᵓS rm ḥr r-w hb-f a Ḥ-nn-stn n Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt p ᶜo n (17) mr n szy nb eᵓr ḥp e P-a·ṭe-ᵓS n Te-w-zy ṭe p ᶜo-n-mr eᵓw wᶜ mr mšᶜ[6] z m·š ᵓmḥt[7] n rm nb nte P-a·ṭe-ᵓS (18) a z n-k my mḥ-w n·ᵓm-w p mr mšᶜ ᵓw a Te-w-zy ṭe P-a·ṭe-ᵓS mḥ-w n p wᶜb 2 ḫṭy-f erme-w a p pr Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. (19) z P-a·ṭe-ᵓS mṭ nb eᵓr-w m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ṭe Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. ᵓr-w hp n p wᶜb s(?) 2 wṭ-w P-a·ṭe-ᵓS m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. pḥ P-a·ṭe-ᵓS a Ḥ-nn-stn (20) ᶜḥ-f erme[8] p ᶜo n mr z n-f Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt p ᶜo-n-mr sṭm(-y) n mṭ aᵓr n-k ny ḥm-bl(?) n rm bᵓn nsn(?)[9] n rm Te-w-zy aᵓr-k (21) n rm-ᶜy·w z n-f P-a·ṭe-ᵓS ᵓn bn-p n(?) . . . ḥyr(?)[10] sṭm z [p] nt s-ᶜnḫ ḫtr[11] eᵓr-f mw m-ṭᵓ·t-f ᶜnḫ P-Rᶜ p eᵓr ḥp n-ᵓm(-y) erme n wᶜb·w n ᵓMn (**12**/1) Te-w-zy pe eᵓr-s ḥp wne Ḥr-wz sy Pe-f-tw-ᶜw-Wbst n Ḥ-nn-stn erme P-a·ṭe-ᵓS mḥ P-a·ṭe-ᵓS m-ṭ n Ḥr-wz ᵓn-f s (2) eᵓr-ḥr n p ᶜo-n-mr z te-s pe sn nt n Te-w-zy my ḥn-s p ᶜo-n-mr n p ḥry-Mzy(?) n T-Qḥy (3) erme p sḫne[12] n T-Qḥy a ṭy ᵓr-w ḥrḥ ar-f z n-f Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt e(-y) a ḥn-s n rm nb nt mte(-y) z p rm Te-w-zy (4) nt e-tn a gm·t-f my ᵓn-w s n-y ṭe(-y) mt-f n p štqy n Ḥ-nn-stn z n-f P-a·ṭe-ᵓS m-ᵓr ṭy ᵓr-s p ᶜo-n- (5) mr ᶜnḫ ᵓMn wz p tw n p ᶜ-n-mr bn e(-y) š a Ne e bn-p(-y) grg Te-w-zy mte(-y) ᵓn ne-s (6) rm a ḥn-s ᶜn z p ᶜo-n-mr ṭe(-y ?) rn(?)-w[13] Ḥr-šf Sm-tw e-w z pe-k mr a·wnee-k n-ᵓm-f a Te-w-zy b- (7) p-te-f lky z n-f P-a·ṭe-ᵓS ḥrt(?)-k[14] ar-k wz pe-k tw ntr·w ᶜy·w m-šs n nt n-ᵓm-f ᶜy e ḥr eᵓw (8) ᵓMn-Rᶜ-stn-ntr·w p ntr ᶜo ar-f pe n-ᶜš n mṭ ntr nte rḥ(-y) st n-ᵓm-f wṭ p ᶜo-n-mr P-a·ṭe-ᵓS e-f ᵓw a rs pḥ-f (9) a Te-w-zy ᵓr-f hw·w n Te-w-zy eᵓr-s ḥp p ḥry-Mzy(?) ᵓw a Te-w-zy erme rm n qnqn[15] s(?) 50 e-f eᵓw[16] (10) eᵓr-ḥr (*sic*)[17] P-a·ṭe-ᵓS wšṭ-f z p

καλασιρις, ϭⲁⲗⲁⲩⲓⲣⲉ (proper name, DAVIES, *Sheikh Said*, p. 35), seems to be , KRALL, *Hist. Rom.*, S/12, 22 (cf. *glšr Pr-ᵓMn* 'k. of P-Amûn,' *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 1); in the *Rhind Pap.* II is added, converting the last sign into the group for . Possibly in the present case we have the earlier group for *glšr*, and the det. may be not . For hieroglyphic and hieratic spellings of *glšr* (type ) [and for the word in general see SPIEGELBERG, *Ä. Z.*, 43/87].

[1] *lbš*, cf. *lybš* armour (?), KRALL, *Hist. Rom.*, no. 187.

[2]  cf. KRALL, *Hist. Rom.*, no. 310.

[3]  . Eg. , BRUGSCH, *Wtb.*, 967, *Suppl.*, 824.

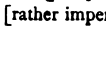
[4] So also 12/12.

[5] This intransitive use of , ωτπ, is curious.

[6] ⲗⲉⲗⲓⲛⲩⲉ, *PSBA.*, 21/271, occurs as λεμεισα, *Tebt.*, i. p. 508, title of military or police official.

[7] ⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉ, possibly infinitive as with š, p. 225, note 12: but [rather imperative, see the interesting explanation of the form by SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/205].

[8] Cf. 16/17, 'stay with' or perhaps 'visited,' 'talked with.'

[9]  , perhaps 'a curse on!'

[10] , 'watcher of the wicked (?),' as a term for a magistrate (?), cf. 12/10. It occurs also in Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 21/3, 4, but in an obscure context.

[11] . This is masc. sing. as is shown by ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲥ following, and the *r* is pronounced. It therefore cannot be connected with ϩⲟⲉⲓⲧⲉ, 'hyena.' LIDDELL and SCOTT'S *Lex.*, s. v. κριός, quotes similar expressions in Greek regarding the ram which butts those who have brought him up.

[12] Here 'commissary,' elsewhere 'commission,' 3/10, &c.

[13] A puzzling phrase. 'I have caused them to . . . . Harshafe,' or 'May their names (?) put (sic) Harshafe'; probably it is an idiomatic exclamation.

[14] ; cf. ϩⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ, custos, ϩⲟⲣⲧⲥ, visio.

[15] μαχιμοι in Ros.

[16] *eᵓw*, the *e* seems quite superfluous after *e-f*, but in l. 16 the word is dependent on *mr* 'desire.'

[17] Read *eᵓr ḫr* (*n*).

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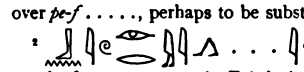
ḥry-Mzy(?) n P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾḥ n mṭ ṯḥr·t ty(?)e·ʾr pe-f . . . . .—n(?) ḥyr(?)[1]—ṭy hb n-y p ʿ-n-mr z (11) my ʾr-w ḥrḥ a n rm n P-a·ṭe-ʾS nt e-f a ḥp e-w n Te-w-zy ʾn bn pe-f . . . . . ʾn p e·ʾr s·ʿnḫ-n n-ṭ sṭm(-y) z (12) hwš ny wʿb·w ʾn bn e·ʾr(-y) ʾy n ty ḥty ʾn[2] e(-y) ṭy ṭe-w rs n p qṭy n py ʿy z wne- (13) e-w[3] hwš a ty rm ʿo·t ʾn-ne pe-f . . . . . z n-y ʾm šʿ Ne ʾn e(-y) rḥ tm ʾy z n-f P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾMn a ṭy (14) ʿnḫ-k[4] e·ʾr(-y) ṭy hb n-k p ʿo-n-mr a tm ṭy wḥ-w ky rhn[5] ar-k e·ʾr n-y ty wpy mše qṭy n p tš (15) n Pr-Mze p tš n Ḥr-ṭy[6] e-k wḥ n n rm Te-w-zy nt e-k a gm·t-w sq st a p ʿy nt (16) e-w a mr·t-f e·ʾw(-y) ʿrq(-y) t(-y)[7] n-w n·ʾm-f a tm ṭy ʾr-w n-w mṭ e·z(-y)[8] s n-w z p hwš e·ʾr-tn ṭe(-y) (17) ʾr-w n-tn te-f šb ʾn e-s pḥ a ṭy ḫṭb ʾMn p sp n ny ḫl·w a ṭy ḫf[9] pe-f ṭme mḥ P-a·ṭe-ʾS n ṭ n p ḥry-Mzy(?) (18) ṯ-f s a ḫft-ḥr[10] n ʾMn ʿrq-f s e·ʾr-ḥr-f z rm nb nt e-k a ʾn·t-w n-y e-w pḥ a Te-w-zy bn e(-y) ṭy ʾr-w n-w mṭ bʾn·t (19) e(-y) a ʿrq n-w a tm ṭy ʾr-w n-w mṭ bʾn·t e·ʾr(-y) ʿrq nʾm(-y) e·ʾr ḥr-k z wnee-w z e·ʾr p ḥry-Mzy(?) wḥ n-ʾm- (20) n a ṭy ʾr-w n-n mṭ bʾn·t sṭr n-f p ḥry-Mzy(?) a p ʾṭne wšṭe-f š p ḥry-Mzy(?) a bl a n ʿy·w n p tš n (21) Pr-Mze p tš n Ḥmn[11] p tš n Ḥr-ṭy sq-f n rm Te-w-zy a Ḥr-ṭy p ḥry-Mzy(?) ʾw a **13**/1) Te-w-zy ʿn-f sme n P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w z pḥ(-y) šʿ Ḥmn bn-p(-y) qʿ rm Te-w-zy šʿ Ḥmn e bn-p(-y) ʾn·t-f a Ḥr-ṭy p ʿy a·mte-w (2) n z my ʿrq-w n-n nʾm-f pe my eʾw Ns-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS my ʿrq-f s n-n ʾn bn[12] wʿ n n ḫl·w nt erme pe-f . . . . . z P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʿnḫ ʾMn ʾnk (3) p nt e-f a ʾy ḥʿ(-y) ʾr P-a·ṭe-ʾS ḥt a Ḥr-ṭy ʿrq-f s n n wʿb n wn·w rm nb nt pḥ a Te-w-zy z bn e(-y) ṭy ʾr-w n-tn mṭ e-ṭbe mṭ (4) e š-s[13] P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾw a Te-w-zy erme n rm Te-w-zy a·gm-f ne-w s-ḥm·w ne-w ḫrṭ·w ʾw ṭr-w ṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS sq-w n

[1] A group resembling the . . . *ḫyr* (?) of 11/21 is written over *pe-f* . . . . ., perhaps to be substituted for it.

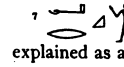
[2]  , *ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲁⲙ ⲁⲛ instead of ⲁⲛⲓⲥⲱⲧⲁⲙ, as in Faiyûmic ⲛⲁⲁ . . . ⲉⲛ, probably representing the negative of the Perf. II rather than that of Perf. I. See Stern, § 392=Sah. ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲛ, Boh. ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓⲓ ⲁⲛ, ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲓ ⲁⲛ, ibid. The same construction occurs in 13/11–12.

[3] *wnee-w hwš* probably for *wnee-w* (*a*) *hwš*=ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲁ-ϩⲟⲟⲩⲱ: see the clear case in l. 19.

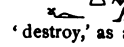
[4] Probably for (*a*) *ʾMn a ṭy*, unless there is an idiomatic ellipsis.

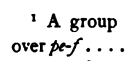
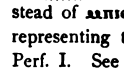
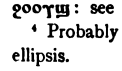
[5] Lit. 'leaning,' 'burden' (?); cf. Brugsch, *Wtb.-Suppl.*, 756–9.

[6] *Ḥr-ṭy* or possibly *Ṭy-Ḥr*, in which case ⲧⲟⲩϩⲟ ⲧⲁϩⲁ (Amélineau, *Géogr.*, 471) might be compared (see the 'ancient compounds,' p. 301, note 2 *c*): but probably the name is not very ancient and is to be read Hartai. Cynopolis, to which *Ḥr-ṭy* seems to be equivalent, was afterwards called ⲕⲁⲓⲥ, and now القيس El Qais, Amélineau, ibid., 395: cf. Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.*, 863.

[7]  . The verb being III rad. this cannot be explained as an infinitive. Cf. p. 220, note 10.

[8] But this might be imper. ⲁϫⲓⲥ, not *ⲉϫⲁⲓⲥ.

[9]  . This instance favours the meaning ϣⲱϥ, 'destroy,' as against ϣⲱϥⲧ, 'be impious,' which would suit the others equally well. See p. 222, note 16.

[10]  , the first element in which is written precisely like the above ϣⲱϥ (?), may therefore be read *ḫf-ḥr*: but it seems probable that we have here the word which is written  in later demotic, with pronounced *t*. Ο δρομος in Can., l. 52, is *ḫ ft-ḫ* (Tan., l. 52, Hisn, l. 14): see also Brugsch, *Wtb.*, 1080. It seems possible that the word may have also a more general sense, as in ancient times, of 'fronting,' 'facing,' 'presence.' In 21/11, 25/4 it is written in hieratic  in the second instance with def. art. which is exceptional.

[11] In regard to the note on p. 89, Grenfell and Hunt have called my attention to the express exclusion of the Arsinoite nome from those forming the Heptanomis in the papyri, which name the Επτα νομοι και Αρσινοιτης: see, e.g., *Oxyrh.*, i. no. 58, iv. no. 709 (about A.D. 50), together with their comments on the latter document, which contains the earliest mention of the Heptanomis. It is not yet clear how precisely seven nomes were counted before Hadrian made the Antinoite nome. Wilcken, *Ostr.*, i. 423 et seqq., appears to prove that the Heptanomis was not an *administrative* division, at least from Alexander onward until a late period.

[12] Evidently 'if not,' 'otherwise.' *ʾne bn* in 14/5–6, *ʾn e bn* 17/3. ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲛ seems to be the nearest equivalent in Coptic.

[13] 'That is past,' cf. ⲉⲟⲛⲛⲟⲩ for 'future,' and *ʾw* μελλειν 14/5.

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wʿb·w (5) a ḥ-ntr z-f n-w ʾy ʿnḫ-w[1] ʾn ʾr(-y) n-tn mṭ m-s[2] mṭ eˑʾr-tn mr·t-s te-s e wne e(-y) hb·k ʾn ʾr(-y) mṭ a ḫ rm e-f ʾr sḫy (6) z-tn n-y ḥtp 4 p nt e-w ṯy s n p ḥn-ntr n Ḥr nb Ḥ-nn-stn p ḥn-ntr n ʾNp nb Ḥr-ṯy z-y s n-tn mte-w n nt e-tn ṯy st n-y z-tn (7) wʿ ḥtp p nt e-w ṯy s n t tʾ ḥn-ntr z(-y) n-tn mte-f p nt e-tn ṯy s wn mte(-y) ḥtp n 4 n rn n t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn wn mte(-y) ke ḥtp 16 n rn (8) n n ntr·w nt eˑʾr(-y) n-w ḥn-ntr a mḥ ḥtp 20 wʿb s(?) 20 p nt e-tn mḥ-f a s 1 . . .[3] wʿ s n wʿb mte-f ʾr p r-5 n p ḥtp-ntr ṭe n wʿb·w ne-w ḥbs·w n ḫḫ-w (9) sṭr-w n-w a p ʾṭne eˑʾr-ḥr n P-a·ṭe-ʾS z-w ʾn b rḫ-n[4] z pe-f . . . . . p eˑʾr ṯy ʿnḫ-n e pe-f . . . . . grg pe-n (10) ṭme e-k ṯy ʾr-f smt n n ʿy·w ʿy·w n Km ny ḫl·w eˑʾr qʿ t me my ṭe pe-f . . . . . ʾn-w st my (11) ṭe-w st a wʿ ʿḫe n mṭ nfr·w eˑʾr pe-f . . . . . n ʾMn st mne šʿ z·t z P-a·ṭe-ʾS n mṭ-nfr·w eˑʾr(-y) m-bḥ ʾMn ṭe(-y) rḫ p ḥp bn eˑʾr(-y) (12) ʾr-w n ne-tn yt·w ʾn eˑʾr(-y) ʾr-w n ʾMn ny wʿb·w eˑʾr ḥṭb ne ḫl·w ʾn [b]n e(-y) rḫ ṯy ʾn-w st m-s ḥp ṭe(-y) ʾr-w (13) hp n ne-w yt·w eˑʾr(-y) qʿ nˑʾm-w erme p ntr te-s e(-y) grʿ·k m-ṭʾ·t-wn[6] e te gm ḥp·t e(-y) ʿnḫ·k a rḫ[6] (14) wʿ ss a ḥp e p šr mte(-y) nt e-f a ḥp ṯy gb·w(?)[7] a ḥr-tn e-tn a rḫ šnʿ-f mte-tn ṯ ne-f tʾ·w nt n py ṭme (15) ʾn tet[8] rḫ p ḥp ty wṯy a·ṭe(-y) ʾr-w e(-y) ṯy ṯ-w s a p nt wʿb eˑʾr(-y) ṯy ʾr-w s e-b-p-te(-y) ʾr wʿb e-b-p- (16) te-w sḫ n-y a ny tʾ·w ḥn-ntr·w nt n py ṭme e-tn a rḫ z bn-p-k ʾr wʿb ḥr ʾ·t-s z n-f n wʿb·w ʾḫ p nt e pe-f . . . . . (17) z eˑʾr-s z n-w P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w e(-y) a ṯy sḫ-w wʿ·t wṯy ḥr p bke n ʾny ḥr t me n š a p wʿb-f[9] nt e (18) ʾMn ʾr-f e(-y) a ʾr n mṭ·w nfr·w aˑʾr(-y) n ʾMn ḥr ʾ·t-s e(-y) a ʾr ne ʾew[10] wʿb·w ḥr ʾ·t-s z n wʿb·w mṭ nb nt e n- (19) nfr-w n n mṭ n pe-f . . . . . my ʾr-w st eˑʾr-n a rḫ p ḥp e-n ʿnḫ·t[11] m-ṭʾ pe-f . . . . . ʾne pe-f . . . . . ṯy ʾr-w s ṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾn-w n sḫ·w pr-ʿnḫ (20) n sḫ·w qṯy te-f sḫ-w t wṯy[12] ḥr p bke n ʾny e-f z ʾne n wʿb·w n rm ʿy·w nt e-w a ʾy a mšṭ n ḥ-ntr a nw (14/1) r-s[13] ṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w fy-w a mr e-f z e(-y) a ʾr ḥt a š a Ne rmy (2) Nyt-m-ḥ(?) te-f šr·t eˑʾr ḥr-f z ḥr n ḫl·w a·ḥṭb-w st n ḥ-ntr bn-p-w ʾn·t-w a bl (3) š P-a·ṭe-ʾS a ḥ-ntr ṭe-f wḫ-w p ḫl 2 eˑʾr-w gm·t-w n wʿ pr-ḥṭ n p nt wʿb ṭe-f (4) ʾn-w st a ḫry te-w n-w mnḫ(?)[14] ḥp wʿ·t nḥy[15] ʿ·t n p ṭme qs-w n ḫl·w P-a·ṭe-ʾS (5) ʾw[16] a š a mr rmy Nyt-m-ḥ(?) eˑʾr-ḥr-f z ṯ·t(-y) a Ne erme-k ʾnne (6) bn a ny wʿb·w a ṯy ḥṭb-w (y) z n-s P-a·ṭe-ʾS bn e-w rḫ[17] ʿnḫ ʾMn bn e-w lky e-w snṭ n-tn (7) ʿn

[1] , familiar greeting; cf. AHM., *Corpus Louvre*, 16/1, 3, 8, 9; I Kham. 3/15, Kufi passim.

[2] ncA, 'except,' the question having the same force as a negative.

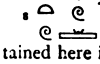
[3] The < after probably marks the numerical unit as distinct from the plural sign.

[4] *ⲗⲉⲙⲙⲁⲛ. In later writing this would be *b ʾr-rḫ-n*, the *ʾr* being inserted by false analogy with the auxiliary *b ʾr*.

[5] , perhaps for *m-ḥ-ḥnw*. Boh. ⲙⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ.

[6] This form of the future with *rḫ* and nominal subject (STERN, § 455) recurs in 18/7.

[7] *gb·w*, perhaps qual. with ending *w* of 3rd sing. masc. ⲥⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ; cf. *mte·w* in 14/20.

[8] , probably the Late Eg.  indef. pron. retained here in a proverbial expression.

[9] .

[10] , in the sing. 16/21, which seems to show that the last consonant is *w*.

[11] For other qual. forms see p. 221, notes 10, 14, p. 229, note 10, p. 231, note 8.

[12] The beginning of the word seems quite deformed, being at the junction of two leaves.

[13] *nw r-s* recurs in 18/18, but *sḫ-y n-ṯ ar-s* in 9/16; see p. 251, note 7.

[14] The reading , cf. l. 14, seems hardly doubtful. *ʿq* (I Kham. 4/25 note) does not fit the original so well.

[15] . Eg. , ERMAN, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden*, p. 74; SPIEGELBERG, *Ä. Z.*, 34/16.

[16] *μελλειν*, cf. I Kham. 5/31 (*Stories H. P.*, p. 133).

[17] Note the elliptical expression, but corrected in 18/17 by the addition of *nqr-s*.

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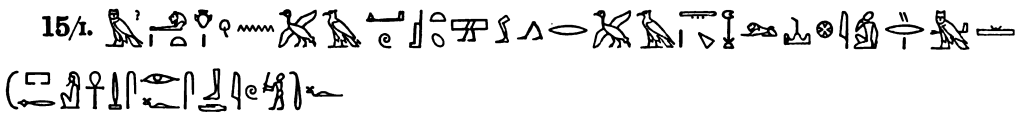
sp-sn z Nyt-m-ḥ(?) e-f ḫp ee-k a ṯy ḫp-n ṯy my ʿḥ Ns-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS ṯy erme(-y) e-f ʾr ʿrš (8) n ʾMn ṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʿḥ Ns-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS n Te-w-zy z-f n-f ṯ n-k t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn Te-w-zy ḥnʿ pʾ-ntr·w-f (9) ṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾn-w wʿ zmʿ sḫ-f n Ns-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS a n(?)[1] ʾew ḥn-ntr ʾMn n Te-w-zy ḥnʿ pʾ-ntr·w-f (10) ʿḥ n-f Ns-sm-tw n Te-w-zy erme Nyt-m-ḥ(?) te-f sn·t erme Ḥr-wz pe-s hy ḫp Ns-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS n Te-w-zy (11) e-f ʾr ʿrš n ʾMn ḥnʿ pʾ-ntr·w-f mte-w ṯy n-f p r-5 n p ḥtp-ntr n ʾMn š Ns-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʿḥ-f eʾr-ḥr n (12) Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt p ʿo-n-mr z-f n-f ʾnk p-eṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʿḥ-f n Te-w-zy a ʾr ʿrš n ʾMn ḥnʿ pʾ-ntr·w-f sḫ-f n-y a (13) t tʾ ḥn-ntr ʾMn ḥnʿ pʾ-ntr·w-f ṭe p ʿo-n-mr ṭe-w wʿ·t glt[2] n nb . . .[3] n Ns-sm-tw z-f(?)[4] n-f eʾr(-y) tm ṯy ṭe-w n-k (14) šs-stn z p šp[5] n t mnḫ n ʾMn mnt-k s mʾr ʾr wš n z n-y te-k mṭ n ss [nb(?)] ʾr Ns-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS n (15) ss aʾr-f e-f ʿnḫ e-f ʾr ʿrš n ʾMn ḥnʿ pʾ-ntr·w-f mte-w ṯy n-f p r-5 n p ḥtp-ntr š Ns-sm-tw eʾr ne-f yt·w (16) šp n-f P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Ns-sm-tw pe-f šr ʾr-f ʿrš n ʾMn ḥnʿ pʾ-ntr·w-f mte-w ṯy n-f p r-5 n p ḥtp-ntr n ʾMn ʿn

ḫp ḥ-sp 4 n (17) Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Psmṭk Nfr-ʾb-Rʿ hb-w a n rpy·w ʿy·w n Šmʿ(?) Mḥ(?)[6] z Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. nʿy a p·t Ḥr my (18) eʾw [n] wʿb·w erme n ʿnḫ·w n n ntr·w n Km a ṯ·t·w a p t Ḥr erme Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. hb-w a Te-w-zy (19) z my eʾw wʿb erme p ʿnḫ n ʾMn a š a p t Ḥr erme Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. sq n wʿb·w mte-w n (20) z n P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Ns-sm-tw mnte-k p nt mte·w a š a p t Ḥr erme Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. mn rm [ṯy] n py ṭme ee-f a (21) rḫ š a p t Ḥr ble-k te-s ḫr ʾr-k sḫ pr-ʿnḫ mn mṭ ee-w a šn·t-k n-ʾm[-s] e bn(?)[7] wšb a ḫ·t-s (22) ḫr[8] mnte-k p ḥn-ntr ʾMn n ḥn-ntr·w n n ntr·w ʿy·w n Km n nt nʿy a p t Ḥr [e]rme Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. ṭe·w ʿq-s (15/1) m(?)-ḥt[9] n P-a·ṭe-ʾS š a p t Ḥr erme Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. ʾr-f sbṭet-f[10]

(15/1) ⲛϙⲏⲧ ⲛ-Ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉ (e-?)ⲱⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲟ-*Ⲃⲏⲣ ⲗⲁⲡⲡⲉⲣⲟ, ⲣⲉϥ[11]-ⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧϥ.

15/1. 

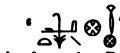
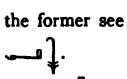
[1] Apparently plural, for the different gods of the Ennead.

[2] δακτυλιος in Can., l. 24.

[3] The sign following may be determinative , but more probably a numeral, e. g. 8 or some fraction.

[4] *f* is scarcely traceable on the original: perhaps *s(-y) n-f* was wrongly written.

[5] 'Succession,' 'reversion,' as in the verb *ḫp n-f*, p. 222, note 2.

[6]  . The same groups in hieratic 21/13–14; in demotic, *Ros.*, l. 27 = την τε ανω χωραν και την κατω, see note thereto in Hess, *Rosette*, p. 72. For the reading of the former see Davies, *Dêr el Gebrawi*, ii, Pl. 7  .

[7] If is the true reading, for once it is not followed by . In abn. hieratic the ⲁⲛ is still generally omitted, but not in demotic. Possibly in this case the omission is accidental at the end of the line or due to confusion with the *ḫr* which is indistinctly written. One might suspect before *wšb*, compare 25/6, but then the meaning is difficult to catch, perhaps 'with responsibility attached,' 'with danger of criticism,' or 'attack.'

[8] , cf. *ḫr ʾn te-k* (really for ⲛⲧⲏ?) *rḫ p ḫp* 17/4, also 18/18, 24/4. Such a use of *ḫr* is common in Late Egyptian, but not in later demotic.

[9] *ʿq-s m*(?) *ḫt* . . . . *š*, cf. l. 19, 20/12. In l. 19 there is clearly *a* before *ḫt* as in I/A. 6 (Pl. 6); in the other cases probably for *n*, cf. ⲱⲛ ⲛϙⲏⲧ and the writing of ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ- in l. 19, &c.

[10] Periphrastic, replacing *sḏm-f s* because of quadrilit. verb (cf. Sethe, *Verbum*, ii. § 194, *Stories H. P.*, p. 101).

[11] It will be understood that a great deal in this attempt at a 'proto-Sahidic' version (cf. pp. 218, 250) is conjectural: e. g. past *sḏm-f* of ⲉⲓⲣⲉ may have been *ⲁⲣⲟϥ or ⲁⲣⲁϥ-.

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š P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Ns-sm-tw a p t Ḫr e mn rm (2) erme-f m-s pe-f sṭm[1] erme wʿ ʾm-wne[2] Wsr-ms rn-f rḫ s[3] n wʿb·w z š P-a·ṭe-ʾS a p t Ḫr erme Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. (3) š-w a Ḥr-wz sy Ḥr-ḫb(?) wʿ wʿb n Sbk e-f n ḥry n Ḥ-nn-stn z-w n-f ʾn pe-f . . . . . rḫ p ḫp e t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn Te-w-zy tʾ Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. te e-s (4) pe-f . . . . . e·ʾr P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w wʿ wʿb n ʾMn ṯ·t-s e-f n ḥry n Ḥ-nn-stn te-s e-s ḫr p šr pe-f šr šʿ p-hw z n-w Ḥr-wz sy Ḥr-ḫb(?) e-f tne pe-f šr (5) z n-f n wʿb·w ṭe-n š-f a p t Ḫr erme Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. my eʾw Pṯḥ-nfr sy Ḥr-wz a Te-w-zy sḫ-n n-f a t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn ṭe Ḥr-wz eʾw (6) Pṯḥ-nfr sy Ḥr-wz pe-f šr a Te-w-zy sḫ-w n-f a t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn Te-w-zy pš-w t k·t tʾ 16 a p 4 s·w 4·t tʾ·w a wʿ s š-w m-s (7) Pṯḥ-nfr[4] sy Ḥr-wz ʾn-w s ṭe-w tḫb-f a n ṭʾ·w[5] ṭe-w ʾr-f ʿrš n ʾMn P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Ns-sm-tw ʾw a ḫry n p t Ḫr (8) pḥ-f a Te-w-zy z-w n-f mṭ nb eʾr n wʿb·w pṭ P-a·ṭe-ʾS a mḥṭe a r n p pr n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. ʾr s[6] mṭ ḫsf·t m-ṭʾ·t-f z-w n-f(?)[7] ḥfe Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. (9) šny b ʾr Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. ʾy a bl smy P-a·ṭe-ʾS n s(?) n wpey·w[8] ʾn-w Pṯḥ-nfr sy Ḥr-wz sḫ-w ne-w r·w n p ʿy n wpy (10) z Pṯḥ-nfr ty tʾ eʾr-f ṯ·t-s e pe-f yt n ḥry n Ḥ-nn-stn tʾ Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. te ʾr P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Ns-sm-tw ḫmn(?)[9] ʿš n p ʿy n wpy (11) erme Pṯḥ-nfr sy Ḥr-wz ḫsy P-a·ṭe-ʾS n p

ⲱⲉ-Петенсе ⲥⲓ-Ⲍⲥⲥⲉⲁⲧⲟⲟⲩ(?) ⲉⲡⲧⲟ-Ⲃⲏⲣ, ⲉⲁⲓⲣⲱⲗⲉ (2) ⲛⲉⲗⲗⲁⲩ ⲛⲥⲁⲡⲉⲩⲥⲁⲧⲁⲗ(?) ⲗⲁⲡ-ⲟⲩⲗⲗⲟⲩⲧ(?) Ⲟⲩⲥⲉⲣⲗⲟⲥⲉ ⲣⲓⲛⲩ, *ⲣⲫⲉⲥ(?)ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲛⲏ ϫⲉⲱⲉ-Петенсе ⲉⲡⲧⲟ-Ⲃⲏⲣ ⲗⲁⲡⲡⲉⲣⲟ, (3) ⲱⲟⲟⲩ ⲉ-Ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲩⲟϫ ⲥⲓ-Ⲍⲁⲣⲫⲛⲃⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲛⲏ ⲛ-Ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲕ ⲉⲩⲡ(ⲡ)ⲫⲣⲁⲓ(?) ⲛ-Ⲃⲓⲛⲥ, ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ‘ⲉⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲩ . . . . . ⲣⲉⲫ(?) ⲡⲱⲱⲡⲉ (?) ⲉⲧⲧⲉ-(ⲡ)ⲫⲉⲛⲧ-ⲛ-Ⲗⲗⲁⲉⲛ-Ⲧⲉⲩϫⲟⲓ (?) ⲧⲉ-ⲡⲉⲣⲟ ⲧⲉ ? ⲉⲥ- (4) ⲡⲉⲩ . . . . . ⲁ-Петенсе ⲥⲓ-Ⲑⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲛⲏ ⲛ-Ⲗⲗⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲓⲧⲥ ⲉⲩⲡ(ⲡ)ⲫⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ-Ⲃⲓⲛⲥ: ⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲥⲫⲁⲡⲱⲉⲗⲁ-ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲱⲁⲡⲟⲟⲩ.’

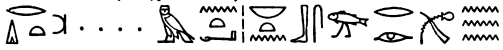
ϫⲟ ⲛⲁⲩ Ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲩⲟϫ ⲥⲓ-Ⲍⲁⲣⲫⲛⲃⲉ ‘ⲭⲧⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲛⲣⲉ?’ (5) ϫⲟ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲛⲏ ‘ⲧⲉⲛ-ⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲧⲟ-Ⲃⲏⲣ ⲗⲁⲡⲡⲉⲣⲟ, ⲗⲁⲁⲩⲉ-Ⲡⲧⲁϩⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲥⲓ-Ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲩⲟϫ ⲉ-Ⲧⲉⲩϫⲟⲓ, ⲥⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲉ-(ⲡ)ⲫⲉⲛⲧ-ⲛ-Ⲗⲗⲁⲉⲛ-Ⲧⲉⲩϫⲟⲓ: ⲥⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲉ-(ⲡ)ⲫⲉⲛⲧ-ⲛ-Ⲗⲗⲁⲉⲛ-Ⲧⲉⲩϫⲟⲓ: ⲡⲱⲉⲩ-ⲧⲛⲉⲧⲟ ⲗⲁⲡⲧⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲡⲥⲧⲉⲩ-ⲥⲁ(?), ⲥⲧⲉ-ⲧⲟ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲁ. Ⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲁ- (7) Ⲡⲧⲁϩⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲥⲓ-Ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲩⲁϫ, ⲁⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ, ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲧⲉϩⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ(?) ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲣⲉⲩ-ⲱⲣⲱ(?) ⲛ-Ⲗⲗⲟⲩⲛ. Петенсе ⲥⲓ-Ⲍⲥⲥⲉⲁⲧⲟⲟⲩ(?) ⲛⲩ ⲉⲫⲣⲁⲓ ⲗⲁⲡⲧⲟ-Ⲃⲏⲣ, (8) ⲡⲣⲟϥ ⲉ-Ⲧⲉⲩϫⲟⲓ, ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲗⲟⲩⲧⲉ(?) ⲛⲓⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲛⲏ. ⲡⲧⲉ-Петенсе ⲉⲗⲫⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲗⲁⲡⲡⲉⲣⲟ ⲣⲟⲥ ⲗⲁⲛⲧⲥⲟϥⲉ (?) ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ. ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ‘ϥⲱϥ (?) ⲡⲉⲣⲟ (9) ⲱⲱⲡⲉ: ⲗⲁⲣⲉ-Ⲡⲉⲣⲟ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.’ ⲥⲉⲗⲁⲓⲉ-Петенсе ⲛⲥⲁ (?) ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲉⲓ (?), ⲁⲛⲉⲩ-Ⲡⲧⲁϩⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲥⲓ-Ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲩⲟϫ ⲥⲣⲉⲩ-ⲛⲉⲩⲣⲟ ⲗⲁⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲉⲓ (?). (10) ϫⲉ-Ⲡⲧⲁϩⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ‘ⲧⲉⲓⲧⲟ ⲉⲣⲉϥ-ϫⲓⲧⲥ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲫⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ-Ⲃⲓⲛⲥ ⲧⲉ-ⲡⲉⲣⲟ ⲧⲉ.’ ⲣⲉ-Петенсе ⲥⲓ-Ⲍⲥⲥⲉⲁⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲫⲗⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲱⲉ(?) ⲗⲁⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲉⲓ(?) (11) ⲗⲁⲛ-Ⲡⲧⲁϩⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ ⲥⲓ-Ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲩⲟϫ. ⲫⲁⲥⲓⲉ-Петенсе ⲗⲁⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲉⲓ (?),

[1] Probably equivalent to *sṭm ʾš*, I Kham. 5/1, &c.

[2] Perhaps *ʾm-wn·t* ⲉⲗⲗⲟⲩⲧ as in 2/10, but may rather be *ʾm-wne* as a priestly title (SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, 26/158, *Annales*, 4/56).

[3] Cf. I Kham. 4/4.

[4] The gap in the writing is caused as usual by an error, which has been washed out before the writing was continued beyond. The scribe seems to have omitted Ptahnûfi's filiation, continuing with *ʾn-w s*, these signs being still faintly visible.

[5] In 18/4–5 *tḫb-f a ʾḫ-mn*. That the priests of the 5th order should *μετεχειν των ἁγνειων*, in Can., l. 32, is rendered  , 'a share should be given (to the priests) of all dues of entering to be purified in the temple' (Hisn, l. 11 = Tanis, l. 16), and in demotic, *nte ⲡ ḫp . . . . n n gy* (*n*) *tḫb* 'and that a share come (to the priests) in the manners of anointing' (Tanis, l. 31 = Hisn, l. 9).

[6] *s* may be reflexive referring to *mṭ ḫsf·t*: if not, it must be the impersonal subject-suffix.

[7] The *f* is imperfect but very probable.

[8] Sing. *wpe* 18/6, not *wp·t* , see the spelling in I, II (Pl. 6, 14).

[9] Probably an odd mistake for *ss* (cf. 5/8), the

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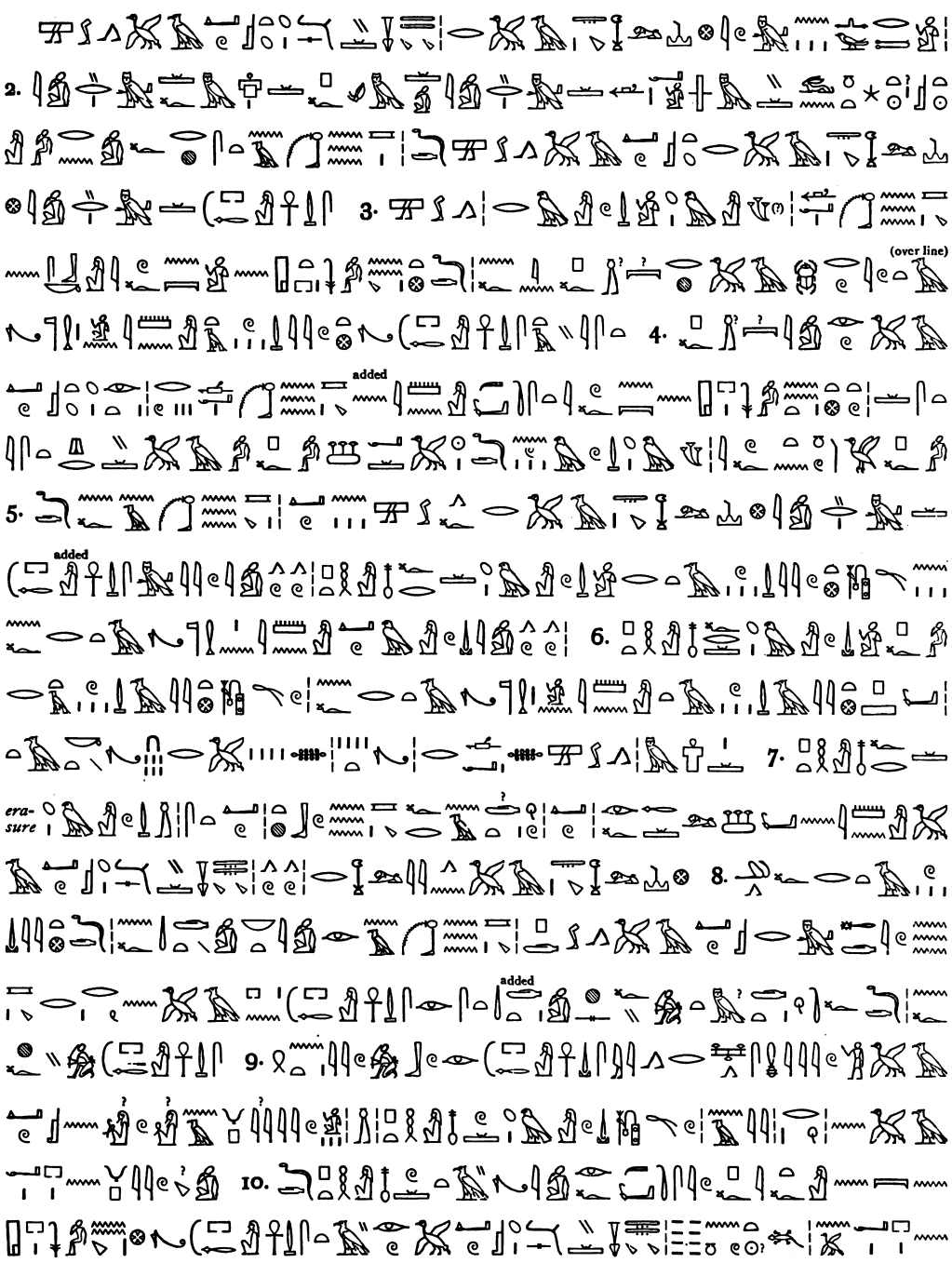

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ʿy n wpy e-f ʾw a rs š-f n-f a Ne e-f z e(-y) š ṯy rḫ-s ne sn·w (12) nt n Ne gm-f n ḥrṭ·w n P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w nt n wʿb[1] n ʾMn n Ne z-f n-w szy nb e·ʾr ḫp n-ʾm-f erme n wʿb·w n ʾMn (13) Te-w-zy ṯ-w P-a·ṭe-ʾS ṭe-w ʿḥ-f e·ʾr-ḥr n n wʿb·w n ʾMn z n-f n wʿb·w n ʾMn ʾḫ p nt e-k z e·ʾr-s e·ʾr-s ḫp e ʿn-w smy n (14) n[sic] n wʿb·w n ʾMn z šše[2] Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Psmṭk Nfr-ʾb-rʿ te-s e z-w šše Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. wnee-n a hb a p pr Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. n mṭ nb (15) e·ʾr n-k ny wʿb·w n ʾMn ḥr z-k smy[3] n s(?) n-e·ʾr r-w (n?)[4] sḫ n p ʿy n wpy erme py wʿb n Sbk nt ṯ[5] n te-k tʾ bn (16) e-w rḫ srf a[6] mnq mṭ mnt-k n py wš[7] ṭe n wʿb·w ṭe-w ḥṭ 5 n P-a·ṭe-ʾS ṭe n-f ne-f sn·w ke ḥṭ 5 a(?) ṭmṭ(?)[8] ḥṭ 10 z-w n-f m·š a p ʿy (17) n wpy erme py rm nt ṯ n te-k tʾ e-k mnq ny ḥṭ ʾm ṭe-n n-k gʾ[9] ḥṭ P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Ns-sm-tw ʾw a mḫṭe (18) pḥ-f a Te-w-zy z n-f n rm nt e-f ʿḥ erme-w mn ḫw n š a p ʿy n wpy pe-k ʾr n z[10] rm ʿo ar-k pe e-f ḫp (19) e wn ḥṭ 100 m-ṭ[·t]-k e-f a ḫsy·t-k ṭe-w ʿq-s a ḥt n P-a·ṭe-ʾS tm š a p ʿy n wpy bn-p n wʿb·w ṭy ḥtp (20) n t tʾ 16 a·pš [n] wʿb·w a n s·w n wʿb a·wne ḫp e-w ʿq[11] n-e·wne ʾr ʿr(š)[12] n rn-w ḥtp n 4 p-[e]-wnee-w ṭy-s n Pṭḥ-nfr **(16/1)** n rn n t tʾ ḥn-ntr ʾMn n ṯ ḥ-sp 1 n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Wḥ-ʾb-rʿ[13] a . . . . a ḥ-sp 15 n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. ʿḤ-ms

ⲉϥⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲏⲥ, ϣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉ-ⲏⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ‘ⲉⲓⲉϣⲉ (ⲉ?) ⲧⲉϩⲉⲥ(?)-ⲛⲁⲥⲏⲛⲩ (12) ⲉⲧⲡ-ⲏⲉ’ ⲥⲉⲗⲗⲟϥ ⲛϩⲣⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ-Ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉ ⲥⲓ-Ⲥⲓⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ Ⲗⲗⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ-ⲏⲉ ϫⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲁ ⲁⲣϩⲱⲡⲉ ⲗⲗⲁⲟϥ ⲗⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ-Ⲗⲗⲉⲉⲛ- (13) Ⲧⲉⲩϫⲟⲓ. ϫⲓⲉⲩ-Ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉ ⲧⲉⲩ ⲁϩⲟϥ ⲁϩⲣⲉ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ-Ⲗⲗⲟⲩⲛ: ϫⲟ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ-Ⲗⲗⲟⲩⲛ ‘ⲁϩ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲱ, ⲁⲣⲁⲓⲥ. ⲁϩⲣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲁⲡⲉⲩ-ⲥⲁⲁⲁⲉ ⲛ- (14) ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ-Ⲗⲗⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ ⲥⲱⲉ(?)-ⲡⲉⲣⲟ Ⲡⲥⲁⲗⲗⲁⲛϫⲁⲕ Ⲛⲉϥⲉⲣⲉⲓⲃⲣⲛ, ⲉⲓⲥ ⲉϫⲟⲟⲩ ‘ⲥⲱⲉ-ⲡⲉⲣⲟ’ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲛ ⲉϩⲱⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲛ-ⲡⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲧⲉ(?) ⲛⲓⲁⲁ (15) ⲉⲣⲁ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲓ-ⲟⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ-Ⲗⲗⲟⲩⲛ: ⲫⲉ ϫⲟⲕ ⲥⲉⲗⲗⲁⲉ ⲛⲥⲁ(?) ⲛⲁⲣ-ⲣⲟⲟⲩ (ⲛ?)-ⲥⲫⲁⲓ ⲗⲁⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲁⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲛⲏ ⲛ-Ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲕ ⲉⲧϫⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲧⲟ: ⲛ-(16)ⲛⲉⲩⲫⲥⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲗⲁⲡⲕ-ⲗⲁⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲕ ⲗⲁⲡⲓⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ (?).’

ⲧⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲏ ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲫⲁⲧ ϯⲟⲩ ⲛ-Ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉ, ⲧⲟ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲉⲛⲩ ⲛⲉⲫⲁⲧ ϯⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲛⲧ(?)-ⲫⲁⲧ ⲗⲁⲛⲧ . ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ‘ⲁⲁϣⲉ ⲉⲡⲓ- (17) ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲁⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲧⲟ ⲉⲕⲗⲁⲛⲕⲛⲉⲓⲫⲁⲧ ⲗⲗⲟⲩ ⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲥⲉⲫⲁⲧ.’ Ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉ ⲥⲓ-Ⲥⲥⲉⲗⲗⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲗⲫⲛⲧ, (18) ⲡⲣⲟϥ ⲉ-Ⲧⲉⲩϫⲟⲓ: ϫⲟ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛⲣⲱⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲫⲉ ⲛⲉⲗⲗⲁⲁⲩ ‘ⲁⲛⲫⲛⲩ ⲛⲓⲱⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲉⲓ: ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲣⲉ ⲛϫⲱ ⲣⲁⲁⲁⲁⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ . ⲉϥⲫⲱⲡ (19) ⲉⲟⲩⲛ-ⲫⲁⲧ ⲱⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ, ⲉϥⲉⲫⲁⲥⲧⲕ.’ ⲧⲉⲩ-ⲁⲕⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲛⲧ ⲛ-Ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲱⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲡⲟⲉⲓ . ⲗⲁⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲏ ϯ ⲫⲱⲧⲡ(?) (20) ⲛⲧⲧⲟ ⲗⲁⲛⲧⲧⲁⲥⲉ ⲉⲡⲱⲉ-ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲥⲁ(?): ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲉⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲕ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣ-ⲱⲣϣ (?) ⲛⲣⲓⲛⲟⲩ . ⲫⲱⲧⲡ(?) ⲛ ⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲗⲁ-Ⲡⲧⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ

scribe carelessly writing the group for Khmûn, which the latter so much resembles: but perhaps correct, meaning an 8-day period, see p. 97, note 5.

[1] Plural, cf. 7/11 and *wʿb* below, l. 20.

[2] *šše* or *ššt*, cf. *šš* II Kham. 2/16.

[3] *smy* may be obj. of *s-k*, in which case *ḫr z-k* seems to be jussive rather than consuetudinal, cf. the double use of the negative *b-ʾr*, *Stories H. P.*, p. 110: or it would be possible to read ‘thou sayest (continually) “I have pleaded,”’ *smy-y*, &c.

[4] There is no *n* in the original.

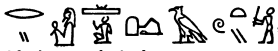
[5] *ṯ n*, an obscure use recurring in l. 17 as if it were a special idiom: *ṯ* cannot be the qualitative.

[6] This must be cpqe e-, ‘have leisure to.’

[7] Lit. ‘vacancy,’ but probably meaning ‘interval of time’ (?).

[8] Cf. 13/8, *a mḫ ḥtp* 20, but the sign here *ṭmṭ*, *mḫ*, *ṭbn* (?) is very different.

[9] is substituted for (as ⲥⲉ?) even in abn. hier., Psam., Louvre, year 29/6.

[10] Cf.  , *D'Orb.*, 19/10.

[11] Probably in a technical sense.

[12] The *š* omitted by the scribe.

[13] Sethe, *Verbum*, iii. 101, derives Απρ(ι)ης חפרע from the king's throne-name, *Ḥʿ-ib-rʿ*. One would not, however, expect to find the throne-name in common use at this period.

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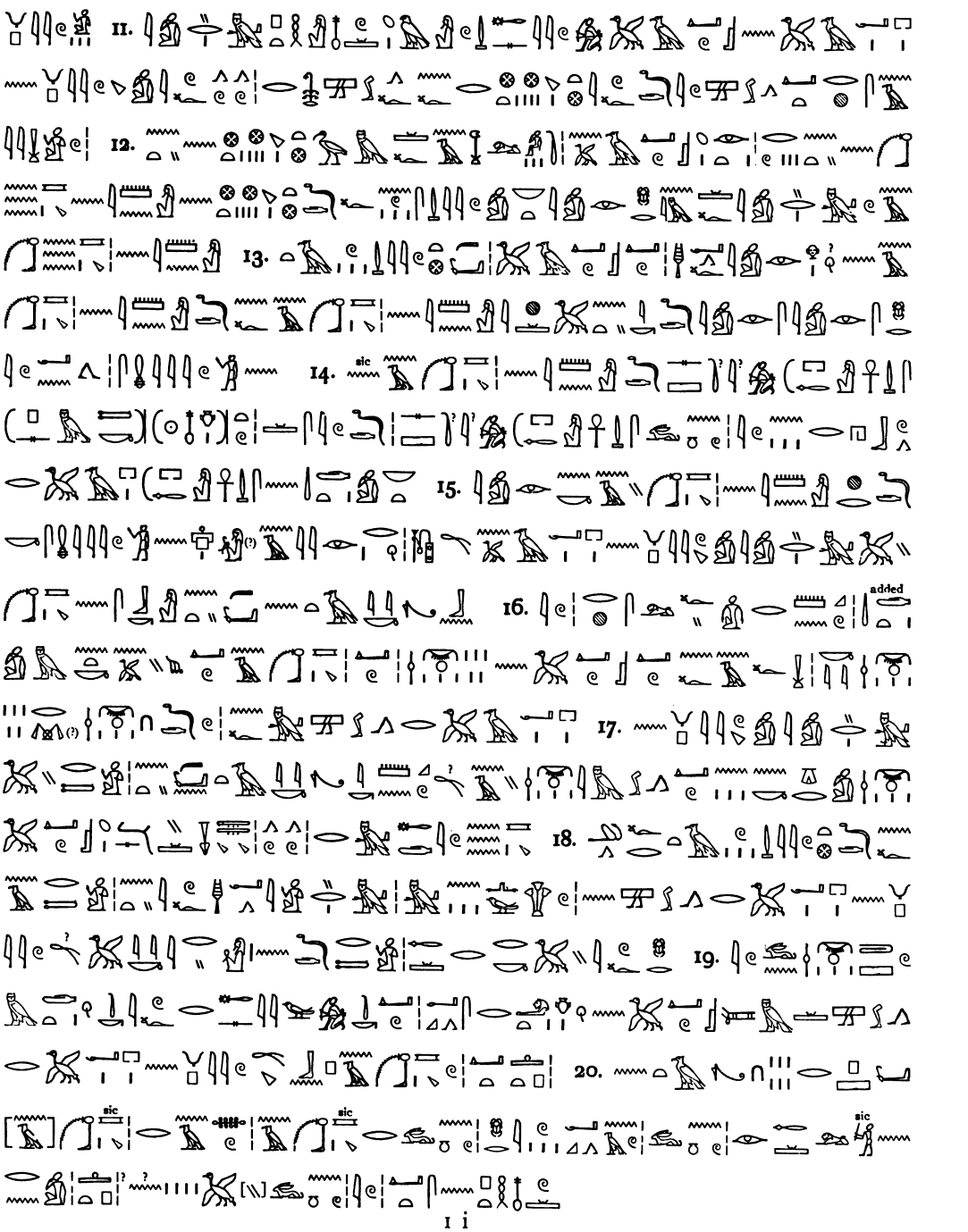

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ḫp ḥ-sp 15 n ʿḤ-ms p mr yḥ[1] ʾw (2) a Ḥ-nn-stn ṯe-f ʾn-w n sḫ·w n tš n Ḥ-nn-stn z-f n-w ʾn wn m-ṯe Ḥr-mʿ-ḫrw[2] sy Ptḥ-eʾr-ṯy-s sʿnḫ n (3) py tš e p mr yḥ zf[3] m-ṯʾ n Ḥr-mʿ-ḫrw z n-f Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst sy ʿNḫ-p-ḫrṯ wʿ sḫ n tš e·wne b ʾr-f ʾr wʿb n ʾMn (4) Te-w-zy mn m-ṯe Ḥr-mʿ-ḫrw sy Ptḥ-eʾr-(ṯy)-s sʿnḫ n py tš m-s ḫp e-f ḫp e p mr yḥ p nt mr n ṯy ʾr-w mṯ bʾn·t (5) n Ḥr-mʿ-ḫrw e(-y) rḫ ṯy ʾr-w n-f mṯ ee-f a zf nʾm-s n ḥw a pe-f sʿnḫ z n-f p mr yḥ e·z-s z n-f Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst mn rm (6) n p t m-s(?)[4] ny wʿb·w n ʾMn Te-w-zy m-ṯe Ḥr-mʿ-ḫrw ʾr-f ne-f sn·w n wʿb n ʾMn Te-w-zy wn wʿ·t mʾe ḫr n wʿb·w n (7) ʾMn Te-w-zy st 484 yḥ p[5] nt šp ar-w nʾm-s e-s a mḥ st 1000 yḥ ʾn-w p twt n Pr-ʿo ʿḤ-ms a Te-w-zy (8) ṯe-f ʾr n(?)-f Ptḥ-eʾr-ṯy-s sy Mr-ʾb-Ptḥ ḥn-ntr n p twt ṯe-f šp-w st 120 yḥ a p twt n (ʾMn Te-w-zy)[6] Pr-ʿo e bn-p-w ṯy st 1 yḥ (9) n p twt n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. aʾn-w a Ḥ-nn-stn ʾr p mr yḥ ḥt a rs ph-f a t mʾe n Te-w-zy mnn(?)-f a (10) pe-s phḥw(?)[7] ṯe-f ʿl nḫ 2 a ḥry te-f qṯy-w n t mʾe ʾrb-w n šʿ·w n ḫ·w(?)[8] a t mʾe ṯe-w (11) mḥ-s st 929[9] yḥ st-f t mʾe n Te-w-zy wne t st 120 yḥ n p twt n t sḫ·t[10] Škke wʿ ʿy st-f s-(12)t ʿn ʿš p mr yḥ a p mr mšʿ Mʾ-n-n-Wḥ-ʾb-rʿ[11] z my ṯe n wʿb·w n ʾMn Te-w-zy bṯ(?) 4000 . . . . .[12] n p šm[13] (13) n ty mʾe a·wne ḫar-w p mr mšʿ ʾw a Te-w-zy ʾr-f nb[14] n t šn(?) ṯe-f fy bṯ(?) nb a·gm-f n t(?)[15] šn(?) n n pr·w (14) a r n ḥ-ntr ʾr-w st n wḥ-ḫtm(?)[16] n r n ḥ-ntr pṯ n wʿb·w a mḫṯe a r n p pr Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. z n-w p (15) wn n Ptḥ nt e-w wʿb-w n pe-f ʿy mn rm ʾs Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. ee-f rḫ nḫt tnw m-s Ḥl-Ḫns[17] sy Ḥr rm e-f ḥḥ(?)[18] a (16) Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. n t qnḥ[19] pe b ʾr-w z wn rm(?)[20] p(?) ḫne n p pr Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. e-w stm n-f mṯ[21] mʾ·t-f ṯe-w š (17) p wn n Ptḥ m-s Ḥr-ḫb p tkr[22] n Ḥl-Ḫns ʿḥ-w erme-f z-w n-f ʾnne Ḥl-Ḫns nḫt-n n ne(?)-n mṯ mte-f (18) ṯy

[1] .

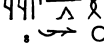
[2] Ἁρμαχοβος, common in Ptolemaic times, MAH.-SM., *Tebt.*, &c.; cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Mumienetiketten*, p. 3*. Later demotic seems to mark a *y* at the end and the vocalization is not clear.

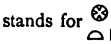
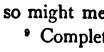
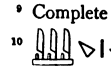
[3] *zf m-ḥ* in hostile sense, but *zf nʾm-* probably 'ardent for' or 'perturbed about' in l. 5 and 20/8.

[4] *m-s* seems a certain correction, requiring only one more stroke in the group, which as it stands appears meaningless: *ṯy* is omitted in the name in l. 4.

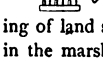
[5] *st* is fem., cf. l. 11 *t st* 120 *yḥ*, but *yḥ* is masc., and there is some irregularity in the agreement of such phrases, cf. above, p. 227, note 4.

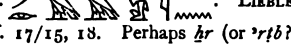
[6] The words in brackets are corrected by *Pr-ʿo* written above the line.

[7] The spelling is curious.  .

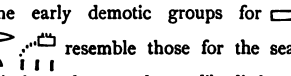
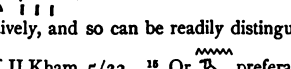
[8]  , cf. the sing. , 3/3: but the whole group stands for  in the name of Thebes  , and so might mean 'villages' or 'dwellings.'

[9] Complete in 17/13: possibly to be read 729.

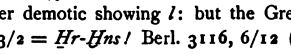
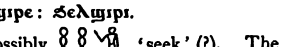
[10]  *sḫ-t*, cωщe, seems often to have a special meaning of land suitable for pasture and cultivation in the desert, in the marshes, or on the edges of the alluvium, as opposed both to mere desert and the ordinary alluvial arable land of Egypt; cf. also GOODWIN, *Ä. Z.*, 8/133. It may here be part of the name.

[11] Cf.  . LIEBLEIN, 2541.

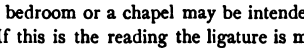
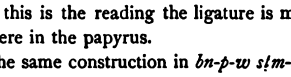
[12] Cf. 17/15, 18. Perhaps *ḫr* (or *ʾrṭbʾ*) *ḥn*(?) 40 'artaba of 40 choenikes(?),' cf. WILCKEN, *Ostr.*, i. 741.

[13] The early demotic groups for  and  resemble those for the seasons, *šm* and *pr* respectively, and so can be readily distinguished.

[14] Cf. II Kham. 5/23. [15] Or preferably by the original.

[16]  or  . The general meaning is obvious.

[17] Cf. Κελεχωνσις, MAH.-SM. *P-ḫl-Ḫns* is a common name, the later demotic showing *l*: but the Greek is Πχορχωνσις, Cas. 13/2 = *Ḥr-Ḫns* / Berl. 3116, 6/12 (also Πχιρχωνσις); cf. ϩϭωιρε: Ϭελωιρι.

[18] Possibly  , 'seek' (?). The original shows no trace of a line above to make  *nmḫ*.

[19] Cf. *t qnḫ n pr Ḥr*, II Kham. 4/25, where either the royal bedroom or a chapel may be intended.

[20] If this is the reading the ligature is more primitive than elsewhere in the papyrus.

[21] The same construction in *bn-p-w sṭm-s n-y* 17/17.

[22] The det. may be or .

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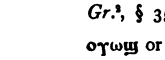
ṯe-w n-n ty m>e nt šp[·t] a >Mn e-n a ṯy n-f >rtb(?)[1] bṯ 300 hn ṯgm 200 hn >by 50 >pṯ 30 . . . .[2] n pe-f (19) ḥtp ḥr rnp·t š Ḥr-ḫb z-f s n Ḫl-Ḫns z Ḫl-Ḫns ny rm-rs·w r-w pe-w wš ᶜo-s[3] my ṯe-w st (20) n-y n t rnp·t[4] e-w rḫ-s z nḫt(-y) st bn e-w ṯy n-y e·z-s n-w z ḫr >r(-y) wᶜb n Ḥr n P-Wṯ[5] wn mte(-y) pe sn wᶜb n (21) n (*sic*) Ḥr-n-p pe sḫ n-f a wᶜ·t >ew ḥn-ntr n pe-tn ᶜy mte-tn sḫ n-f a ṯy ny nk n ne-s šty[6] ḥr rnp·t (**17**/1) nḫt(-y) tnw n ne-tn mṯ e·>r-s ḫp e N-k-ms[7] sy Pṯḥ-nfr p wᶜb n Sbk nt n ḥn-ntr n >Mn Te-w-zy n Mn-nfr (2) š n wᶜb·w ar-f z-w n-f N-k-ms p ḥtp-ntr n >Mn Te-w-zy p mr yḥ st n>m-f a p yḥ w(?)[8] >n (3) e-k rḫ nḫt-n[9] >n e bn te-s e š-n e·>r wᶜ sry z-f n-n sḫ n-y a t t> ḥn-ntr n >Mn (4) nḫt(-y) tnw n mṯ nb mte-tn ḫr >n-ṯe-k rḫ p ḫp e >n-n n e·>r sḫ n Pṯḥ-nfr sy Ḥr-wz pe-k yt (5) a t t> ḥn-ntr >Mn e Ḥr-wz sy Ḥr-ḫb(?) pe-f yt n ḥry n Ḫ-nn-stn bn t> e·wne mte-f s >n te e·>r-n (6) ṯy-s n-f z e-f a nḫt-n z n-w N-k-ms sy Pṯḥ-nfr m·š sḫ n rm nb nt e-w a nḫt tnw a t t> (7) ḥn-ntr n >Mn Sbk erme-tn[10] e·>n n-y p zmᶜ nt e-tn a >r-f sḫ(-y) ar-f š n wᶜb·w a Ḥr-ḫb(?) (8) sy Yr-Ḥr-r-w p rm n Ḫl-Ḫns sḫ-w a t t> ḥn-ntr n >Mn n P-s-n-mṯk-mn-n-P sy Ḥr p sn n Ḫl-Ḫns (9) ṯ-w p sḫ n Ḫl-Ḫns smy Ḫl-Ḫns sy Ḥr m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. z wne ḫr >r pe yt (10) ḥn-ntr n >Mn Te-w-zy wᶜ ᶜy e-f rḫ[11] n p tš n Ḥ-nn-stn š p mr yḥ ar-f st-f (11) pe-f ḥtp-ntr ṯe-f ṯ-w nt nb nt n p ṯme e-f z e(-y) a ṯy ṯe-w p šm n n yḥ a·st-f >n-w p (12) mr yḥ m-bḥ Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. z-f pe nb ᶜo gm(-y) wᶜ·t m> n ḫr->b-yr[12] n mt[13] n Te-w-zy z n-y (13) n sḫ·w n tš e-s a mḥ st 1000 yḥ ṯe(-y) ḫy-w s mḥ-s st 929 yḥ ᶜnḫ ḫr n Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. bn (14) st[14] pḥ >n n ṯe-s[15] n ḥtp-ntr n ntr ntry·t[16] e·>r-s mte·t[17] a Pr-ᶜo ᶜ.w.s. e-s a >y n[18] bṯ 20

[1] Very doubtful.

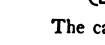
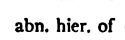
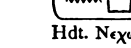
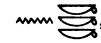
[2] Apparently not a numeral: it perhaps qualifies the word 'goose.'

[3] . Perhaps a nominal sentence, as ERMAN, *Gr.*[2], § 355, as it were  : *wš* may represent ογωϣ or ογοειϣ.

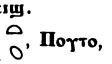
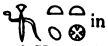
[4] 'This year,' like *n p-hw*.

[5] , Ποττο, AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.*, 370; normally written in 19/16: here abnormally owing to the proximity of *Ḥr-n-p* in the next line.

[6] *šty*, lit. 'drawing' from stores, &c. λογεια and καρπειαι, see additional note.

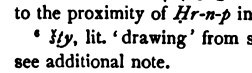
[7] . So also l. 6; in l. 2 clearly  . The cartouche of Neko is written  in the abn. hier. of *Corpus Louvre*, No. 24. In hieroglyphic it is ,  , Ass. Nikû, Heb. נכו and נכה, Hdt. Νεχως, Sept. and Man. Νεχαω, Jos. Νεχαυς; cf. STEINDORFF, *Beitr. z. Assyr.*, i. 346. At a time in which the imitation of antiquity is apparent in many directions it seems to be a rather exceptional revival of an Old Kingdom name  , 'belonging to *ka*s.' The variant in the XXVIth Dynasty would mean 'belonging to bulls,' perhaps with reference to the Apis and Mnevis bulls, which were now so devoutly worshipped. The demotic spellings and the foreign transcripts indicate a wavering between the singular Neko, 'belonging to the *ka*,' and the plural Nekoū, dialectically Nekau, 'belonging to *ka*s.'

[8] apparently the which is so conspicuous in the nome-lists, e. g. DÜMICHEN, *Geogr. Inschr.*, iv. 106.

[9]  , 1st pl., the a superfluous repetition, cf. p. 210, note 5, and below, l. 4,  with ϩⲛⲛⲟⲩ (p. 208).

[10] Note the idiom.

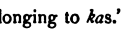
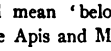
[11] A remarkable use.

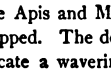
[12]  , evidently a compound expression, *yr* being without article. *n* is probably for unless it be similar to that in STEINDORFF, *Gramm.*[2], § 171. Any piece of land cut off by a canal might be called an island, but this was in the middle of the river.

[13] Cf. ⲛⲧⲁⲁⲓⲛⲧⲉ. It expresses the position of the island opposite the centre of Teuzoi.

[14] Fem. sing.

[15] Boh. ⲧⲏⲓⲥ, Sah. ⲧⲁⲁⲥ, here spelt precisely like the word for 'behold!' i. e. ⲉⲓⲥ. In other texts is regularly used for *sṯm-f* of : and in this papyrus = ⲛ̄-.

[16]  , but cf.  , *Pap. Eskhons*, l. 46. The fem. is written here because the word is really a fem. adj. used as a subst.

[17]  . This must be fem. adj. (or qual.

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(15) mz(?) 40 a st 1 yḥ šn(-y) n sḫ·w z ʾn st šp·t[1] a ʾMn Te-w-zy z-w n-y wn st 484½ yḥ (16) šp a ʾMn nʾm-s z-y s n n wʿb·w n ʾMn ʾm-n ṭe(-y) ṭe-w st n-tn a qḥ[2] n pe-tn ḥtp-ntr (17) nt n t sḫ p eṭne[3] n Te-w-zy bn p-w stm-s n-y ʾMn Te-w-zy ḥtp-ntr n (18) ʿy ʿo m-šs p-e·gm(-y) ḫar-f gm(-y) bṭ 33 . . . . . e-w šp a ʾMn Te-w-zy ḫr hw e(-y) a (19) mḥ-w nʾm-f šgnn e n-ʿš-w n e·ʾr ḫp n Ḫl-Ḫns erme p mr-yḥ m-bḥ Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. p (20) pḫw e·ʾr ḫp[4] tm rḫ ṭy wy p mr yḥ a t mʾ n Te-w-zy ṭe Ḫl-Ḫns ṭy(?)[5] ʾr-f šʿ(?) (18/1) ḫyt[6] a ṭy ṭe-w t st 484½ yḥ [n?] t šb n t st 484½ yḥ a·gm-w e-w (2) šp a p ḥtp-ntr ḫr t mʾ n Te-w-zy a qḥ n p ḥtp-ntr n ʾMn nt[7] t sḫ p eṭn (3) n Te-w-zy mte-f ṭy wy-w a n bṭ(?) a·ʾn-w a bl n Te-w-zy e-w z e-w a ṭ·t-w n p šm (4) n t mʾ n Te-w-zy a·st-w

P-s-n-mṭk-mn-n-P sy Ḥr p sn n Ḫl-Ḫns ʾw a Te-w-zy tḫb-f (5) a ʾh-mn[8] ʾr-f ʿrš n ʾMn ṭe-w n-f n nk·w a·z-w n Ḫl-Ḫns e-n a ṭy st n-k z n-w P-s-n-mṭk-(6)m-n-P py zmʿ e·ʾr-tn n-y a ty tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn ṭ(-y) s a p ʿy n wpy z n-y wʿ wpe(?) e-f st (7) eṭbe ḫp e n wʿb·w n e·ʾr[9] z n-k z ty tʾ ʾn wne mn mte-s nb a rḫ pe-s nb a ʾy ar-k (8) n ke ss z ʾnk s mte[-w] ṭy mʿ-f ar-k te-s e stm(-y) z py wʿb n Sbk a·wnee-s ḫar-f n wʿb·w (9) n e·ʾr sḫ n-f ar-s ʿn e pe-f yt n ḥry n Ḥ-nn-stn ʾn wne mn mte-s nb a ḥ·t-f z n-f (10) Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ sy A-ḥr(?)[10] p mr šn e(-y) a ʾn n-k pe-s nb e(-y) a ṭy sḫ-f n-k ar-s e·ʾr-s ḫp e š P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy (11) Ns-sm-tw e·ʾr ne-f yt·w n ḥ-sp 13 n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ Ns-sm-tw pe-f šr p nt ḫp wʿ rm ʾw e·ʾr Ns-sm-tw (12) z st n-ʾw[11] ar-k a ṭy sḫ-k a t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn n P-s-n-mṭk-mn-n-P sy Ḥr n kns(?)[12] š n-f Ns-sm-tw (13) erme te-f ḥm ne-f ḫrṭ·w a wʿ tgs n grḥ š-f n-f a Ḫmn e·ʾr ṭwe ḫp stm-s n (14) wʿb·w p mr-šn š-w a pe-f ʿy ṭ-w nt nb nt mte-f ʾn-w pe-f pr te-f s n ḥ-ntr a ḥry ṭe-w (15) ʾn-w wʿ ḫr·t-ntr[13] te-w nqr-f t wṭy a·ṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Yr·t-w-r-w ʾr-w ḫr p bke n ʾny š-w (16) a t k·t wṭy n ʾny n Yb nt n p nt wʿb e-w z e-n a ṭy nqr-w s z p ḫr·t-ntr bne(-y) rḫ n-(17)qr-s gy p nt e-f a rḫ nqr-s[added] a ne ḫʿy[14] a wrp[15] z wʿ wʿb qʿ-s n-tn[16] te-s b ʾr (18) rm

with false ending 𓊃) as predicate: *e·ʾr-s* is therefore emphatic ac- for ec-; cf. *e·ʾr(-y)*, &c. In later demotic *e ḫr-s* would be written, *Stories H. P.*, p. 96.

[10] 'Come as,' 'amount to': hardly to be connected with *ʾy n ʿw* of I Kham. 5/22.

[1] 𓎛𓏏𓊃 *šp·t*, fem. sing.: contrast the following *wn st 484½ yḫ šp*, apparently fem. pl., unless *šp* agrees with *yḫ*; cf. p. 242, note 5.

[2] Cf. eqhee, societate alicuius utens, KABIS, *Ä. Z.*, 13/83.

[3] 'Ground,' evidently the 'mainland of Teuzoi,' as opposed to the 'island of Teuzoi.' [4] So also 20/17.

[5] The original would admit of reading 𓎛𓂋𓄿𓈖 for 𓊃𓂋𓄿𓈖, and 𓊃 preceding might perhaps then stand for *n t*, ntep-. But it is difficult to find a satisfactory explanation of the passage. Omit *ṭy*(?).

[6] *ḫyt*, ωοειτ, II Kham. 3/28, *Pap. Mag. L. L.*, &c.

[7] Supply *n*, which is seldom omitted in this text.

[8] 𓅱𓃀𓏏𓂝𓀀. In SPIEGELBERG, *Correspondances*, 𓅱𓃀𓏏𓂝𓀀 var. 𓅱𓃀𓏏𓂝𓀀 is frequent as the name of a person, unless it be an appellative title (see esp. the instance in *Turin*, 126, l. 6). The Ptolemaic 𓃀𓏏𓂝𓊃 'earth,' 'world,' lit. 'noblest of monuments,' in reference to its creator (DÜMICHEN, *Ä. Z.*, 9/89), is evidently the same word, changed like 𓃀𓂝𓀀𓊃, -χηβις, from *ʾḫw-bit*.

[9] Usually past participle at this time, but here a future meaning seems necessitated by the context.

[10] The last sign resembles the determinative in the name of Kambyses, 21/7, 9, perhaps 𓀭; compare *A-ḫr*(?) in Pap. I–VIII.

[11] 𓈖𓇋𓂋𓏏 cf. *Stories H. P.*, 153–4; but the present 'coming,' 'entering,' 'is coming,' 'passing' should be substituted for the past tenses in that note.

[12] . . . ϭonc : ϫonc. The earliest occurrence of this puzzling word. In I Kham. 3/5, &c., it is similarly written, but with det. . . . 𓎛𓂋𓄿𓈖. [13] 𓎛𓇋𓏏.

[14] 𓀀𓂋𓎛𓂋𓄿𓏏. Perhaps connected with the late Eg. 𓇋𓂋𓄿𓏏.

[15] 𓀀𓈙𓊪𓀀; cf. Boh. ογωρπ, mittere.

[16] 'Let it alone!' or 'never mind!' or 'retain it' (cf. kac nak)?

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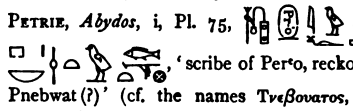
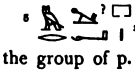
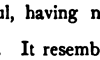
nw r-s ḫr[1] e·ʾr-f ṯy ʾr-w s e bpte-f ʾr wʿb e bpte P-a·ṭe-ʾS p ʿo-n-mr sḫ n-f (19) a t tʾ ḥn-ntr n ʾMn e-n rḫ grʿ-f[2] ḥr ʾ·t-s[3] z bn-p pe-k yt ʾr ḥn-ntr n ʾMn qʿ-w t wṯy n (20) ʾny n Yb bn-p-w nqr-s š-w a pe-f twt 2 n ʾny ṯmgy wʿ n r n t qnḫ (21) n ʾMn e pe-f twt n ʾMn n qn-f ḥwy-w s a p yr š-w a pe-f ke (a·)wne n pr-Wsr n r n t qnḫ n Wsr (22) e pe-f twt n Wsr n qn-f ḥwy-w s a p yr sṯm Ns-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS [mṭ] nb e·ʾr n-f n wʿb·w n (19/1) Te-w-zy e·ʾr-s ḫp e wn wʿ sḫ e-f ʾp[4] ʾs p mr šnʿ(?)[5] ʾY-m-ḥtp sy P-šr-ʾS rn-f e ṭe p mr šnʿ(?) eʾw-f (2) a rḫ[6] n mṭ n Ḫmn z Ns-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS n P-a·ṭe-ʾS pe-f šr te-s e ḫr sḫ-k m·š sḫ erme ʾY-m-ḥtp sy P-šr-ʾS (3) py sḫ nt ʾp n p mr šnʿ(?) e-f rḫ pe-k zr[7] e-f rḫ smy n p mr šnʿ(?) eṭb·t-k mte-f ṯy nḥt-w n š (4) P-a·ṭe-ʾS sḫ-f erme ʾY-m-ḥtp sy P-šr-ʾS mnq-f n mṭ a·ṭe-w eʾw-f a Ḫmn a rḫ-w n sḫ š(-y) a Mn-nfr (5) erme ʾY-m-ḥtp ṭe-f sḫ n sḫ-w n p mr šnʿ(?) n mṭ n Ḫmn ʿn-f smy nʾm-w n p mr šnʿ(?) z n-f p mr šnʿ(?) mṭ nfr·t sm-(6)y ʾY-m-ḥtp n p mr šnʿ(?) z wn mte(-y) wʿ sn wʿb n ʾMn Te-w-zy pe š Z-Wbst-e-f-ʾnḫ sy A-ḥr(?) p mr-šn n ʾMn (7) Te-w-zy erme ne-f sn·w a pe-f pr te-f s n ḥ-ntr ṯ-w nt nb nt mte-f ʾn-w pe-f pr te-f s n ḥ-ntr a ḫry (8) ṭe p mr šnʿ(?) ʾr-w šʿ n Ḫr-bs sy Ḫr(?)-nfr-ʾw pa[8] Ḫ-nn-stn z smy n-y sḫ ʾY-m-ḥtp (9) sy P-šr-ʾS nt a wb(?)(-y)[9] z wn mte-y wʿ sn wʿb n ʾMn Te-w-zy pe P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Ns-sm-tw rn-f š Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ sy A-ḥr(?) (10) p mr-šn n ʾMn Te-w-zy erme ne-f sn·w a pe-f pr te-f s n ḥ-ntr ṯ-w nt nb nt nʾm-w ʾn-w pe-f ʿy te-f s n (11) ḥ-ntr a ḫry t wne n pḥ-k n ty šʿ m·še a Te-w-zy my mḥ-w n rm nb nt e P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy (12) Ns-sm-tw py wʿb a z n-k my mḥ-w nʾm-w my ʾn-w st a p ʿy nt e(-y) nʾm-f e-w zr ṭe-f ʾr-w ḫ·t-s (13) n P-s-n-mṭk-ʿ-Nyt[10] p mr mšʿ a·wne n p tš n Ḫ-nn-stn ṭe-w wʿ rm ḥl[11] ḫr n šʿ·w e-f ʾw a (14) Ḫ-nn-stn erme(-y) pḥ-n a pa-Ḫ-nn-stn p mr mšʿ ʿḥ-n e·ʾr-ḥr-w n p ʿy n sḫ ʿš-w n šʿ·w (15) n p mr šnʿ(?) z Ḫr-bs pa Ḫ-nn-stn ʿnḫ Wsr bn Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ p mr šn n ʾMn Te-w-zy n py tš (16) ʾn sṯm(-y) z š-f a Pr-Wṭ a nhpy n Ḫr p yt n Ḫl-Ḫns e·ʾr š e·ʾr ne-f yt·w ʿš-f (17) a P-a·ṭe-Ḫr-šf pe-f šms z m·še a Te-w-zy ṯ rm s 50 erme-k my mḥ-w n rm nb nt e P-a·ṭe-ʾS p wʿb a (18) z my mḥ-w nʾm-w e·ʾn st n-y e-w zr ʿš p mr mšʿ a pe-f šms z m·še a Te-w-zy ṯ rm ʿš (19) erme-k my ʾn-w n rm nt e P-a·ṭe-ʾS sy Ns-sm-tw a z my mḥ-w nʾm-w my mḥ-w nʾm-w ʾ·ʾn st n-y (20) e-w zr ṭe-n ʾy·t a Te-w-zy ḫn tgs 2 bnp-n gm Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ p [mr] šn n Te-w-zy (21) mḥ-w n ne-f sn·w a·gm-n ʾn-w st [a] Ḫ-nn-stn e·ʾr

[1] Cf. 14/22, here followed by emphatic *sṭm-f*.

[2] (σοολ-?): ϫωλ, repellere.

[3] 'Upon it,' i.e. '(by means of the writing) upon it,' or '(so far as the writing goes) upon it.'

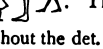
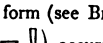
[4] Cf. l. 3, *p sḫ nt ʾp*. The former is almost a title: PETRIE, *Abydos*, i, Pl. 75,  , 'scribe of Perʿo, reckoning the temple of Pnebwat (?)' (cf. the names Τνεβουατος, &c., in *J. H. S.*, xxi. 280): it occurs also among the titles of Anemho, BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, 890.

[5]  , very doubtful, having no resemblance to the group of p. 219, note 15. It resembles the  = πτειρος of Ros., but it is not likely that ʿf would have the det. at this early period.

[6] Cf. ρωϣ, 'measure,' and *rḫ* above, 10/16.

[7] Here 'oppression' rather than 'strength,' 'ability' (?).

[8] That the demotic sign really represents the hieroglyphic letters seems clear from its use for the obsolete *pn* 'this' in Can., Hisn, l. 1, *m ḥw pn* = .

[9]  . This is much like the later group for ογϩε, but without the det. or ; *a wbe*, which seems to be the older form (see BRUGSCH, *Wb.*, 169, for the derivation from ), occurs in *Rev. Ég.*, i. fasc. 2, Pl. 1, l. 10, Dem. Proph. 2/15, and seems to mean 'about,' 'concerning'; cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxvi. p. 162.

[10] LIEBLEIN, 2361, 2556.

[11] *rm ḫl*, a new combination, probably meaning servant or youth; cf. ϩⲁⲣϩⲁⲗ for the order of the words.

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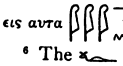
ḥr n pa Ḥ-nn-stn p mr mšʿ ʾr-w šll eʾr (**20**/1) ḥr n pa Ḥ-nn-stn p mr mšʿ z ʿnḫ Pr-ʿo bn p-n ṯ nk m-ṭe P-a·ṭe-ʾS bn p-n ʾn ʿy mte-f a ḫry (2) P-s-n-mṯk-mn-n-P sy Ḥr p ḥn-ntr ʾMn p eʾr ṭy ʾn-w pe-f pr ṭe-f s n ḥ-ntr a ḫry z pa Ḥ-nn-stn P-a·ṭe-ʾS te-s (3) e bnp-w gm Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ p mr šn ʾḫ pe-k ḥw n ṭy ṯ-w ny wʿb·w n p mr šnʿ(?) e-w a š z eʾr-ḥr n p mr šnʿ(?) (4) bnp-n ṯ nk mnt-k bnp-n ṭy ʾn-w ʿy mnt-k a ḫry z-y s n pa Ḥ-nn-stn ʾn eʾr ʾY-m-ḥtp p (5) sḫ n p mr šnʿ (?) ṭy ʿḥ(-y) eʾr ḥr n p mr šnʿ (?) e-f ṭy hb-w n pa Ḥ-nn-stn p mr mšʿ ḥ·t(-y)[1] z a pe-f . . . . . a ṭy prp-(6)w[2] te mṭ ṭy n p tš mḥ pa Ḥ-nn-stn n ṭʾ·t(-y) ṯ-f t(-y) a wy z-f n-y ʿnḫ Wsr[3] mr(-y) t-k a ny wʿb·w (7) eʾr-s ḫp z[4] wne e Ḥl-Ḫns še mṭ erme p mr šnʿ eṭb ny wʿb·w mte-f ṭy qʿ-w st mte te-k mṭ (8) ʾq te-s t šʿ nm a·ṭe ʾY-m-ḥtp ʾn-w n-y eṭb·t-k t nt e(-y) zf·k n pe-k ʿš s·ḥne[5] eṭb·t-s z (9) pe sn pe my ʾr-w ḫrḥ ar-f my ʿy t mṭ a·eʾw-f(?)[6] n-k nʾm-s[7] ny wʿb·w e(-y) a ṭy ṭe-w n-k ḥṭ 10 . . tʾ(?)[8] (10) e-y a ṭy ʿrq st (*sic*)[9] n-k bl n-s m-bḥ Ḥr-šf m-bḥ Wsr N-ʾr-f[10] z bnp-n ṯ nk mnte-k bnp-n ʾn (11) ʿy mnt-k a ḫry e(-y) a ṭy ʾr-w sbṭe py rm n p mr šnʿ (?) nt ḥ·t-k bl n-s ṭe Ḥr-bs pa Ḥ-nn-stn (12) ʿq-s m(?)-ḥt(-y) ṭy wy-w a n wʿb·w z pa Ḥ-nn-stn n n wʿb·w te-s P-a·ṭe-ʾS ṭe(-y) ʿq-s m(?)-ḥt-f ṭy wy-w (13) a ḥr-tn e-tn a ṭy n-f ḥṭ 20 ʿš-w skp z bn e-n rḫ ṭy n-f ḥṭ 5 z-y s n pa Ḥ-nn-stn wz p tw (14) n pe-f . . . . . ṯ·w ḥṭ 10 n sy sbn n ny ʿy·w a·ʾn-w a ḫry ṭe-w ʾq ke ḥṭ 20 n wpy ʾn[11] (15) nʾm-w z n-w pa Ḥ-nn-stn ʿnḫ Wsr stm(-y) mṭ nb eʾr-tn [n]-f e-w ṯ tnw n p mr šnʿ(?) bn e ḥṭ 50 ʾn tnw a (16) bl my ṭe-w n-f ḥṭ 10 e(-y) a ṭy qʿ-f n-tn p ke ḥṭ 10 mte-tn ʿrq tnw n-f z bnp-n ṯ nk mnt-k (17) bnp-n ṭy ṯ-w bnp-n ṭy ʾn-w pe-k pr te-k s n ḥ-ntr a ḫry p pḥw eʾr ḫp ṭy šp-w tʾ[12] (18) n n wʿb·w n p ḥṭ 10 mte-w ʾr n-y p ʿnḫ m-bḥ Ḥr-šf m-bḥ Wsr N-ʾr-f mte-w ṭy ḥṭ 1 n p rm n mr šnʿ(?)[13] a·wne (19) ḥ·t(-y) mte-w ṭy wy(-y) a n wʿb·w mte pa Ḥ-nn-stn z n-y mʾr mṭ erme ḥt-k ʿnḫ Wsr ʾnne Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ (20) p mr šn ʾy a rs e(-y) a ṭy ṭe-f n-k ʿo p nk a·ṭe n-k ny wʿb·w e(-y) a ʾr n-k te mṭ nfr·t ḥʿ(-y) ʿnḫ P-Rʿ (**21**/1) stm(-y) n seṭb[14] aʾr-w n-k eʾr(-y) tm ṭy ṯ-w ny wʿb·w n p mr šnʿ(?) z b ʾr[15] Ḥl-Ḫns (2) ṭy krf-w[16] te-k mṭ mte te-k mṭ ʾq wṭ w[17] pa Ḥ-nn-stn p mr-mšʿ š(-y) a Ḥmn (3) ʾn(-y) Ns-sm-tw pe yt erme te mw·t ne sn·w ne rm ṭr-w a Te-w-zy ṭe-n ʾr-w ppy[18] (4) ṭb

[1] Perhaps with the sense of protection, which is clear in ll. 11, 19.

[2] Hardly Boh. ϥερϥωρ, 'cast off,' 'loosened.'

[3] Looks like *Ḥr-Rʿ*, but must be *Wsr* as in other oaths of the sheikh.

[4] The ⲁⲉ is unusual here.

[5] Obscure in meaning as always; *ʿš ṣḫne* = τα ανηκοντα εις αυτα  , *Ros.* 18 'rights (?).' Cf. I Kham. 5/2.

[6] The very obscure in the original.

[7] ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲥ; cf. the construction after .

[8] *tʾ* means 'coin' in XVII/5 (p. 274).

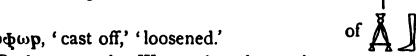
[9] A curious muddle; read *ʿrq-w st.*

[10] . Cf. l. 18; perhaps better *Nn-ʾr-f.*

[11] Perhaps a compound *ⲉⲓⲉⲡⲱⲛⲉ, or else 'labour and stone.'

[12] , hardly for ⲛⲧⲉⲛ-, cf. ⲱⲡⲧⲟⲟⲧ- (?).

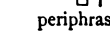
[13] Probably incorrect for *n p mr šnʿ* (?) as in l. 11.

[14]  ; cf. 24/14. The causative of is not recorded in SETHE'S *Verbum*, and is at least very unlikely to be found in demotic. This spelling may, however, represent the old *szḥ, sdḥ.*

[15] 'Lest.' I Kham. 4/12, note.

[16] Cf. ϭωρϥ, avellere (?).

[17] The meaning being evidently 'the sheikh, &c., dismissed me,' not 'the sheikh, &c., were dismissed'; the *w* may represent 1st sing. obj. pron. . The case differs from those elsewhere (p. 220, note 10) in that the verb here has a nominal subject, so that there is no suffix between the verb and its pronominal object. Another explanation would be to suppose *wṭ-w* (*y*) *P.* 'They (namely cf. ⲛⲁϥ) *P*, &c., dismissed me.'

[18]  being a verb of late formation the *stm-f* is periphrastic.

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ṯe-n qṭ-w pe-n pr ṯe-w pḥ te-f ḥ-ḫre[1] ḥms-n n'm-f te-f[2] s n ḥ-ntr (5) 'n·t a ḫry šᶜ p-hw ss sbq·w n e·'r ḫp š Ḥl-Ḥns sy Ḥr e·'r (*sic*)[3] yt·w bnp (6) P-s-n-mṯk-mn-n-P sy Ḥr 'y a Te-w-zy šᶜ p-hw ṯy e'w rm m-s pe-f nk p-e·wnee-f (7) 'r-f a hn(?) a ḥ-sp 44 n 'Ḥ-ms

ḫp ḥ-sp 3 n Gm-'z[4] Ḥr sy P-s-n-mṯk-mn-n-P p ḥn-ntr 'Mn 'w a (8) Te-w-zy ᶜḥ-f erme n wᶜb·w bnp-w mṭ erme-f a ḥ n rm n p t bnp-w ṯy ṯ-w n-f . . . ·w[6] š-w a (9) P-šr-ᶜḥ sy Yr-Ḥr-r-w p sn n Ḥr-ḫb(?)-wsy-gm(?) sḫ-w n-f a t t' ḥn-ntr n 'Mn Te-w-zy n ḥ-sp 4 n Gm-'z

C. Cols. 21/10–23/9. Copies of the records set up by Peteêsi (I) in the temple of Teuzoi, viz.: *A* cols. 21/11–22/7 and *B* cols. 22/8–23/9.

Translated above, pp. 107 et seqq.

(21/10) ḫ[6] n ty wṯy 2·t a·ṭe P-a·ṭe-'S sy Yr·t-w-r-w 'r-w

(*A*) (21/11) ḫ n ty wṯy n 'n-Yb nt n n 'Mn

(*B*) (22/8) ḫ n t [7]·nqr-w ḫr p bk n 'ny

A. 21/12.

B. 22/9.

21. 13.

22. 10.

21. 14.

22.

[1] , 'they completed (?) its lower story'; for see p. 299, note 4, rather than = , as translated p. 105, cf. p. 222, note 19.

[2] The following is remarkable as a pure nominal sentence, unless a word (*e'*) has been omitted at the beginning.

[3] Supply (*ne-f*).

[4] is for , cf. p. 199, note 1, and p. 259, note 6. Probably the vocalization was Kam'oze, in Old Persian, &c., Kambuziya, Καμβυσης. At Hammamat the spelling is *L. D.*, iii. 283 m., on the Vatican statue . In the *Dem. Chron.* the spelling seems to be *Kbz, Kbze,* .

[5] The undeciphered word occurs in Tur. Dar. 24/2, and *Corpus Louvre*, 22/2, in lists of choachyte's property and rights . . . . *n Wsr*, 'fee (?) of Osiris' (followed by 'place in the necropolis,' &c.): also *p* ¼ *n p* . . . [*n wḫ*]-*mw* 'the ¼ of the fee (?) of choachyteship,' Turin Dar. 31/2; cf. also above, Pap. VII/2. See p. 266, note 5.

[6] , 'copy of,' occurs as early as Dyn. XXI, Tab. Eskhons, l. 15.

[7] These signs are in hieratic: representing *a* of the rel. *a·nqr-w*.

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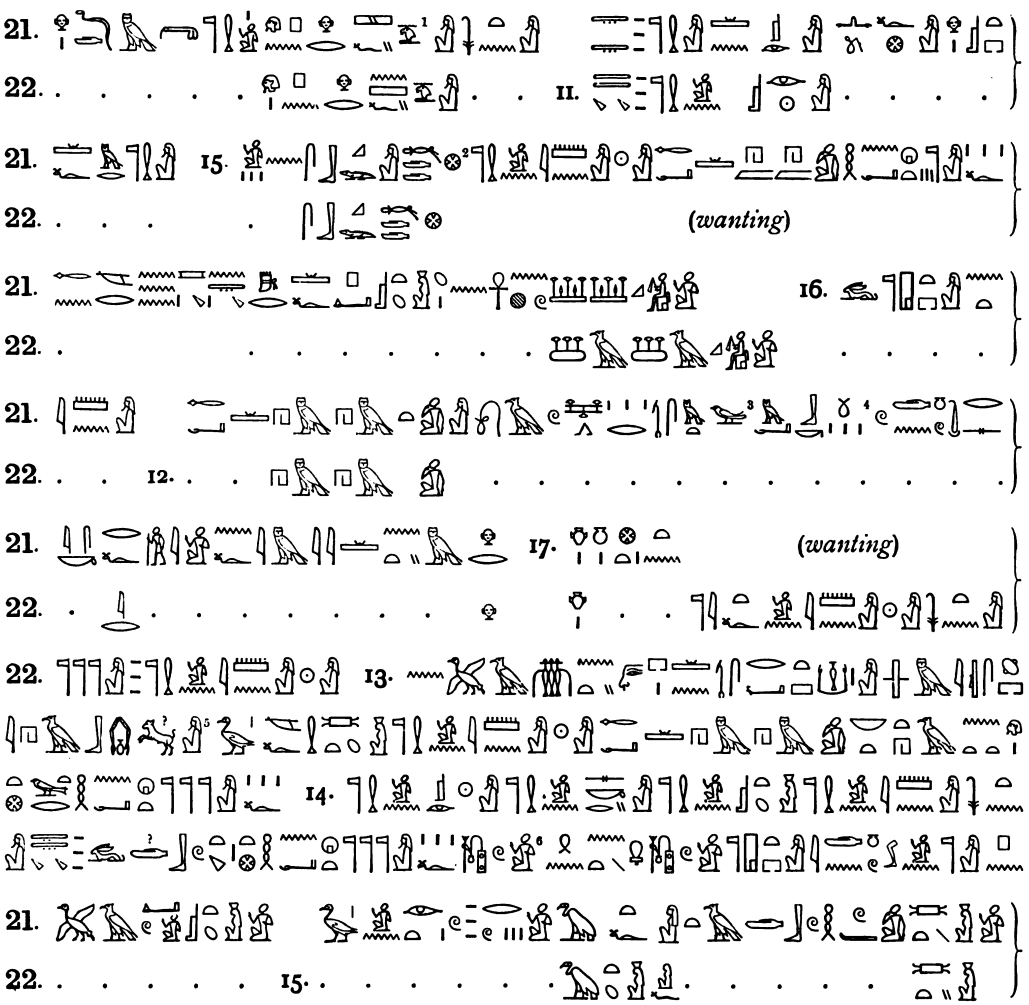

[1] With uraeus on head. [2] Base writing for . [3] GARDINER has shown that this word is properly to be read *z'm·t*, *Á. Z.*, 41/73, but apparently has not found an instance of the spelling with . [4] For or . The det. is , not , and may perhaps be explained by the importance of linen, rope, and allied industries. [5] For *ihb* see BRUGSCH, *Wtb.*, *Suppl.*, 120. (?) is much as in *bḫs·w*, 22/4, but it is uncertain. The sign differs from in 21/17, 22/15. commonly follows the titles and at this period and is written in lin. hierogl., DÉVERIA, 84, 100, 123. [6] is here of unusual form, resembling , but the reading is assured by the parallel, p. 202, note 12, with this title, and by *n sḫ·w n tȝ* in 7/1 being equated with *sḫ nb n n·t nb nf-imy* below. 'Abnormal hieratic' documents sometimes show an open form of somewhat like this, e. g. Tahr., year 3/8 and B. Peteêsi's writing of the sign may have been influenced by the form in an abnormal hieratic original: this consideration makes for the genuineness of the document.

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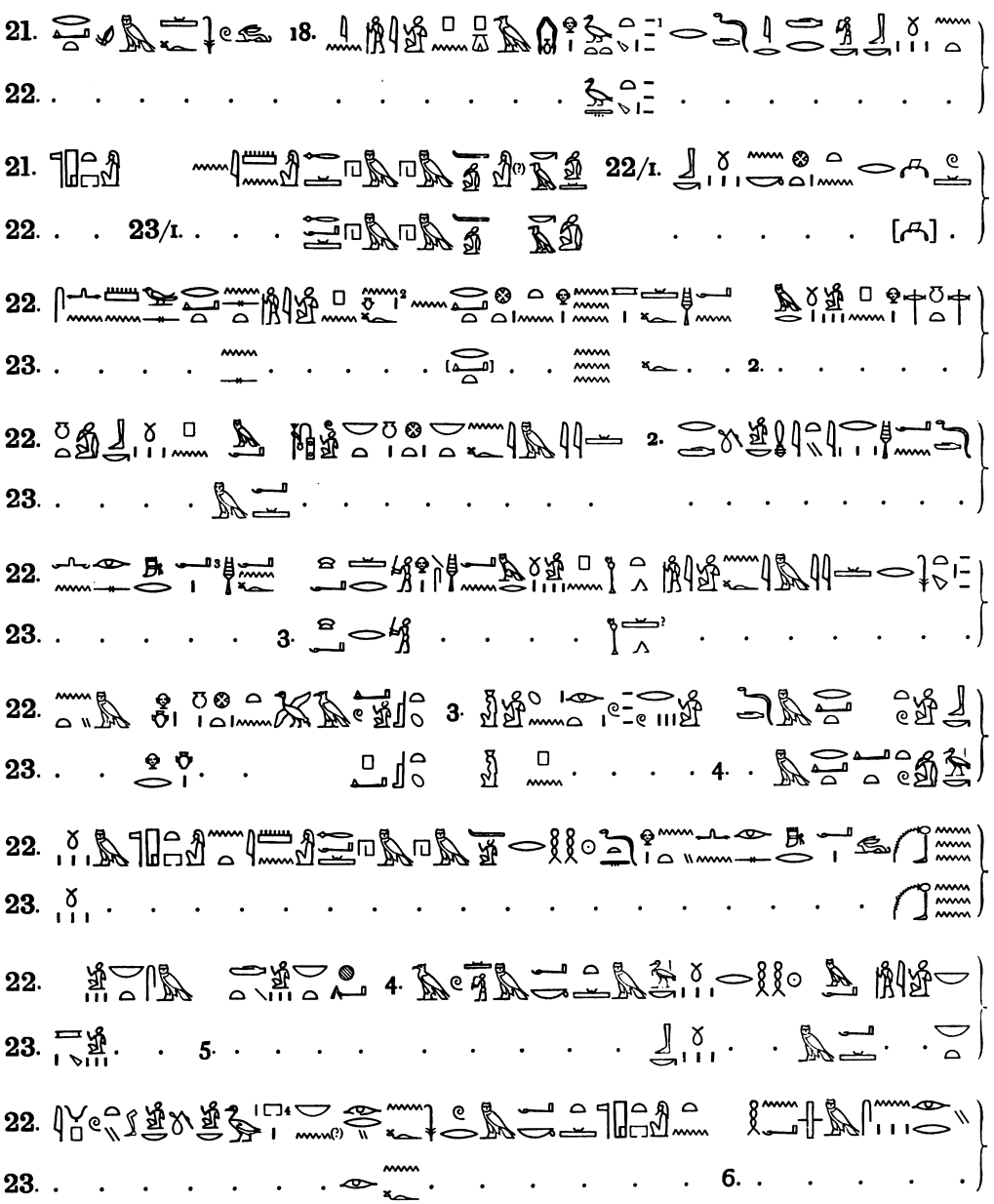

[1] A very obscure expression, 'understood thoroughly' or 'immediately' (?).

[2] Seems modelled on the demotic expression *ṯe-f ʿq-s n ḥl-f*, 14/22.

[3] *dr-ʿ*, cf. BRUGSCH, *Wlb.*, 1557, *Suppl.*, 1333.

[4] Occurs in a Middle Kingdom title, *Ä. Z.*, 29/113, &c.

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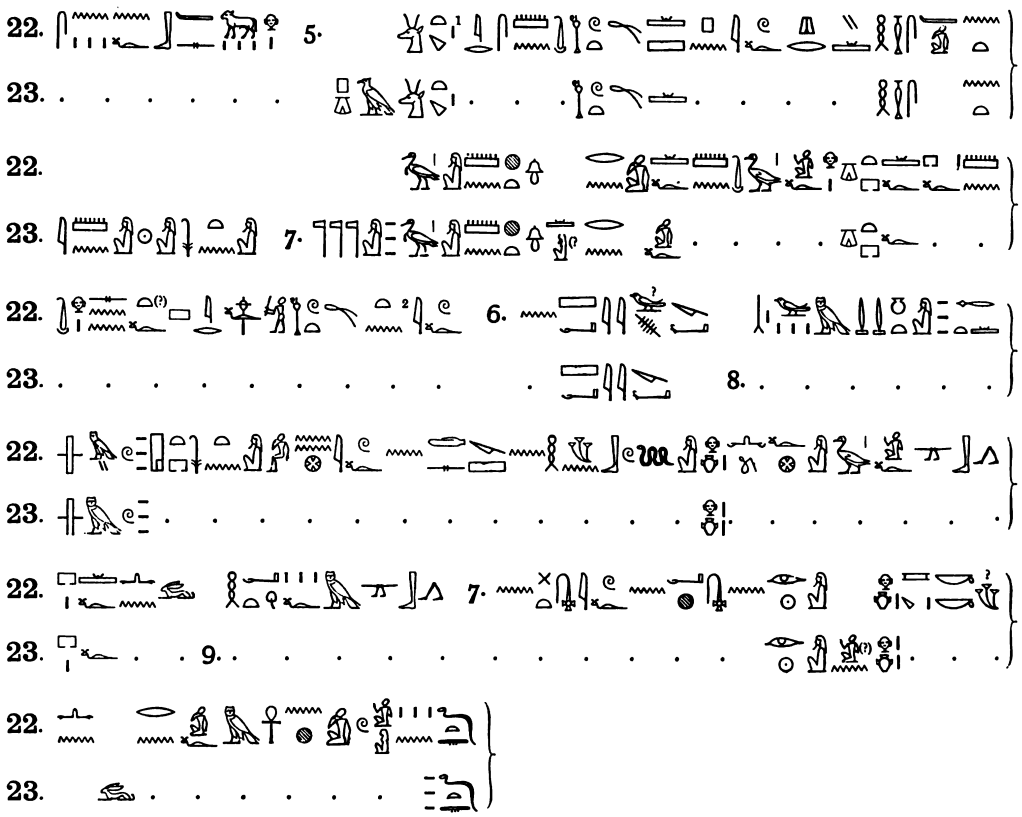

D. Cols. 24, 25. Hymns inspired by Ammon. Translated, above, pp. 110 et seqq.

The following is a rough attempt to transcribe the words of the first song in the style of the Sahidic dialect. Though over eight centuries may intervene between the date of the hymn and the earliest monuments of Sahidic, there is good reason to suppose that the forms of the words changed but little[3]: a terminal **e**, however, often appears in Akhmimic where it is absent in the other dialects, and may be ancient, recalling the terminal *e* of the older English poets which is so essential to the rhythm. **ę** is here employed to increase the resemblance to the old pronunciation. Forms which are purely conjectural are marked with *.

[1] An interesting variant: cf. as var. for in *Todtb.*, BRUGSCH, *Wtb.*, 515. Probably (SPIEGELBERG, *Ä. Z.*, 34/14) is the same, being a standard word in similar contexts in the New Kingdom.

[2] The gender follows demotic: in the parallel instance just before it is masc. as in Egyptian.

[3] Above, p. 183.

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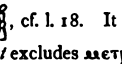
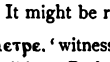
(24/2) ⲛⲁⲁⲧⲉ(?) ⲛⲡⲣⲁⲁϧⲱⲱⲛ, ⲥⲉⲛϩⲏ ⲛⲛⲉⲩϩⲣⲟⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉϥⲧⲟ (3) ⲡⲱϩ ⲁⲁⲁⲟⲟⲩ, ⲁⲉϥϫⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ
ⲉⲛⲁⲉϧⲱⲧ ϩⲓ*ⲥⲱⲥ(?) ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ, ⲉⲛⲁϩⲁⲓⲛ ⲁⲛⲱⲣ(?)
ⲁⲗⲟⲟⲩ(?), *ⲛⲉⲱⲁⲁⲟⲩⲁ(ⲟⲩ), ⲁⲱⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ-(4)ⲣ-*ϧⲧⲟⲟⲩ(?)
ⲉ*ϩⲁⲩ(?) ⲛⲁⲓ, ⲁⲁⲁⲟⲩⲛ ⲥⲱ ⲛⲁⲛ, *ϩⲟ(?) ⲛ̄ⲥϫⲥⲱ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ
ⲥⲟⲩ(?) ⲛⲱϧⲧ, ⲥⲉⲛⲓⲉⲩ(?)-ⲥϩ(?)-ⲥⲓⲁⲁ, ⲁⲁⲡⲉⲩⲧ̀-(5)ⲕϧⲟϧ(?) ⲛϩⲧⲏⲩ
ⲁϩⲟⲁⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲱϧⲧ, ⲁⲩ(?)ⲉⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϧⲉ-ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ

(24/1) ḫ n n ḥs·w a·wne ʾMn ʾr-w m-ṯe wnee-f[1] pḫ a ny wṯy·w a·nqr-w e-f nʿy a p wʿb-f n te-f gʾ šps (2) e-f st-f a ḫry mte-f hn[2] a p mr ḥs
n mt·w[3] n n rm bʾn·w st n ḫ[4] n ne-w ḫrṯ·w
p nt e te-f[5] ṯʾ (3) pḫ nʾm-w, b ʾr-f z ntr ar-k (?)[6]
e na ʾBṯ ḫwy gs r-w[7], e na Ḫn-Mn m-ʾr (?)[8]
ʿl-w n šmm·w[9], ʿš-w n (4) ʾr bṯw·w[10]
e ḫr-w ny[11], ʾMn gʾ[12] n-n, ḫr bn e-f gʾ n-w ʾn
st n ʾpṯ·w, gm-w sḫ sm, bnp-w ṯy (5) qbḥ[13] n ḥt-w
ʾhm n-t t mw·t n n ʾpṯ·w, e-ʾr-w a ṯ·t-w e·ṯbe ḫ·t-w

ke ḥs
ʾMn e-w ʿš (6) n-k, m-ʾr st-k a ḥtp n n mm·w[14]
n-wh[15] ḥt-w, n-bʾn ḥt-w, n-ʿš ne-w rm bʾn·w[16]
n-nṯm(?) (7) r-w ḫn ʾyṯ(?)[17], n-why-w e-w ʾr bl[18]
p nt e te-f ṯʾ pḫ nʾm-w, b ʾr-f z ntr ar-k
qṯ-w ne-w (8) pr·w n qṯ n me[19], e pe-k n ps(?)[20] qṯ pr

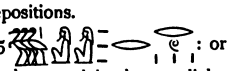
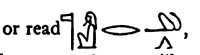
[1] The particular force of this rare form, *n-ṯe wne-f sṭm*, is not clear. Perhaps 'while he was hearing,' or 'when he had been hearing.' It might be pronounced *ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲁⲁ, and it seems possible that it produced ⲛⲧⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲁⲁ (2nd perf., &c.), while *n ṯe sṭm-f* through the addition of the colourless auxiliary *ʾr* produced *ⲛ ⲧⲉ ʾr-f sṭm*, ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲁⲁ.

[2]  , cf. l. 18. It might be read  .

[3] The final *t* excludes ⲁⲉⲧⲣⲉ, 'witness,' but ⲁⲧⲟ, cf. SETHE, *Ä. Z.*, 38/145, seems possible. Perhaps ⲁⲁⲧⲉ, 'success,' 'gains,' 'pleasures.'

[4] Perhaps for , 'in front of,' p. 222, note 19.

[5] The possessive article seems regularly employed with in its full meaning, 'hand,' as opposed to its use in forming prepositions.

[6] Cf. 25/5  : or read  , but the sign here and in the parallel passages is more like *r-k* than *ṗḫ* in the upper part. Note without def. art., probably an archaism.

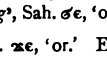
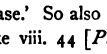
[7] *r-w* instead of *ar-w* is characteristic of the hymns. In the narrative we find only *mw r-s* for *ar-s* twice, evidently affected by the termination of ⲛⲁⲩ; see p. 236, note 13.

[8] ⲁⲛⲱⲣ. The reading is exceedingly doubtful, though the form of the sign is clear.

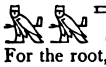
[9] Or nominal verb, *n-šmm-w*.

[10] *ʾr bṯw* to a person generally implies slaying him.

[11] So also 4/9; cf. *Pap. Mag. L. L.*, verso, 33/3.

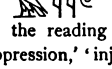
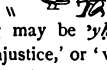
[12]  (cf. the groups for *grg*, *grḫ*) is used phonetically for *gʾ*, Sah. ⲥⲉ, 'other,' cf. 15/17, and in many texts for *gʾ*, *ng*', Sah. ⲭⲉ, 'or.' Eg.  means 'be inactive,' 'be silent,' 'cease.' So also Sah. ⲥⲱ, manere, means 'cease,' ⲥⲱ ⲉϥ- in Luke viii. 44 [*Pistis*, p. 43, ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲥⲱ ⲉⲥ-, CRUM], though it often means the very opposite, 'persist in.'

[13] Is this 'refreshment,' 'satisfaction,' or 'moderation'?

[14]  apparently ⲙⲟⲩⲁⲉ, fons.

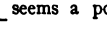
[15] For the root, *wh*, *why*, cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 152.

[16] The same marking of the plural in this word in l. 15.

[17]  perhaps = Eg.  , but the reading may be *ʾyḫ*. The meaning is evidently 'oppression,' 'injustice,' or 'wrong,' see 25/7, 8.

[18] Cf. ϧⲟⲗ, 'flee' or 'escape.'

[19] CRUM, *Cat. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, pp. 242, 592, has pointed out the survival of this word in the Faiyûmic ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩⲓ = *ανακαινωσις*.

[20] A group ending in  , like that for ϫⲟⲛⲥ in l. 11. seems a possible reading according to the obscure

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ʾr-w pe-k n tʾ·w tʾ·w[1], e s nb e-f ḥq n-f
ne-w pr·w a·ḥq-w ar-w(?)[2] (9) e-w a ḫrr(?)[3], e pe-k smne
ḫt-k st n ʾw[4] nb, a·wnee-w grg nʾm-w
p nt e-f spy nʾm-w, (10) eʾr-k a qᶜ-f a zr
ḥt-w[5] bnp-k ṯy ᶜm-w[6] n pe-w ss n ms(?)[7] bnp-w ᶜwy[8] ḫ·t-w
p-eʾr-w ḥnty[9] (11) a pḥ(?) nʾm-f, ṯ s n nḫt-w mte-w n kns
p nt e bnp-w ṯy s a pe-k ḥtp-ntr, ʾr n nḫt·w ḫl·t-f[10]
bnp-w ʾr(?)[11] n-k (12) n ss n ʾr, ʾr-k mqmq-w a ʾḫ
bnp-w ʾr n-k e ṯʾ(·t?)-w pḥ, e-w n mr ʾḥ(?) ʾt sms
bnp-w ʾr n-k (13) e-w ḫn pe-w mᶜ(?)[12], e b-pte n nḫt·w bq-w[13]
ʾr-k n-w mṯ a ḫ n ḥt-w, qᶜ-k n nḫt·w m-s-w
qᶜ-k n nḫt·w (14) m-s-w rᶜ(?) nb(?)[14], e b ʾr-w ḫryr(?)[15] n-w
e-w ʾr n-w seṭb n mne, a t s[16] n n eʾr-w
ṭe-k sṭr-w n-w n ne-w (15) bʾn·w, ṭe-k wrš-w nʾm-w ᶜn
ṭe-k z-w mṭ ḫm·t n n ḫm·w r-w, ṭe-k ṭbᶜ(?)-w ne-w bk·w
ṭe-k sṭr-w n-w (16) n ne-w ᶜy·w n ḥmt, ṭe-k wrš-w n ne-w pḫ·w
ṭe-k ṭbᶜ-w (?) p mw n mne, n p nt e-f ḫp (17) nʾm-w
ṭe-k sṭr-w n-w, ᶜy-w[17] n wrše·w(?)
eʾr-w ṭwn-w a syḥyḥ, e bn e-w sṭm n-w smy
pe-k by·w[18] (18) p nt nʾm-w, e b ʾr-w z ntr ar-k
eʾr-w z ntr ar-k, m-ṭe ṭe-k st m-ṭe n nḫt·w
eʾr-w st-w a sbḥ n rn-k, m-ṭe ḥn-w[19] (25/1) a nz(?)[20]
n-e·z-k n eʾr ʾy, n-e·sr-k n eʾr ḫp
mte-w z, mᶜ nʾ eʾr ʾMn

original. It may mean 'raw material' to judge by the context.

[1] *sp-sn* (?). Note that the repeated word is in the plural 'pieces—pieces.'

[2] It is not clear that the last sign in the line is , cf. note 12.

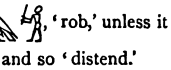
[3] Possibly an abbreviation for ⲩⲟⲣⲱⲣ.

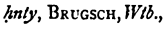
[4] This group is *ʾw* 'goats,' 'flocks,' 'animals' in Dar. *TSBA*. viii. 5/4, and below Pap. X/3. 'Office' is differently written elsewhere in this papyrus. The translation may be, 'Thou hast slaughtered them like the herds with which they were provided.'

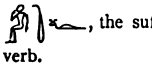
[5] Cf. perhaps ϫⲁⲣϩⲏⲧ, if taken with *sr*.

[6] generally in dem.='swallow,' but sometimes 'perceive,' ⲉⲓⲥⲉ.

[7] . This spelling is used both for 'birth,' 11/16, and 'interest' on loans, 1/5.

[8] Presumably Eg.  , 'rob,' unless it be connected with , 'extend,' and so 'distend.'

[9] Cf.  , Eb., and *ḫnty*, Brugsch, *Wtb.*, 965.

[10]  , the suffix-form of the word *ḫl*, 25/6, evidently a verb.

[11] ⲉⲓⲣⲉ, 'make,' 'do,' 'labour,' standing absolutely.

[12] Quite uncertain, possibly ⲗⲁⲁ, 'place'; cf. the end of l. 8 for a similar sign *r-w* (?).

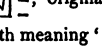
[13] Unknown word.

[14] Possibly .

[15] The initial *w* (?) or (?) has no trace of a stroke at the top like in *wrš*, l. 15.

[16] Cf. ⲉⲡⲗⲁ.

[17] Perhaps constructed like ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲣⲱⲙⲉ.

[18]  , originally 'souls' and 'Divine will,' now singular with meaning 'wrath (?) of God'; the singular , 'soul,' is *ϩⲁⲓ, the plural ϩⲓⲟⲩ: see ϩⲁϩⲓⲟⲩ, 'soul of souls,' in *Pap. Mag. L. L.*, 29/6, and in the dekan-list, Br., *Thes.*, 1167: but the pronunciation of this group was probably different.

[19] Cf. ϩⲱⲛ, appropinquare, accedere (?).

[20] Hardly a form of *ḫn* or ⲗⲁϩⲟⲛ (p. 132, note 3).

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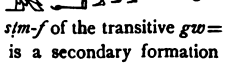
st n ḥt-w z e-n a ʾr, st m-tʾ·t-k tm ṯy ʾr-w
(2) st s·ḫpr ef, st ṯy ʿne ʾwn
ʾMn p nb šʿy, st n rm mʿ n ḥt-w ḥʿ-w
e·ʾr-w mšʿ[1], e t ʿz(?) n qn-w
(3) gw-w[2] p gb[3] e·ʾr ḥr n p nʿše[4], ʾr-w te-k bṯy nt msṯ-k[5] s
ḫb-w te-k ʾpy, ṯ-w pe-k ḥtp-ntr
(4) ʿq-w a ne-w pr·w, bnp-w wn n te-k ʾmḥ(?)[6]
n-e·wne ʿḥ n pe-k ḫft-ḥr, e·ʾr ḫṯb nʾm-w
wʿ wʿ[7], e b ʾr-w z (5) by·w ar-w
e·ʾr-k ḥrš[8] n ne-w . . . .[9] m-bḥ-w, e b ʾr-w z ʾḫ p-e·ʾr-n
e·ʾr-w z mʿ·t n e·ʾr ʾMn, m-ṭe ṭe-w p ṭwe[10] n (6) ḥt-w ḥʿ-w
ke ḥs
b ʾr p ʿn wšb[11] sṭr, ʾsq-w[12]
b ʾr ʾMn gʾ n ṭbe[13], b ʾr p ḥrʿ ḫl pe-f ḥwrʿ, (7) b ʾr p ʾyṭ(?) tm nḥt
ʾMn mn t m . . . .[14] m-ṭʾ.t-f, e·ʾr-s qṭy ʾwṭ(?) ḥn·w-f
b ʾr-f šp ʾy m-ṭe n p nḥt, a qʿ (8) n-f p ʾyṭ(?)
pe-f ʾy ḥnš a rm, pe-f w . . . . ḥw
t pn(?) ta p mʿ·t, t nt yr·t-f n-s
ʾm n-n ʾy ʾMn, (9) nḥm-n a ne-w ḥny·w bṭwy·w

A word should be said about the corrections by the scribe. They are written above the lines, either as additions (passim) or as substitutes for words below them (12/10, 16/8). In a few cases words wrongly repeated have been erased, leaving a gap, 15/7, 17/17: but gaps can be used to mark the beginnings of new main sections 5/13, 24/2, 5, 25/6; also 15/1, 20/17. On the whole the text is very accurate, but some faults have evidently escaped the corrector. In constructing a sentence in demotic the expression is very full, leaving little to the imagination; the corrector has generally filled in what has been omitted, perhaps permissibly, in the first instance, 18/17, cf. 14/6.

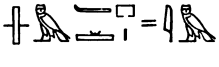
[1]  , the ligature for as in 'letter.'

[2] *ṣṭm-f* of the transitive *gw*=ϭⲟⲟⲩ. SETHE considers that this is a secondary formation from qual. ϭⲏⲟⲩ (*Verbum*, I. 346), it is therefore interesting to find the *ṣṭm-f* so early.

[3] with det. or (?), but not .

[4] As in *Pap. Mag. L. L.* If from *nḫṯ* this would hardly be found so early.

[5] Probably present in meaning, cf. p. 231, note 12, and observe that the true past form of *ṣṭm-f* with *nt* is *nt e ṣṭm-f*, whereas this is exactly parallel to I Kham. 5/19 *p nt mr-k s* 'that which thou desirest.' See also p. 229, note 13.

[6]  .

[7] *wʿ ṯp-sn* (?).

[8] Cf. ⲙⲉⲣⲙⲓ, 'mock at' (?).

[9] Hardly .

[10] Perhaps Eg. , the plural sign probably owing to the termination of ⲧⲟⲟⲩ.

[11] Cf. *D'Orb.*, 14/6–7, and above, 14/21.

[12] The *w* (?) may be a mistake or accident, perhaps caused by the junction of two leaves at this point.

[13] This is written precisely as ⲉⲧⲃⲉ, but may represent ⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ, unless that be the *ṭbʿ* (?) of 24/15, 16. *Eṭbe* 'avenger' (*PSBA.* 22/162) may be here.

[14] The same word apparently in Dem. Proph., 3/18 *t m . . ·t ʾwṭ-s* 'The scourge is among them' (*Rev. Ég.*, ii. livr. 1, Pl. 16). *Ḫbt* cannot be read here.

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EARLY PTOLEMAIC PAPYRI FROM THEBES, Nos. X-XIV

Papyrus of the reign of Alexander IV.

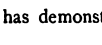
Papyrus No. X. 315 B.C. Contract of marriage. Pl. XLVIII. Translation on p. 114.

(1) ḥ-sp[1] 2·t ʾbṭ 3 ʾḥ n Pr-ʿo ʾLgsntrs sy ʾLgsntrs p ntr

z ḥm-ḫ·t[2] n Pr-ʾMn P-a·ṭe-Ḫns sy Zwf(?)-ʿḥy[3] mw·t-f Ns-Tfn[4] n s-ḥm·t Ta-ʾS ta P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy mw·t-s ʾS-e·ʾr-ṯy-s[5]

ʾr-y t-t n ḥm·t ṭe-y n-t ḥṭ 2 a sttr 10 a ḥṭ 2 ʿn (2) n pe-t šp(?)[6] n s-ḥm·t[7] mte-y ṯy n-t ʿq(?)[8] . . .[9] 6 ḫr hw ḥṭ 1 qṭ 2 a sttr 6 a ḥṭ 1 qṭ 2 ʿn n pe-t ḫbs ḫr rnp nḥ hn 2 ḫr ʾbṭ nb a ḫr rnp·t nḥ hn 24 . . . . . .[10] n pe-t ʿq(?) ḫbs mte-y ṯy-s n-t ḫr rnp nb

e-y qʿ-t n ḥm·t mte-y msṯt-t mte-y ḫne[11] k·t s-ḥm·t a-(3) ḥr-t e-y ṯy [n-t] ḥṭ 10 a sttr 50 a ḥṭ 10 ʿn

[1] Sethe has demonstrated the value *ḥ3·t sp* () Boh. ⲁⲥⲫ- for the dating group 'year.' For *rnp·t* 'year' the demotic group is . At the beginning of demotic documents the date-word is often written large; in the oldest demotic papyri the small projection in front of the is prominently marked, and may assume the form of a line parallel to the stem. Later, a spot is generally added above this line, the earliest instance being in the 15th year of Amasis (*Corpus Louvre*, Pl. 25, no. 25), and this form is usual in the reign of Darius I. From the time of Darius III(?) (*Corpus Louvre*, Pl. 3, no. 2) the spot regularly assumes the definite shape of a demotic , as in this papyrus, and so continues into the Roman period, as if . In the body of a document, on the other hand, and even at the beginning in less showy writing, e.g. No. XXVI, &c., below, the date-word continued to be written simply . In some papyri of the age of Darius I the initial date-group might be read as , notably in the papyrus of his 10th year at Turin: but as the Coptic ⲙⲁⲁⲥⲫⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲓⲧⲉ ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ markedly avoids the definite article, it cannot be read here in demotic. It seems rather that as the line and spot developed they gradually took the form of the demotic (or or) in accordance with the etymology and sound of the word *ḥ-sp*, so that the group in its ultimate shape might be transcribed .

[2] *ḥm* alone = τεκ(των), Berl. 3116, 3/20, 6/25 = Cas. 6/3, 14/2.

[3] i.e. 'the papyrus is green,' but the reading is doubtful.

[4] Perhaps Σετφάνεως (gen.) Cas. Or Τεπενθευς in Mah.-Sm. may be *Tfn·t-ʾw*.

[5] The signs following the name look like , 'one person,' but must be only determinative; in Pap. XI there is a similar group after *T-šr-ḫmt* in l. 1, with decisive variants in the different copies.

[6] See above, p. 216, note 4. Probably the same masculine word that is written out *šṗe* in the later style, p. 268, note 2: it is similarly found in the marriage-contracts, *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, Dar. 3078/3, 5, *pe šp s-ḥm*: also in *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, Dar. 5/4, *p šp n yḥ* 'compensation for the lands.' [The form in *Pap. Libbey* is decisive.]

[7] Formed as if the group at the end of l. 2 were preceded by the article : but it must be only another and more archaic way of writing of which three forms occur in this papyrus.

[8] ⲟⲉⲓⲕ(?): also in *p nb ʿq*(?), Berl. 3116, 6/24 = κατοικος Cas. 14/1, i.e. soldier colonist with pension or rations. Cf. *t*(?) 'bread' in *Pap. Mag. L. L.*, *Glossary*. It may be the same group as in p. 247, note 5, or possibly a word for corn (*bṭ*, *šs*). [See Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/189, but not = κεραμιον.]

[9] Precisely like the numeral 5, but probably a measure or indication of quality: compare the similar entry in the Philadelphus marriage contract. v. p. 117, note 2.

[10] Another item(?), or the group translated 'such are' at the end of the enumeration of γειτνιαι, see p. 256, note 3.

[11] or , in *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3145/4 ; ϩωπ: ⲥⲱⲛⲧ would probably take *a*.

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pe šr ʿo pe-t šr ʿo pe p nb n nt nb nke nb nt mte-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y ṭy ḫp-w n pr yḥ s·ʿnḫ bk bk·t ḥṭ ḥmt ḥbs ʾḥ·t ʿo ʿw nke n ry[1] nb

mte-y ṭy n-t py ʿq (?) ḥbs nt sẖ ḥry ẖr rnp nb

pe-t rṭ p nt ṯ ḥt·t[2] (4) a t wz·[t[3] n(?)]pe-t ʿq (?) ḥbs nt e-s a ḫp a ʿy-y[4] mte-y ṭy-s n ẖr rnp nb n ḥt[5] ʾt mne ʾt z qnb[6] nb mṭ nb n p t erme-t

sẖ P-nfr (?)- . . . . sy Wsr-wr[7]

Witnesses on verso:

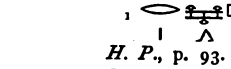
P-sš (?) sy Mnt-m-ḥ p ḥn-ntr Mʿ (?)
Wsr-wr sy Z-ḥr
P-ẖl-Ḫns sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw sy ʿNẖ- . .
P-ẖl-Ḫns (sy) P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw sy Ḥr
(5) P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw sy Ns- . . . .
P-hb[8] sy . . . .
P-a·ṭe- . . . sy . . .
ʿNẖ-f-n̓-Ḫns sy Wsr-wr sy Pa (?)-Mn[9]
P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw sy P-ẖl-Ḫns
(10) P-šr-ʾḥ (?) sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw
Ṭḥwt- . . . . sy Ns-Mn (?).
Ḥr sy Ns-Mn sy Ḥr
Ns-Mn sy Ḥp-mn[10]
Ḥr-mʿ-ẖrw sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw
(15) P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy sy Nḥm-s̓-Ḫns
Zwf (?)-ʿḫy sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr

The remaining papyri of this group belong to the class of sales, including mortgages and some other transactions by which transfers of property are made temporarily or permanently, and with or without conditions. They fall into two main groups:

(1) the agreement for sale, *πρασις*, *sẖ a-ṭbe hṭ* 'writing for silver[11],' i. e. for money.

(2) the cession, (*συγγραφη*) *αποστασιου*, *sẖ wy* 'writing of withdrawing (from) the property,' of abandonment.

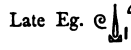
The following is the scheme of these documents in demotic: the principal variants of the Ptolemaic papyri in the John Rylands collection are noted:



[1] [hieroglyphs], Late Eg. [hieroglyphs]; cf. *Stories H. P.*, p. 93. The *y* is written in late texts, e. g. *Pap. Mag. L. L.*, pointing to ⲣⲓ, 'cell': but *r-w* might be read, ⲣⲁⲩⲏ (cf. Erman, *Glossar*, p. 71) meaning both 'side' and 'cell.'

[2] Corresponds in the Greek documents to *η δε πραξις εστω τῳ* N., cf. p. 151, note 3. *nḥ* in l. 2 is quite different from this *ṯ* (p. 217, note 4). Spiegelberg, *Pap. Reinach*, p. 214, reads *ḥtr* ϩⲧⲟⲣ, but the group here clearly ends with *t·t*.

[3] Clearly fem. sing. in *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3145, &c. Here the det. is the same as with *šp*: its meaning is therefore 'debt,' 'arrears'; Late Eg. [hieroglyphs] (*w*)*zꜣ·t*, Spiegelberg, *Rechn.*, p. 40.



[4] Cf. Spiegelberg, *Ä. Z.*, 37/24.

[5] Apparently [hieroglyphs].

[6] *qnb*, cf. p. 204, note 29.

[7] Not *Glšr*.

[8] Ⲫⲓⲃ, Zoega, 367/18.

[9] Ⲡⲁⲙⲓⲛ, Zoega, 535/10.

[10] Aram. חפימן, *CIS.*, 147.

[11] 'Writing of exchange' or 'payment of silver' would seem a possible rendering.

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(1) The agreement for sale in Nos. XI, XII; XV A, XVIII, XIX, XXIII, XXIX: see pp. 118 et seqq., especially the Greek version with parallel translation on pp. 120 et seqq.

(1) ḥ-sp ⟨5·t tp ʾḥ n Pr-ʿo &c.⟩
(2) z[1] *A*. n *B*.
(3) ṯe-k[a] mty[2] ḥt-y n p ḥṭ n (swn) ⟨pe ʿy &c. ḥnʿ &c.⟩
a. ne-f hyn·w &c.
b. . . .[3] n hyn·w n ⟨p ʿy ṯr-f &c.⟩
(4) ṯe-y st n-k
(5) mte-k st pe-k ⟨ʿy &c.⟩ nt ḥry ne[b]
(6) šp-y[c] swn·t-w n ḥṭ n ṯʾ·t-k e-f mḥ ʾt sp nb
(7) ḥt-y mt·w[4] nʾm-f
(8) mn mte-y mṭ nb n p t eʾr-n-k[5] n rn-w[6]
(9) bn e rḥ rm nb n p t ʾnk mte[7] ʾr syḥ nʾm-w bl n-k n ṯ n p-hw a ḥry
(10) p nt e-f a ʾy a ḥr-k eṭb-t-w n rn-y n rn rm nb n p t e-y a ṯy wy-f a ḥr-k
(11) mte-y ṯy wʿb-w[8] n-k a sḫ nb qnb nb mṭ nb[d] n p t n ss nb
(12) mte-k ne-w sḫ·w[e] ne-w qnb·w n ʿy nb nt e-w nʾm-w
(13) sḫ nb aʾr-w ar-w ḥnʿ sḫ nb aʾr-w n-y ar-w ḥnʿ sḫ nb nt e-y mʿ·k nʾm-w[6] n rn-w mte-k st ḥnʿ pe-f hp mte-k p nt e-y mʿ·k nʾm-f n rn-w[f]
(14) p ʿnḫ p (ṯy)[g] ʿḥ rṭ[9] nt e-w a ṯy-s m-s-k[10] n p ʿy n wpy n rn[h] p hp n p sḫ nt ḥry aʾr-y n-k a ṯy ʾr-y s e-y aʾr-f ʾt z qnb nb mṭ nb n p t erme-k
(15) sḫ &c

(2) The scheme of the cession in demotic is more variable, the later papyri adopting formulae from the agreement for sale. The principal variants of the Ptolemaic

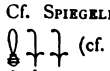
---

[a] Preceded by *mḫ-k ỉ-y*, XXIII. [b] Om. (5), XXIX. [c] Preceded by *ṯe-k mty ḥt-y n pe-w ḥṭ*, XII. [d] *qnb nb ḥp nb n mṭ nb*, XVIII. [e] Om. *ne-w sḫ·w*, XII. [f] So XI, XII. All the later (Gebelên) papyri, XV, XVIII, XIX, XXIII, XXIX have *mte-k p nt mʿ·k*[11] *nʾm-w n rn-y*. [g] *ṯy* in the early papyri XI, XII only, and some witness-copies in these omit it. [h] The later papyri XVIII, XXIII, XXIX have *eỉbe* for *n rn*: the passage is lost in XV, XIX.

---

[1] λεγει makes it probable that the initial *z* of the demotic legal documents is an archaistic use of *sṭm-f* with a present meaning: otherwise the sense may be 'hath (publicly) declared,' i. e. before the writing was made.

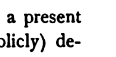
[2] *mty ḥt-y* subj. dep. on *ṯe-k* πεπεικας *με*, ηυδοκησας *με*.

[3] Very obscure word, resembling *ne-w* ηωογ as written in some texts, but with quite a different range of variation. Its function seems to be to introduce the general title of a series, the particulars of which precede: 'such are,' 'these are (?).' Cf. Spiegelberg, *Ä. Z.*, 37/41. Can it be a form of  (cf. p. 262, note 2)? But in Greek contracts we find η οι αν ωσι γειτονες.

[4] *w*, probably for masc. qual. Cf. p. 221, note 10.

[5] Not 'to do to thee' but the preposition, p. 210, note 1, p. 224, note 17. The Roman papyri give *ar-k* εροκ.

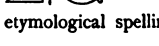
[6] Agrees in number and gender with the property sold.

[7]  , cf. Pap. I (p. 203), l. 4.

[8] Cf. the use of καθαρος quoted by Spiegelberg, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 9, note 3, and *s·wʿb·n-f sw m ʿnḫ nỉr* Pʿankhi, 110.

[9] επιδειξις. It is tempting to see in this 'appearance,' 'production of the vendor in court.'

[10] σοι επιβληθῃ.

[11] The form of qual. 1 sing. is here strangely retained for 3 sing. It must be remembered that the texts in which this occurs are late and the word was perhaps obsolete.  might be interpreted in all cases as an unetymological spelling for *mk* , 'protect,' but this does not seem to fit the context well.

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papyri (XIII, XIV, XV B; XXIV) in the JOHN RYLANDS collection are shown in the translation on p. 126. Here only points of philological interest are noted.

(1) ḥ-sp (5·t tp ʾḫ) n Pr-ʿo &c.
(2) z A. n. B.
(3) te-y wy·k[a] a ḥr-k n (pe-k ʿy &c.)
a. ne-f hyn·w &c.
b. ṭmṭ (?) n hyn·w n (p ʿy ṭr-f &c.)
(4) ṭe-y st n-k
(5) mte-k st pe-k (ʿy &c.)
(6) eʾr-y n-k sḫ eṭbe ḥṭ ar-w n ḥ-sp (5·t tp ʾḫ) n Pr·ʿo ʿnḫ z
(7) mte-k st pe-k (ʿy &c.) ne
(8) mn mte-y mṭ nb n p t eʾrn-k n rn-w n ṯ p-hw a ḥry
(9) bn e rḫ rm nb n p t ʾnk mʾte ʾr sḥy nʾm-w bl-k ṯ p-hw a ḥry
(10) p nt e-f a ʾy a ḥr-k eṭb·t-w n rn-y n rn rm nb n p t e·y a ṭy wy-f a ḥr-k
(11) e-k[b] m-s-y[1] n p hp n p sḫ eṭb ḥṭ aʾr-y n-k ar-w n ḥ-sp (5·t tp ʾḫ) n Pr-ʿo ʿnḫ z e ʾr n-k pe-f hp n ss nb p bl n p sḫ wy nt ḥry a mḥ sḫ 2
(12) mte-y ʾr n-k pe-w hp n ss nb ʾt sḫ nb[c]
(13) sḫ N.

PAPYRUS OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY I.

PAP. No. XI. 284 B.C. Agreement for sale by a man of all his possessions to a woman (A), with four witness-copies (B–E). Pl. XLIX–LII, the endorsement on Pl. LX. The text as transliterated is constructed from all the copies, showing the variants: translated, above, p. 122.

(A. 1) ḥ-sp 21 ʾbṭ 3 pr n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Ptwlmys[d] ʿ.w.s.
z ḥr-ḥb n p ʿʿn P-mr-ʾḥ[2] sy Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṭy-s mw·t-f T-šr-ʒ·t[3] n s-ḥm·t Ty-Ḥr[4] ta Ḥr-sy-ʾS[5] mw·t-s Ta-Wbst
ṭe-t mty ḥt-y n p[e] ḥṭ n[f] swn nt nb nk nb nt mte-y ḥn[ʿ] n nt e-y a[g] ṭy ḫp-w n[h] pr

---

[a] pl. *te-n wwe* XXIV [b] XXIV omits 11 and 12, and substitutes the sale formulae (p. 256) 11, 12, 13 (omitting *ḥnʿ sḫ nb nt e-y mʿ·k nʾm-f n rn-w*), 14 (substituting *p ḥp n p wwe* for *p ḥp n p sḫ*). [c] *n ss nb n ḫt ʾt mne ʾt sḫ nb* XIV (confused), XV B. *sḫ* is here . [d] *Ptlwmys* C.E. [e] *py* (?) C. [f] om. D.E. [g] om. B–E. [h] om. D.E.

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[1] See SPIEGELBERG, *Ä. Z.*, 37/43.
[2] Transcribed Πελαμας in the receipt to the *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 21, also *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3116, 5/7 = Cas. 10/3.
[3] Tsherekhomte or Tshenkhomt?
[4] *Ty-Ḥr*, and *Ty-ʾN·t* (?) of Pap. XII, are varied to *Ta-Ḥr*, *Ta-ʾN·t* (?) in some copies in Pap. XII, XIII, XIV. The form with *Ty-*, however, is the standard, and the consistent occurrences of *Ta-Ḥr*, *Ta-Wbste*, &c., in these papyri show that it is not a mere trick of the scribe. Moreover *Ty-ḥb·t*, *Ty-ỉʿ*, *Py-ʾS*, *Py-Pʿ* (?), *Ty-Mw·t*, *Ty-Ḫnm*, *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3116, 2/10, 3/18, 4/6, 5/11, 5/26, 6/8, are rendered Τιβις, Τισνς, Πιησις, Πιπης (?), Τι ?ανς, and Τιχνουμις in Cas. 2/8, 6/1, 7/8, 10/8, 12/1, 12/10; cf. also Boh. ⲡⲓϩⲱⲣ, ZOEGA, 131/11 (and see SPIEGELBERG, *Mumienetiketten*, p. 27). *Ta-* in the above names is therefore a faulty lapse into the commoner form.
[5] See XVI/5 for *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* and *Hr-pa-ʾS*.

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wrḥ yḥ s-ʿnḫ bk bk·t ḥṭ nb ḥmt ḥbs pr nb ʾḥ·t ʿo ʿw nb (A. 2) qnb nb mṭ rm-nm[a 1] nb ḫtḫte[2] nb n pr sbṭ[3] n[b] ry·t nb s·ṭbḥ[4 c] nb n ʿy

ḥnʿ pe ʿy nt qṭ ḥbs nt n[d] t ʾwy·t[5] mḥt n[e] Ne ḫn t ḥ·t n[f] t ʾḥ·t ne-f hyn·w[g] pe-f[h] rs (C. 2) p-ʿy n wn n[i] ʾMn-ʾpy n[j] pr-ʾmnt n[k] Ne P-a·ṭe-nfr-ḥtp sy Yr·tw-rz[l 6] (B. 2) (D. 2) pe-f mḥt p-ʿy n[m] sḫ P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw sy P-ḫl-Ḫns ḥnʿ p ʿy n[n] wn n[o] ʾMn-ʾPy n[p] pr-ʾmnt n[q] Ne (A. 3) P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy sy Ns-Mn nt ḫr s-ḥm·t Wn-Mn ta P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy a ʿy 2 e-w qṭ ḥbs e p ḫry n[r] Pr-ʿo ʿwṭ-w ybt[s] p-ʿy n[t] ḫr-ḥb n[u] t[v] ḫs Zmʿ (E. 2) Ḥr-sy-ʾS sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy nt qṭ ḥbs[7] e te-f zy ʾmnt[w] n[x s] ʾr n-y zy bk·t[9] pe-f ʾmnt p-ʿy n[y] s-ḥm·t Ta-hb ta P-a·ṭe-nfr-ḥtp nt qṭ ḥbs e te ššṭ[z] wn[aa] a[bb] pr-ʾmnt[bbb] (A. 4) a[cc] ḫn p-ʿy[dd] n rn-f . . . .[ee] n hyn·w n p[ff] ʿy ṭr-f

ḥnʿ te-t tʾ n[gg] n ʿṣs-w[hh] nt mte-y (C. 3) ḫr t ḫs n[ii] Zmʿ[10] ḥnʿ[jj] te tʾ·t n[kk] n qs(·w) nt e-st[ll 11] ḫr-ḥb n[mm] p ʿʿn[nn] Ṭḥwt-e·ʾr-ṭy-s sy Z-ḥr pe yt[oo]

---

[a] *nm·w* A. [b] om. D. E. [c] *sḫṭ* D. E. [d] om. D. E. [e] om. A. E. [f] om. D. E. [g] Var. *hyn*. [h] om. E. [i] om. A. B. D. E. [j] om. D. E. [k] om. A. C. D. E. [l] *Yr-rz* B. E. [m] om. E. [n] om. D. E. [o] om. D. E. [p] om. A. D. E. [q] om. A. D. E. [r] om. A. E. [s] *pe-f ybṭ* D. E. [t] om. C. E. [u] om. A. E. [v] om. C. [w] om. C. D. E. [x] om. A. C. E. [y] om. E. [z] *te-f ššṭ* C. *ne-f ššṭ-w* D. E. [aa] *wn·ṭ*(?) C. (qual.?). [bb] om. A. C. D. [bbb] *p ʾmnt* C. throughout. [cc] om. D. [dd] D gives *qṭ* (sic) for *ʿy*. [ee] *a*(?) E. [ff] *py* B. C. [gg] om. D. C. [hh] *ṭ qs·ṭ* E. [ii] om. A. B. [jj] *ḥnʿ* to *qs* omitted in D. E. [kk] om. A. [ll] *e-s* E. [mm] om. A. [nn] *ḫr-ḥb ṭ ḫs Zmʿ* E. [oo] *pe yt-y* (?) C.

---

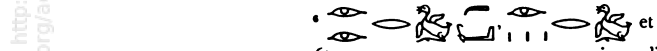
[1] Cf. XLI/5 and above, p. 52, note 7.

[2] ϱετϱωτ : ϫϵτϫωτ, 'examine.'

[3] = χορηγια, Ros. 13.

[4] = οπλα, Ros. 13; 'tools,' 'instruments,' 'necessaries,' cf. Sign Papyrus Tanis 20/7, 8, SPIEGELBERG in *Pap. Reinach*, p. 180: it is no doubt the origin of Boh. ϲⲟϩⲁⲓ, ϲⲓⲟϩⲁⲓ, instrumenta, also ϲⲟϩⲁⲓϩ = *ἀσπίδας*, *Ä. Z.*, 75/137.

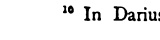
[5] See SPIEGELBERG, *Rechnungen*, pp. 55 et seqq.

[6]  et sim. LIEBLEIN, 1067, 1332, 2414: a common name in earlier papyri. On the analogy of *Q-lz* = ϰλογϫ (p. 259), the name may perhaps be Alûz ⲁλογϫ, *Giz. Copt. Mon.*, Αλουθις, *BGU.*, ii. 539/12. The spelling of the first element varies as in *Yr·ṭ-w-r-w* above, p. 207, but there is no instance with the sounded *ṭ* ( ).

[7] ωκοδομημενη και εστεγασμενη of the bilinguals.

[8] The *n* seems superfluous, but there are analogous instances.

[9] Lit. 'slave-wall,' 'wall that serves,' probably meaning 'supporting wall,' hardly 'party wall.' Possibly , IX. 11/9, 'platform' may be derived from the same idea of a slave carrying a person.

[10] In Darius papyri  , &c., *Louvre Corpus*, 27/1, 23/3, (Πα-)σημις ϫημϵ : ϭημει, cf. also STERN, *Ä. Z.*, 22/55. The apparent here as often may be in origin . This may be the name that the Greeks assimilated to their Θηβαι. At Gebelên we find Παθημις (*Gr. Pap.*, ii. 36/3) in the same circle as Πασημις (ib. 29/4) in the very documents which name the same individual Παγανις and Φαγωνις respectively; Παθημις occurs also in MAH.-SM., and Παθηβις in *Tebt.*; but *-θημις*, *-θηβις* may have nothing to do with each other or with *-σημις*.

[11] Sing. *es* (see var.), evidently for , cf. p. 230, note 1. It is interesting to find that the difference between singular and plural is still felt. Moreover, as this *es-*, *ns-* seems to have survived in demotic only before *p*, except in proper names (ibid.), it furnishes a strong argument for reading the article before the title *ḫr-ḥ* here; and this argument is greatly strengthened by *Ḥn-ntr-Mw·ṭ* being pronounced Phentenmût, p. 286, note 3. The rule with regard to the article with titles appears to be that where the title precedes the name, the article is not written: where it follows the name, the article is written once, but is not repeated with a succession of titles. It would now seem that the article should be pronounced likewise with the first title before a name, and here also it is probably not to be repeated with further titles.

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ṯe-y st n-t mte[1] s(t)[a] ne-t[b] nk·w (D. 3) pe-t[c] ʿy[d] nt qṭ ḥbs[e] (B. 3) nt e[f] ne-f hyn·w sḫ ḥry ne ḥnʿ te(-t) tʾ n n qs·w nt mte-y[g] ḥr t ḫs n[h] (A. 5) Zmʿ ḥnʿ te(-t) tʾ·t n[i] n qs·w n Ṯḥwt-e-ʾr-ṯy-s sy Z-ḥr pe yt ne

šp-y swn(·t)-w[2] n ḥṭ n tʾ·t-t e-f mḥ (n)[j] ʾt sp nb ḥt-y mty·w nʾm-f[k] mn mte-y mṭ nb n p t e·ʾr n-t n[l] rn-w

bn e rḫ rm nb n[m] p t ʾnk mte ʾr syḫ nʾm-w bl n-t n[n] ṯ p-hw a ḥry

p nt e-f a[o] ʾy a ḥr-t eṭb·t-w[p] n rn-y n rn rm nb n p t[q] (C. 4) e-y a[r] ṯy wy-f a-ḥr-t mte-y ṯy wʿb-w n-t a sḫ nb (E. 3) qnb nb mṭ nb n p t[s] n ss nb

mte-t ne-w sḫ·w ne-w qnb·w n ʿy nb nt e-w nʾm-w sḫ nb a·ʾr-w[t] ar-w ḥnʿ sḫ nb a·ʾr-w n-y ar-w[u] ḥnʿ sḫ nb nt e-y mʿ·k nʾm-w n[v] rn-w mte st ḥnʿ pe-w hp mte-t p nt e-y[w] mʿ·k nʾm-f n[x] rn-w

p ʿnḫ p ṯy ʿḥ[y] rṭ[z] (D. 4) nt e-w a[aa] ṯy s m-s-t n p-ʿy (B. 4) wpy n[bb] rn p hp n[cc] p sḫ nt ḥry a·ʾr-y n-t a ṯy ʾr-y s e-y a[dd] ʾr-f

e mte-t tt[s] e-y ʿnḫ[ee] mte tt e-y mw·t[ff] mte-t t nt ʾr syḫ n pe[ff] qʿ syḫ te[gg] qs·t ʾt z[hh] qnb nb mṭ nb n p t erme-t[ii]

A. *ends* a·sḫ ʿ . . . . sy . . . . . .

B. *begins* P-ʾw-Ḥr sy Ns-Mn mw·t-f Z-wr e-f mtr n ḥ-sp 21; *ends* sḫ n ny[5]

C. „ P-a·ṭe-Ḫns sy Klz[6] mwt-f Ns-Ḥr-p-ḥrṭ e-f mtr n ḥ-sp

D. „ yt-ntr ʿNḫ-p-ḥrṭ sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy mw·t-f St-yr-bn e-f mtr

E. „ Ḥr-p-bk sy Z-ḥr mw·t-f Tȧ-P-a·ṭe-nfr-ḥtp (?) e-f mtr

Witnesses on verso (Pl. LX):

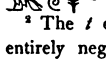
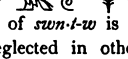
. . . -Ṯḥwt (?) sy Ns-Mn

Ḥr sy Ḥr-sy-ʾS

---

[a] *mte-t st* clearly B. [b] *n nk·w* C. [c] *pe* C. [d] om. *ʿy* E. [e] om. *nt qṭ ḥbs* C. [f] om. C. [g] *ne qs nt ḥr* A. [h] om. A. B. C. E. [i] om. A. D. E. [j] Only in C. [k] *nʾm-w* D. E. [l] om. B. [m] om. D. [n] om. C. D. E. [o] om. B. C. D. [p] *t* not marked in D. *eṭb·t-f* C. [q] *n p t* om. D. [r] om. B. D. [s] *n mṭ nb p t* D. [t] *ʾr-w* D. [u] *a·ʾr-w* C. [v] om. B. [w] *mte-t nt e-y* C. E. *mte-t p e-y* D. [x] om. B. [y] *p ʿḥ* B. D. *p nt ʿḥ* C. [z] *rṭ·w* A. [aa] om. C. D. [bb] om. B. [cc] om. D. [dd] om. B. C. [ee] *e mte* E. [ff] *p* C. [gg] *t* C. [hh] om. D. [ii] E omits *erme-t*.

---

[1] The ⌓ of the 2nd fem. is constantly omitted in this and the following paragraphs with the possessive article *pe-(t)* ⲡⲟⲩ and the possessive pronoun *nte-(t)* ⲛⲧⲉ. The variations are not shown amongst the readings. Here we have  ,  , &c.

[2] The *t* of *swn·t-w* is clearly marked in E, but seems entirely neglected in other copies (cf. Boh.). Compare ⲉⲧⲏⲛⲧⲟⲩ below, and p. 208, note 6.

[3] There can be no doubt of the meaning here, though the spelling is curious. The texts have , with little variation. Here is for ⲛⲧⲟ, and is for *t-y*, the late development from with prefixed *t*, regularly found as object (1st sing.) after *sḏm-f* in Ptolemaic and later demotic (cf. p. 220, note 10).

[4] Qual. ⲁⲗⲟⲟⲩⲧ.

[5] Cf. p. 205, note 41.

[6] , Lieblein, 2396, Κολλουθις; ⲕⲗⲟⲩⲑ in Krall, *Rainer Kopt.*, i. 50; ⲕⲗⲟⲩⲥ, Crum, *Petrie Pap.*, xlv. recto 14; cf. ⲕⲗⲱⲍⲉ, ⲕⲉⲗⲱⲍⲉ (Akhmimic?) in *Giz. Copt. Mon.* Probably Kelûz is the best vocalization. The late spelling in linear hieroglyphic , Devéria, 90, actually shows a double *l* (note the rendering of by) much as in the name of Cambyses, p. 247, note 4).

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P-a·ṭe-Ḫns sy Q-lz
P-ʾw-Ḥr sy Ns-Mn
(5) Ṭḥwt-ʾrrḫ-s (?) sy Ze-ḥr (?)
Ns-Mn sy P . . . . . .
Ḥr-p-bk sy Z-ḥr
wn Mnt . . . . .
Hry sy . . . -Hns (?)
(10) Šṭ-Nfr-tm[1] sy Ns (?)- . . . .
ʿNḫ-p-ẖrṭ sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy
Hry . .(?) sy P-ẖl-Ḫns
Pa-r . . sy Trtr (?)
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ sy Ḥr
(15) Ns-Mn sy Pa . . . .
ʿḤ-ms sy Wz- . . . .

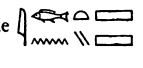
PAPYRI OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

PAP. No. XII. 281 B.C. Agreement for sale of the house described in XI (A), with six witness-copies (B–G). Pl. LIII–LVI, a list of witnesses (H) and the endorsement on Pl. LX. The text as transliterated is constructed from all the copies, showing the chief variants. For the translation, see above, p. 124.

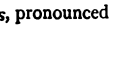
ḥ-sp 5·t tp ʾḫ n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Ptwlmys[a] ʿ.w.s. sy Ptwlmys ʿ.w.s.
z s-ḥm·t Ty-Ḥr[b] ta Ḥr-sy-ʾs mw·t-s Ta-Wbst n s-ḥm-t Ty-ʾNt (?)[c][2] ta Z-ḥr mw·t-s Ta-Mn
ṭe-t mty ḥt-y n p ḥṭ n pe ʿy nt qṭ ḥbs nt n t ʾwy·t mḥt·t Ne[d] (A. 2) ẖn t ḥ·t n t ʾḥ·t ne-f hyn·w rs (C. 2) p ʿy n wn n ʾMn-ʾPy (B. 2) n pr-ʾmnt Ne P-a·ṭe-nfr-ḥtp sy Yr-rz (D. 2) pe-f mḥt p ʿy n sẖ P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw sy P-ẖl-Ḫns ḥnʿ p ʿy n wn ʾMn-ʾPy n pr-ʾmnt Ne (E. 2, F. 2) P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy sy Ns-Mn nt ẖr s-ḥm·t Wn-Mn ta P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy a ʿy 2 e-w qṭ ḥbs (A. 3) e p ẖry n Pr-ʿo ʾwṭ-w (G. 2) pe-f ybt p ʿy[e] n ẖr-ḥ[3] n ṭ ḫs·t Zm Ḥr-sy-ʾS

[a] *Ptlwmys* B. C. E–G. [b] *Ta-Ḥr* D. E. G. [c] *Ta-ʾN·t* (?) D. E. F. G. [d] om. *Ne* D. G. [e] *pe-w ybt n p ʿy* C.

[1] LIEBLEIN, 1087, &c. Cf. *P-a·ṭe-Nfr-tm*, Berl. 3119, l. 4, verso l. 2 = Πατ-εστημις (? sic), Grey, l. 20, Πατευτημις, ibid., l. 30: also *P-a·ṭe-Nfr-ḥtp*, Berl. 3119, verso, l. 9 = (*sic*) Πετευτημις, Grey, l. 33; Ιφθιμις (= Προμηθευς), above, p. 189. With Ef-têm from *Nfr-tm* cf. ⲉϥⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩ, PEYRON, 46, as name of a soporific draught, perhaps from **nfr-rsw* 'good of dreams.' But *Nfr-ḥr* is Νεφερως, *Nfr-s·t* is Νεφορσης, &c.



[2] The reading of this name is quite uncertain. It is the name of the seat of the worship of Hathor at Gebelên (see XV. A/5, &c.), and having the appearance of a dual may perhaps be identified with its old name [hieroglyphs] *inty*, BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géog.*, 46, 1105 (possibly written [hieroglyphs] in the demotic). It can hardly be [hieroglyphs] ibid., 494, 1253, or [hieroglyphs], or [hieroglyphs], though the last is the seat of Hathor in the xth nome of Upper Egypt at Itfu. A somewhat similar group is seen in II Kham. i. 3.



[3] A very interesting spelling of [hieroglyphs]. The *b* was apparently lost in late times, cf. *Ḥr-m-ḥb* = Αρμαις, pronounced perhaps Harmahi.

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(C. 3) sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy e te-f zy·t ʾmnt[a] ʾr n-t zy·t bk·t pe-f ʾmnt (B. 3) p ʿy n s-ḥm·t Ta-hb ta P-a·ṭe-nfr-ḥtp e p wyn[b 1] n ššṭ ʾwṭ-w a[c] n hyn·w (D. 3) n p ʿy ṭr-f

ṭe-y s n-t mte-t s pe-t (A. 4) ʿy[d] nt qṭ ḥbs nt ḥry pe

ṭe-t mty ḥt-y n pe-f ḥṭ (E. 3) šp-y swn·t-f n ḥṭ n ṭʾ·t-t e-f mḥ ʾt sp nb (F. 3) ḥt-y mty·w nʾm-f[e] (C. 4) mn mte-y mṭ nb[f] n p t eʾrn-t n rn-f bn e rḫ rm nb n p t ʾnk mte ʾr sḫy nʾm-f bl-n-t[g] n ṯ n p-hw a ḥry

(B. 4) p nt e-f ʾy a ḥr-t (A. 5) eṭbe·t-f rn-y rn rm nb n p t e-y ṭy wy-f a ḥr-t (D. 4, G. 3) mte-y ṭy wʿb-f n-t a qnb·t nb mṭ nb n p t n ss nb

mte-t ne-f qnb·tw n ʿy nb nt e-w nʾm-w sḫ nb eʾr-w ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb eʾr-w n-y ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb (C. 5) nt e-y mʿ·k nʾm-f rn-w (E. 4) mte-t st ḥnʿ pe-w hp mte-t p nt e-y mʿ·k nʾm-f rn-w[h]

p ʿnḫ (A. 6) p ʿḥ[i] rṭ (F. 4) nt e-w a ṭy s[j] m s-t n p ʿy n wpy n rn p hp (B. 5) n p sḫ nt ḥry eʾr-y n-t a ṭy ʾr-y s e-y ʾr-f[k] ʾt z qnb·t nb mṭ nb n p t erme-t

A. *ends* sḫ P-ʾw-Ḥr sy Ns-Mn

B. *begins* Twt[2] sy P-ḫl-Ḫns e-f mtr n ḥ-sp; *ends* sḫ n ny

C. „ Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ty-s sy Q-lz e-f mtr

D. „ Mnt-m-ḥʿ·t sy ʾY-m-ḥtp e-f mtr

E. „ P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ sy Ns-Mn mw·t-f T-šr·t-ʾMn

F. „ Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ty-s sy Q-lz mw·t-f T-šr·t-Mn ef mtr

G. „ Twt sy P-ḫl-Ḫns mw·t-f T-a·ṭe-nfr-ḥtp e-f mtr

H. List of witnesses in a column before A on the recto (Pl. LX).

ne-f mtr·w 16 \[3]
sḫ ḥ-ntr P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ sy Ns-Mn sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ
wn ʾMn Šp-Mn[4] sy Pa-bk sy P-hb-p-šmʿ (?)

---

[a] *ybt-t* (sic) C. [b] *wn* E. [c] *a ṯmṭ* (?) B. C. D. G.: *ṯmṭ* F. [d] *n pe-t* ʿy C. [e] *nʾm-w* E. [f] *n-mṭ nb* C. [g] *bl-t* B. C. D. F. G. [h] *nʾm-w rn-f* C. [i] *ṯy* ʿḥ C. [j] *ṯy st* C. [k] *e-y a* ʾr-f B.

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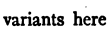
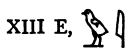
[1] From the variants here E,  XIII E,  XII F— being the type XII A–D, &c.—and from the use of in the parallel text it seems extremely probable that ογοειπ, 'light,' is derived from *wn* 'open,' so commonly used of doors and windows 'opening,' i. e. 'looking,' in a certain direction or being 'opened,' i. e. 'made,' in a wall. Cf. ογοειщ, 'time,' probably from *wš* 'space,' et sim.

[2] This name takes strange forms in Greek. The det. in demotic seems to show that it should be read as τογωτ: φογωτ, 'statue'; but it might represent τογητ or some other part of the verb τογωτ. In *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 21, it corresponds to Τοτοης. In Mah.-Sm. we find Τοτοης, Τοθοης, -ητος, and Τοτοητις. At Gebelên -ητος occurs once in Kenyon, iii. 1204/17, Τοτοητις in *BGU.*, iii. 994, but the usual form is Τοτοης, -ηους and in *Gr. Pap.*, ii. nos. 29, 30, it is written Τοης, -ηους (the same man Τοτοης in no. 27). Τοτοης in Cas. 8/5 corresponds to the *Twtw* in *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3116, 4/13 (the *w* seems unusually low in the line). The varying form in Greek seems to show that it was pronounced variably, perhaps as a pet name. Twêt or Twêti would fit best as the normal pronunciation, cf. above, pp. 191, 195.

[3] This symbol = 'viz.' occurs similarly in IX. 21/10, 11, 22/8 (at the end of lines, but not in 24/2). It is frequent in papyri of Amasis.

[4] The name is frequent in the Gebelên papyri and must be the origin of Σπεμμνις which occurs in them. In abn. hier. *Šp* of *Šp-n-ʾS*, &c., takes this form (Psam. Vat., &c.). In hieroglyphic *šb* varies with *šp* (p. 216, note 4, cf. p. 229, note 9). [*Šp-Mn*, Kamal, *Stèles*, i. p. 240.]

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. . . . . Ṯḥwt-ʾw[1] sy Ṯḥwt-ʾrrḫ-s sy Pa-ḫs(?)
(5) . . . .[2] Nḫt-Wbst(?) z·t n-f Pa-yr sy Pa-Ws(?)[3]
sḫ Ns-Mn sy Ṯḥwt-e·ʾr-ṯy-s sy Ṯḥwt-mn
wʿb ʾMn Z-ḥr sy Ṯ-nfr[4] sy Z-Ḫns-e-f-ʿnḫ
sḫ qṯy Ḥr- . . . sy Ze-ḥr
wn ʾMn P-ʿʿn[5] sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy
(10) . . . . ʾMn-ḥtp sy P-šr-ʾMn
sḫ [Twt] sy P-ḫl-ḫns sy Ns- . . . . nb-šmʿ(?)
rm e-f[6] mne(?) Pa-Mnt sy Ṯ-Ḥr-p-t sy Yr-Ḥr-r-w
sḫ Ṯḥwt-e·ʾr-ṯy-s sy Q-lz sy Zwf(?)-ʿḫy
. . . . Mnt-m-ḥ sy ʾY-m-ḥtp sy Mnt-m-ḥ
(15) šwt(?)[7] ʾpṭ Ḥr sy Q-lz
ḥry-qr(?)[8] P-a·ṭe-ʾNp sy Pa-ṭe[9] sy P-a·ṭe-ʾNp
sḫ Wn-nfr sy P-hb sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw.

Witnesses on verso (Pl. LX).

P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ sy Ns-Mn sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ
Šp-Mn sy Pa-bk
Ṯḥwt-ʾw sy Ṯḥwt-ʾr-rḫ-s
Nḫt-Wbst sy Pa-Ws
(5) Ns-Mn sy Ṯḥwt-e·ʾr-ṯy-s
Z-ḥr sy Ṯ-nfr
Ḥr- . . . sy Z-ḥr
P-ʿʿn sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy
ʾMn-ḥtp sy P-šr-ʾMn
(10) Twt sy P-ḫl-Ḫns
Pa-Mnt sy Ṯ-Ḥr-p-t
Ṯḥwt-e·ʾr-ṯy-s sy Q-lz
Mnt-m-ḥ sy ʾY-m-ḥtp
Ḥr sy Q-lz
(15) P-a·ṭe-ʾNp sy Pa-ṭe
Wn-nfr sy P-hb

PAP. No. XIII. 281 B.C. Cession of the house in XII (A), with four witness-copies (B–E): Pl. LVII–LIX, the endorsement on Pl. LX. The text as transliterated is constructed from all the copies, showing the principal variants. For the translation, see above, p. 128.

[1] = Θοτεvς, *PSBA.*, 23/298.

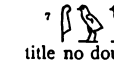
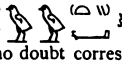
[2] Perhaps = , 'as before,' i.e. having the same title as the last: see Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 12/2, where 'Ieturau, herdsman of the House of Mont' is followed by 'the ditto Petemont, his brother,' who, according to *Corpus Louvre*, 10, was likewise herdsman of Mont. Cf. p. 205, note 41.

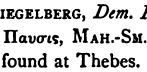
[3] So read also by SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 20, hardly = the common Πανσις, MAH.-SM., &c., which apparently has not yet been found at Thebes.

[4] LIEBLEIN, *Suppl.*, p. 1155.

[5] Probably Πενις, Πεννις of SCHOW, 4/7, 12/1, 13/14.

[6] pɛq-, see BRUGSCH, *Ä. Z.*, 16/1.

[7]  *šwt* or  *swt*: the whole title no doubt corresponds to χηνοβοσκος, which is common in Ptolemaic papyri from Thebes as well as other localities. The demotic group occurs as a title in Psam. III, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, 2/2; Dar., ibid., 4/1, 5/1, and as a verb 'keep(?),' 'sell(?)' in Tahr. year 16/7, Ahm., *Corpus Louvre*, 17/5, 6; Dar., *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3110/2. For *šw* cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Rechnungen*, i. pp. 61 et seqq., [for *sw*(?), *mn*(?), GARDINER, *Ä. Z.*, 42/118–19].

[8] Apparently  . Cf. *ḥry qrw* in *Paheri*, Pl. 3 (XVIIIth Dynasty), who seem to be the merchants or agents bringing gold.

[9] Πατης. In XXI *Pa-ṭe* of the docket is written *P-a·ṭe* in the document. Perhaps this is the etymological meaning 'he whom (God) gave.' It suggests that *aṭḗ* or *eṭḗ*, *aṭe* or *eṭe*, was the absolute form of the rel. *sṭm-f*, thus *ⲡⲁϫⲏ ⲡⲉϫⲉ- ⲡⲉϫⲁ-* (Achm. *ⲡⲁϫⲉ- ⲡⲁϫⲉ-*).

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ḥ-sp 5·t tp ʾḥ n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Ptwlmys[a] ʿ.w.s. sy Ptwlmys ʿ.w.s.

z s-ḥm·t Ty-Ḥr[b] ta Ḥr-sy-ʾS mw·t-s Ta-Wbst n s-ḥm·t Ty-ʾN·t[c] (?) ta Z-ḥr mw·t-s Ta-Mn

te-y wy·k a ḥr-t n pe-t ʿy nt qṭ ḥbs nt n t ʾwy·t mḥt·t Ne ḫn t ḥ·t n t ʾḥ·t (A. 2) ne-f hyn·w rs p ʿy n wn ʾMn-ʾpy (B. 2) n pr-ʾmnt Ne P-a·ṭe-nfr-ḥtp sy Yr-rz (E. 2) pe-f mḥt (C. 2) p ʿy n sḫ P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw sy P-ḫl-Ḫns[d] (D. 2) ḥnʿ p ʿy n wn ʾMn-ʾPy n pr-ʾmnt Ne P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy sy Ns-Mn nt ḫr s-ḥm·t Wn-Mn ta P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy a ʿy 2 e p ḫry n Pr-ʿo (A. 3) ʾwṭ-w pe-f ybt p ʿy n ḫr-ḥ n t ḥs n (C. 3) Zm Ḥr-sy-ʾS sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy e te-f zy-t[e] ʾr[f] n-t zy·t bk·t pe-f ʾmnt (B. 3) p ʿy n s-ḥm·t Ta-hb ta P-a·ṭe-nfr-ḥtp e p wyn šštg[g] ʾwṭ-w a[h] n hyn-w (E. 3) n py ʿy ṭr-f eʾr-y n-t sḫ eṭbe ḥṭ ar-f n ḥ-sp 5·t tp ʾḥ (A. 4) n Pr-ʿo ʿnḫ z

mte-t s (D. 3) pe-t[i] ʿy nt qṭ ḥbs nt ḫry pe

mn mte-y mṭ nb n p t eʾrn-t (C. 4) n rn-f[j] n ṯ p-hw a ḫry

p nt e-f (a) ʾy a ḥr-t eṭb·t-f n rn-y (n) rn rm nb n p t e-y (a) ṭy wy-f a ḥr-t

(B. 4) e-t m-sʾ-y n p ḥp n p sḫ eṭb ḥṭ eʾr-y n-t ar-f n ḥ-sp 5·t tp ʾḥ n Pr-ʿo (A. 5) ʿnḫ z e ʾr n-t pe-f[k] ḥp n ss nb p bl n p sḫ nt ḫry (E. 4) a mḥ a (?)[l] šḫ 2 mte-y ʾr n t pe-w ḥp n ss nb ʾt sḫ nb

A. *ends* sḫ P-ʾw-Ḥr sy Ns-Mn

B. *begins* Twt sy P-ḫl-Ḫns e-f mtr n ḥ-sp; *ends* sḫ n ny

C. „ Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṭy-s sy Q-lz

D. „ Mnt-m-ḥ sy ʾY-m-ḥtp

E. „ P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ sy Ns-Mn

On the back (Pl. LX) signatures of sixteen witnesses, the same as in XII (see opposite), and in the same order.

Pap. No. XIV. 281 B.C. Cession of the same house by the vendor's father. Pl. LXI. Translation, above, p. 128.

(1) ḥ-sp 5·t tp ʾḥ n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s. sy Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s.

z ḫr-ḥe n t ḥs·t Zm Ḥr-sy-ʾS sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy mw·t-f Ta-hb n s-ḥm·t Ta-p-ʿne (?)-ʾN·ty (?) ta Z-ḥr mw·t-s Ta-Mn

te-y wy·t a ḥr-t n pe-t ʿy nt qṭ ḥbs nt t ʾwy·t mḥt·t N ne-f hyn·w rs p ʿy wn ʾMn-ʾPy pr-ʾmnt N ʾMn-ḥtp sy Yr-rz (2) pe-f mḥt p ʿy n s-ḥm·t Wn-Mn ta Pa-ne e p ḫyr Pr-ʿo ʾwṭ-w pe-f ybt p ʿy n ḫr-ḥb n t ḥs·t Zmʿ Ḥr-sy-ʾS sy Pa-ne[1] pe-f ʾmnt p ʿy n s-ḥm·t Ta-hb ta ʾMn-ḥtp a ṭmṭ (?) n hyn·w n pe-t ʿy ṭr-f eʾr n-t s-ḥm·t Ta-Ḥr ta Ḥr-sy-ʾS mw·t-s Ta-Wbst te šr·t sḫ eṭbe ḥṭ sḫ wy ar-f n ḥ-sp 5·t tp ʾḥ n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. ʿnḫ z ʿ.w.s.

mte s pe-t ʿy pe mn mte-y mṭ nb p t eʾrn-t (3) n rn-f bn e rḥ rm nb n p t ʾnk mʾte ʾr syḥ nʾm-f bl-t ṯ p-hw a ḫry

---

[a] *Ptlwmys* B.C.E. [b] *Ta-Ḥr* D.E. [c] *Ta-ʾN·t* (?) D.E. [d] In B. the name takes a form that seems quite incorrect. [e] *sye·t* B. *zy·t ʾmnt* D. [f] *n* (?) *ʾr n-t* A. *n ʾr-t bk·t* (sic) C. [g] *wyn n ššṭ* D. [h] *a ṭmṭ* (?) B.D. [i] *n pe-t* C. [j] *rn-w* (sic) A.B. [k] *pe-w* C. [l] *a* only in A.

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[1] Boh. Πανα, Zoega, 136/19.

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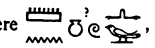
p nt e-f a ʾy a ḥr-k (*sic*) eṭb·t-f n rn-y n rn s-ḫm·t Ta-Ḥr ta Ḥr-sy[1]-ʾS mw·t-s Ta-Wbst te šr·t nt ḥry e-y ṯy wy-f a ḥr-t e-t m sʾ s-ḫm·t Ta-Ḥr ta Ḥr-sy-ʾS mw·t-s Ta-Wbst te šr·t nt ḥry n p ḥp n p sḫ eṭbe ḥṭ p sḫ wy a·ʾr-s n-t a(?) pe·t ʿy nt ḥry n ḥ-sp 5 tp ʾḥ n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. ʿnḫ z a ʾr n-t pe-w ḥp n ss nb (4) n(?) ḥt(?) ʾt mne ʾt(?) sḫ nb(?)[2]

sḫ Ms sy Rṭ-p- . . . . .

Witnesses on verso:

Ššnq sy , . . .
Ns-Mn sy N-nfr-Ḫns
P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw sy Ḥr-sy-ʾS
P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw sy Nḫt(?)-Mnt
(5) Ns-Šw(?) sy . . . -ʾS-ḫb(?)[3]
P-a·ṭe-Wsr sy Ns-Mn
P-ḫl-Ḫns sy Ḥr-wz(?)
P-šr-ʾMn sy . . . . .
ʾY-m-ḥtp sy Pa-ʿw
(10) Ḥr sy P-a·ṭe-Ḫns
P-šr-ʾS sy Šrš . . .
Ns- . . . . .
Nḫt-Mnt sy P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-tw
Hry . . . sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS
(15) Ḥr-Ṭḥwt sy Pa-Mʿ(?)[4]
Pa-Mwt(?) sy . . . .

[1] *sy* corrected from the tall form like *sn*.

[2] The last words have the appearance of having been copied from another document without being understood. *mne* (with *t*) seems to be written as if it were  , 'pain (?).'

[3] Or *Ḥr-wsr* (?).

[4] Name, *BKU.*, or possibly *Pa-wn*.

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LATER PTOLEMAIC PAPYRI FROM GEBELÊN, Nos. XV–XXXVIII

PAPYRI OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY VI PHILOMETOR.

PAP. No. XV. 163 B.C. Sale of land, consisting of A, the agreement for sale with tax-receipt in Greek (p. 133), and B, the cession. Pl. LXII–LXIII. Translation, above, pp. 131 et seqq.

A. (1) [ḥ-sp 19] tp ʾḥ ss 16 n [Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Ptlwmys[1] ʿ.w.s. sy] Ptlwm[ys ʿ.w.s.] erm Glwptre ʿ.w.s. n ntr·w nt pr·w e·ʾr ʾr[2] nfr·w erme n nt smne n Ra-qṭ·t

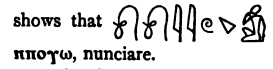
z ʾn wwy[3] t ʿby[4] n t mtne·t[5] Pa-Ḥr-ʾGš Sy-p-mwt[6] sy Ḥr-ʾn-wwy mw·t-f Ta-Ṭḥwt n s-ḥm·t Gl-hb[7] t ʿo·t ta Ḥr-ʿo-pḥt mw·t-s T-bl·t[8]

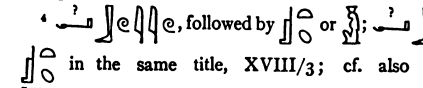
ṭe-t mty ḥt-y p ḥṭ swn t tʾ·t pš·t n yḥ nt ʾr bṭ(?) nt ʾr st 9½[9] a st 9 ¼ ⅛ 1/16 a st 9½ ʿn ḥnʿ pe-w ʿw[10] n ḫy (2) [ḫnʿ te(?)-f šn·t][11] te(?)-f ḫ-mw(?)[12] ḥnʿ t tʾ·t [pš·t n p ʿy nt qṭ ḫn]-f nt ḫn [T-y·t-bn·t][13] nt ḥr p ḥtp-ntr Ḥthr nb ʾN·t(?)[14] n hyn·w p yḥ ṭr-f rs p yḥ [Ḥr-ʿo]-pḥt sy ʿNḥ-n-hb·w mḥt p yḥ Pa-ʾMn sy Pa-Ḫnm ybt p zlʿ[15] mḥt t my n Ḥt-ḥr e tʾ ʿo-n-

[1] The date of the addition of *l* to the demotic alphabet by adding a spot to the *r* would be an interesting point to determine. So far as evidence is available at present the earliest instance from Upper Egypt is a Theban papyrus of the second year of Euergetes I (*Rev. Ég.*, i, fasc. 1, Pl. 4). From the 25th year of Euergetes onwards it seems regularly used. In the two copies of the decree of Canopus of the 9th year it is found, but very irregularly, though these are from Lower Egypt, where the innovation might be expected to be in full force. According to Prof. SPIEGELBERG, whose pronouncement can hardly be questioned, a papyrus from the Faiyûm showing the *l* dates from the 36th year of the reign of Philadelphus (*Dem. Pap. Berl.*, no. 8278, p. 21).

Theban papyri after Philadelphus regularly use the form Ptlomaios (*Ptlwmys*), but the official decree of Canopus preserves the correct vocalization *Ptwlmys*. The Rosetta stone, on the other hand, shows a complete triumph of the Egyptianized form.

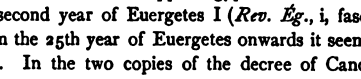
[2] *e·ʾr ʾr* past participle of ειρε.

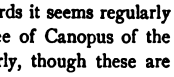
[3] The rendering of this as *-ομγους* in the name Αρομγους shows that  here represents ογω, as in ππογω, nunciare.

[4]  in the same title, XVIII/3; cf. also XXXV/2. [THOMPSON has found the meaning 'chapel' rather than 'altar' in a new text.]

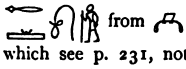
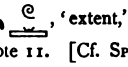
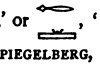
[5] In the village names in Berl. 3116 (see above, p. 131) the determinative of *mtn* is a vase. The Egyptian *mtn* 'path,' the difficult *mdn*, and Coptic ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲛ 'rest' suggest different meanings, but *T-mṭ-(n?)* may be the earlier form, see p. 143, note 2, Tmet(n?)pbêk.

[6] Σιεπμους furnishes a neat example of *sṭm-f*, optative or past: cf. the causative τσιο, τσιε-.

[7] Cf.  , DEVÉRIA, p. 122.

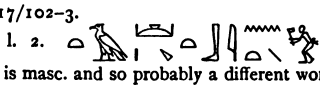
[8] Τβελλης, MAH.-SM., ⲧⲃⲉⲗⲗⲏ. In lin. hierogl.  , DEVÉRIA, p. 99, shows the double *l*.

[9] The absence of *yḫ* following the numerals after *st* is unusual but seems authentic, cf. Ros. 17, 18, *p ʾrṭb sw a st* 1 . . . *p ʾrp a st* 1 = της . . . αρταβης τηι αρουραι . . . το κεραμιον τηι αρουραι. Below, l. 3, and in the cession (except once in l. 5) it is supplied.

[10]  from  , 'extent,' or  , 'excess,' for which see p. 231, note 11. [Cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/203.]

[11] See B, l. 2: must be ⲱⲛⲏ, fem. hortus, rather than ⲱⲛⲏ, masc. arbor. It is curious that χερσος 'dry land' seems to correspond in the Greek. Perhaps it was χερσος newly reclaimed as a garden.

[12] Apparently 'allowance of water,' 'measure of water.' This expression occurs in the Edfu receipts for ointment, *Ä. Z.*, 17/102–3.

[13] B, l. 2.  , Τιαβωνις. ει ⲁ : ι ⲁ is masc. and so probably a different word.

[14] See above, p. 260, note 2. Εν τηι ιερατι προσοδωι της Αφροδιτης in the docket, the rendering of *ḥtp-ntr* being the same as in the trilingual decrees.

[15] Cf. the compound *sḫ-mṭ* in Ros., Can., and *Pap. Mag. L. L.*, 'record (?),' so here 'boundary-stone (?).'

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mw(?)[1] ʾwṯ-w ʾmnt p myt[2] Pr-ʿo . . . . n hyn·w p yḥ nt ḥry ṯr-f a·ʾn-y[3] eṯb ḥṯ n ḥ-sp 6 tp ʾḥ 21 n Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys sy Ptlwmys ʿnḫ z·t eʾr[4] Wynn e-f šp . . .[5] ḫn n rm·w ʾWmns nt[6] sḫ (3) [a t šṯe·t(?)[7] n] rs-ne(?)[8] ʾ[Mnys sy Ptr]n zy·t n-f Ḥr-pa-ʾS [sy P-hb mw·t-f T-šr·t]-ʾS

e-y ṯy n-t p sḫ eṯb [ḥṯ] p sḫ wy a·(ʾ)r-f n-y a t tʾ·t pš·t p yḥ nt ḥry nt wš pš[9] nte wn mte ḥn-ntr wrn·w(?)[10] ḥn-ntr sm·w[11] ḥn-k(?)[12] n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr·w Ns-Mn sy Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s mw·t-f Ta-wn-Bs[13] te-f k·t pš·t nt ʾr st $9\frac{1}{2}$ yḥ a st $9\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{2}{16}$ a st $9\frac{1}{2}$ yḥ ʿn erme pe-w ʿw n ḥy a mḥ st 19 yḥ ʿn[14]

ṯe-y s n-t mte st te-w tʾ·t pš·t yḥ mrwt[15] ḥnʿ t pš pe-f ʿy (4) [nt qṯ ḫn-f nt ḥry šp]-y swn·t-f n ḥṯ n ṯ[t-t e-f(?)mḥ ʾt sp nb ḥ]t[-y mt·w] n[ʾm-f

mn mte-y mṯ] nb p t eʾrn-t [n rn-]f

bn e-y (*sic*) rḥ rm nb p t ʾnk mte ʾr syḥ nʾm-f bl-t n ṯ p-hw a ḥry p nt e-f a ʾy a ḥr-t e-ṯb·t-f n rn-y n rn rm nb p t e-y a ṯy wy-f a ḥr-t mte-y ṯy wʿb-f n-t a sḫ nb qnb·t nb n[16] mṯ nb n p t n ss nb mte-t ne-f sḫ·w ne-f qnb·tw n ʿy nb nte-w nʾm-w

sḫ nb a·ʾr-w ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb a·ʾr-w n-y ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb nt e-y mʿ·k nʾm-w n rn-f mte(-t) st ḥnʿ pe-w hp mte-t p nt mʿ·k (5) [nʾm-w rn-y]

p ʿnḫ p [ʿḥ rṯ nt e-w a ṯy-s m-s-t n p ʿy n wpy n rn p hp n p sḫ nt] ḥry a·ʾr-y n-t [a ṯy] ʾr-y s e-y a ʾr-f ʾt z qnb·t nb mṯ nb p t erme-t

sḫ Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s sy Nḫt-Wbst nt sḫ n rn n wʿb·w Ḥthr nb ʾN·t(?) n ntr-w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr p 5 s·w

For the Greek docket, see above, p. 133.

B. (1) ḥ-sp 19 tp ʾḥ ss 16 n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s. sy Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s. erm Glwptre ʿ.w.s. n ntr·w nt pr·w eʾr ʾr nfr·w erme n nt smne n Ra-qṯ

z ʾn wwy t ʿby(?) n t mtne·t Pa-Ḥr-ʾGš Sy-p-mwt sy Ḥr-ʾn-wwy mw·t-f Ta-Ṯḥwt n s-ḥm·t Glhb t ʿo·t ta Ḥr-ʿo-pḥt (2) mw·t-s T-bl·t

te-y wy·k a ḥr-t te-t tʾ·t pš·t n yḥ nt ʾr bṯ(?) nt ʾr st $9\frac{1}{2}$ yḥ a st $9\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{2}{16}$ yḥ a st $9\frac{1}{2}$ yḥ

[1] is an old word for 'dyke,' also 'canal (?),' see *Kahun Papyri*, text, p. 100: perhaps it changed its gender to fem. Here the meaning is clearly 'canal.' Cf. p. 286, note 4.

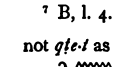
[2] N.B. ⲁⲗⲟⲉⲓⲧ 'road,' 'path,' not ⲥⲓⲣ 'street' which is used in the descriptions of houses.

[3] *a·ʾn-y te-f pʾ·t pš·t e-ṯb ḥṯ*, &c., B.

[4] A relative verb here would require a very loose construction, perhaps with *pʾ·t pš·t* or *ḥṯ* 'money' as antecedent, and the spelling would probably be *a·ʾr* in this text: so *eʾr* appears to be the preposition 'in regard to,' so here 'from (?).'

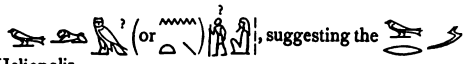
[5] Possibly the same group as in IX. 21/8, see variants.

[6] *e-f* in B: *nt* and *e-f* (circumstantial) are equally common in this title.

[7] B, l. 4.  (cf. p. 273, note 2), or *rṯe·t*, but not *ḳṯe·t* as Raqoti in l. 1.

[8] (?).

[9] B omits *nt wš pš* here and inserts it later.

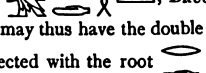
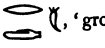
[10]  , suggesting the of Heliopolis.

[11] , suggesting the of Memphis.

[12] Perhaps , cf. the group in p. 248, note 5.

[13] Ταγομβῆς, Mah.-Sm.

[14] B. adds here the phrase *nt wš pš* omitted above.

[15] *t mrwt* is Τεμραυθις, see p. 156, note 3. *Mrwt* is here parallel to σιτοφορος *nt ʾr bṯ*(?) of l. 1, probably including land for orchards and gardens, like Τεμραυθις. The word may be derived from Eg.  , Brugsch, *Wtb. Suppl.*, p. 558; the stem may thus have the double meaning of *felix*, and may be connected with the root  , 'grow.' With *mr*, later *mrd*, cf. *šʿ*, later *šʿd*.

[16] Probably only a duplication of the initial ⲁⲁ in the next word, as often met with in the subsequent papyri.

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ʿn ḥnʿ ne-w ʿw n ḫy ḥnʿ te-f šn·t te(?)-f ḫ-mw ḥnʿ te-t tʾ·t pš·t n p ʿy nt qṭ ḫn-f nt ḫn T-y·t-bn·t nt ḥr p ḥtp-ntr n Ḥt-ḥr n hyn·w p yḥ nt ḥry ṯr-f rs p yḥ Ḥr-ʿo-pḥt sy ʿNḫ-n-ḥb·w mḥt (3) p yḥ Pa-ʾMn sy Pa-Ḫnm(?) ybt p zlʿ mḥt t my Ḥ·t-Ḥr e t ʿo-n-mw ʿwṭ-w pe-f ʾmnt p myt Pr-ʿo . . . . n hyn·w p yḥ nt ḥry ṯr-f aʾn-y te-f tʾ·t pš·t e-ṭbe ḥṭ ḥ-sp 6 tp ʾḫ 21 n Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s. sy Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s. ʿnḫ z·t ʿ.w.s. eʾr Wynn e-f šp . . . ḫn n rm·w ʾWmns (4) e-f sḫ a t šṭe·t(?) n rs-ne(?) ʾMnys sy Ptrn z·yt n-f Ḥr-paʾS sy P-hb mw·t-f T-šr·t-ʾS

e-y ṯy n-t p sḫ e-ṭbe ḥṭ p sḫ wy aʾ(?)r-f n-y a t tʾ·t pš·t p yḥ nt ḥry nt e wn mte ḥn-ntr wrn·w(?) ḥn-ntr sm·w ḥn-k(?) n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt prʿw Ns-Mn sy Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s mw·t-f Ta-wn-Bs (5) te-f k·t pš·t nt ʾr st 9½ yḥ a st 9¼ ⅛ 2/16 yḥ a st 9½ ʿn erme pe-w ʿw n ḫy a mḥ st 19 yḥ ʿn nt wš pš

ṭe-y s n-t mte s te-t tʾ·t pš yḥ mrwt ḥnʿ t tʾ·t pš·t pe·t ʿy nt qṭ ḫn-f nt ḥry aʾr-y n-t sḫ eṭb ḥṭ ar-f n ḥ-sp 19 tp ʾḫ 16 n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s. sy Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s. ʿnḫ z·t (6) mte s te-t tʾ·t pš·t yḥ ḥnʿ t tʾ·t pš·t n (sic) ʿy nt qṭ ḫn-f nt ḥry pe

mn mte-y mṭ nb p t eʾrn-t n rn-f

p nt e-f a ʾy a ḥr-t e-ṭb·t-f n rn-y n rn rm nb p t e-y ṯy wy-f a ḥr-t e-t m-s-y n p hp py sḫ e-ṭb ḥṭ aʾr-y n-t ar-f ḥ-sp 19 tp ʾḫ 16 n Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s. sy Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s. ʿnḫ z·t (7) a ʾr n-t pe-f hp n ss nb p bl n p sḫ wy nt ḥry a mḥ sḫ 2 mte-y ʾr n-t pe-w hp n ss nb n ḥt ʾt mne ʾt sḫ nb

sḫ Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s sy Nḫt-Wbst nt(?) sḫ n rn n wʿb·w Ḥ·t-Ḥr nb ʾN·t(?) n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt prʿw p 5 s·w

Witnesses alike to both in two lists, on verso:

P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-wr sy Nḫt-Mn
Wn-nfr sy P-šr-Mn
Sm-tw sy Sm-tw
Pa-tw[1] sy P-a·ṭe- . . .
(5) Ḥr-p-ḫps[2] sy Pa-p-mʾ
Ḥr sy Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s
Ḥtp-Sbk[3] sy Wn-nfr
Nḫt-Mn sy Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s
Nḫt-f sy Pa-Ḥr-w[4]
(10) P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Sy-p-mwt
Sm-tw sy Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s
Pa-Mwt(?) sy P-šr-Mnt
Pa-tw[5] sy Hry·w[6]
Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s sy Ns-Mn
(15) Pa-Gb[7] sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ
Pa-Mwt sy Ḥr-sy-ʾS

[1] Πατους. [2] Cf. Αρχυψις, *Tebt.* is misshapen.

[3] Ετπεσουχος in *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 32.

[4] The original leaves little doubt as to the reading though the writing is curious.

[5] 13 and 14 are transposed in B. In B the *Pa-* of *Pa-tw*

[6] Earlier (XI, verso /9) *Hry* Εριευς, here spelt as qualitative, cf. pp. 209, note 2, 256, note 4.

[7] = Πακοιβις, see Spiegelberg, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 33, note 1. As to the group for Kηβ see id., *Ä. Z.*, 37/30. The

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The form of the LATER PTOLEMAIC MARRIAGE-CONTRACTS is as follows, according to seven examples in the JOHN RYLANDS collection, namely, XVI, XX (both complete), XXII (nearly complete), XXVII (injured), XXVIII (complete), XXX (injured), XXXVII (a fragment containing most of paragraphs 5 et seqq.), XXXVIII (fragment, nearly complete from paragraph 9). See the translation above, p. 134.

(1) ḥ-sp &c.

(2) z *A.* n s-ḥm·t *B.*

(3) ʾr-y t-t n ḥm·t

(4) ṭe-y n-t ḥṭ *x* a sttr 5*x* a ḥṭ *x* ʿn ʾrṯb sw[1] *y* te-w pš·t sw[a] ½ *y* a ʾrṯb sw *y* ʿn n pe-t špe[2] n s-ḥm·t

[(5) e-y qʿ-t n ḥm·t mte-y msṭet-t mte-y ḫn k·t s-ḥm·t aḥr-t e-y a ṭy n-t p fe(?)[b 3] py ḥṭ *x* ʾrṯb sw *y* nt ḥry a·ṭe-y n-t pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t]

(6) pe-t šr ʿo pe šr ʿo ḫn n ḫrṭ·w nt eʾr-t (a) ms·t-w n-y p nb n nt nb nk nb[c] nt mte-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y a ṭy ḫp-w

---

[a] *ʾrṯb* is frequently omitted before *sw* throughout: it has not been thought necessary to note every case. [b] So XXVII/4; see XVI/5, XXXVII/1 for the large variations here. These three texts alone have paragraph 5. [c] XXXVII omits paragraph 6, perhaps owing to ομοιοτελευτον as its version of 5 ends with the same words. See XVI/6, XX/4 (which also with XXX omits *nk nb*) for large variations of 6.

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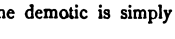
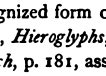
vocalization with οι is constant at Gebelên but difficult to interpret: cf. Πχοιρις, above, p. 223, and HESS's judicious remarks thereon, *Â. Z.*, 30/119, who inclines to make οι dialectic for ω on the analogy of some old Coptic forms. Πακυβις is a name in WILCKEN, *Ostr.*, ii. 383 (Roman period), pointing to Kôb, but this may be a different word. However, the village name Τμονονκηπις, with variants in the first half (Cas. 37/10, &c.), is spelt Θμονονκοιφις in PEYRON, Tur. 8/18, and may well be 'the island of the arches (κηπε)' or 'of the screens'; cf. the form Τμονονκηπε, Cas. 33/9. The demotic is simply *T-my-qp-(w?)*,  , Berl. 3116, 4/9, 10 = Cas. 8/1 (a superfluous is similarly seen in the same scribe's spelling of Τοτοης = *Twt(w?)* instead of the usual *Twt*, above, p. 261, note 2; and its use in *ṯn(w?)* 'basket,' *nb(w?)* ' basket' (Ros. 27) suggests that it may really represent the determinative , proper to *qp* 'screen,' and not *w* at all). Κηβ also receives some support from a signature of 46 A.D. found by GRENFELL and HUNT at Tebtunis [see *Tebt.*, ii. 383, l. 59], where Ψενκηβκις signs himself *P-šr-Gb* in an illiterate manner. It is conceivable that the second κ is false and derived from the apparent final *k* in the usual demotic group: but the wild goose was sometimes called *gꜣbgw* as well as *gb*, and *Κηβκ may have been a recognized form of the god's names as well as Κηβ; cf. GRIFFITH, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 22.

[1] SPIEGELBERG, *Pap. Reinach*, p. 181, assumes this reading of the common group. The proof of the meaning and the reading may be given as follows. On a bilingual ostracon, best published by HESS, *Rosette*, p. 63, π(υρου) α(ρταβη) is represented once by a group here read *sw* and previously by the same group preceded by that read *ʾrṯb* with *n* 'of' between. This *ʾrṯb n sw* is frequent in Roman writing, and must correspond to the Sah. ϯⲣⲧⲟϩ ⲛⲥⲟϫⲟ, CRUM, *Ostr.*, Boh. ⲉⲣⲧⲟϩ ⲛⲥⲟϫⲟ, ZOEGA, 131/7. In Ptolemaic writing it is *ʾrṯb sw*, and *sw* alone '(measure = ertob of) wheat' constantly stands for *ʾrṯb sw*, *ʾrṯb n sw*, just as *ḥṭ* stands for '(piece = ṭeben of) silver' and *ḥmt* for '(piece = kiti (?), obol, of) copper.' Πυρος is by far the commonest kind of grain alike in the Greek, Roman, and Coptic periods, hence the commonest demotic cereal should be *sw*; apparently, however, other combinations, *ʾrṯb n yt* ('barley'), &c., have not yet been noted. Finally, *Pap. Reinach*, Dem., no. 3, *ʾrṯb sw* 50 of l. 7 refers to the (πυρου) αρταβας πεντηκοντα of Gr., no. 20, l. 21, as is pointed out, ibid., p. 105; and the payment is to be made in *sw stf*, showing clearly which group is to be read *ʾrṯb* and which *sw*. The etymology of ϯⲣⲧⲟϩ, ⲉⲣⲧⲁϩ : ⲉⲣⲧⲟϩ, Fay. ⲉⲗⲧⲁⲕ (ⲉⲣⲧⲱϩ must be false) is unknown: perhaps , which appears in connexion with corn-measures in the Rollin Papyri, is an element in it.

[2] *špe* (p. 254, note 6) can mean simply 'gift' and is used apart from dowries; see Ros., l. 7, *ṯy špe* = πεφιλανθρωπηκε. It may well be derived from the old word  .

[3] ϥω : ϥωι, hardly the *fꜣ·i* 'interests,' 'profits' of *Kahun Pap.*, Pl. XIII, l. 22.

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(7) te-y s p wn n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t a·ʾn-t a pe ʿy ṭʾ·t-t[a] ⟨wʿ mnḫ (?) a ḥṭ 200 &c.⟩

[(8) p sp pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t ḥṭ *x* sw *y*[b]]

(9) a (?) swn[c] ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t a·ʾn-t a pe ʿy ṭʾ·t-t[a] ḥṭ *z* a sttr 5*z* a ḥṭ *z* ʿn n ḥmt[1] 24 a qṭ 2[d2] ⟨&c.⟩

[(10) p bl py ḥṭ *x* ʾrṭb sw *y* nt ḥry a·ṭe-y n-t n pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t[e]

(11) a mḫ ne-t nk-w n s-ḥmt nt ḥry ḥṭ *x*+*z* a sttr 5(*x*+*z*) a ḥṭ *x*+*z* ʿn n ḥmt 24 a qṭ ʾrṭb sw (?) *y*[f] ⟨&c.⟩]

(12) šp-y st n ṭʾ·t-t e-w mḫ ʾt sp nb

(13) ḥt-y mty·w nʾm-w

(14) e-t n ḫn e-t n ḫn erme-w e-t n bl e-t n bl erme-w

(15) mte-t pe-w šy ʾnk pe-w syḫf [cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/203]

(16) p ss n qʿ-t n ḥm·t nt e-y a ʾr-f ge mte-t eʾr-t mr še n-t ḥʿ-t a tm ḫp e-t[g] mte-y n ḥm·t e-y (a)[h] ṭy n-t p smṭ n ne-t[g] nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry ge swn·t-w n ḥṭ a ḫ p nt sḫ ḥry

(17) bn e-y rḫ ṭy ʿnḫ m-s-t n p ʿy n wpy eṭbe p hp n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry z bn-p-t ʾn·t-w a pe ʿy n ṭʾ·t-t[i]

(18) mte-t nt ṯ ḥt aḥr-y nʾm-w

(19) ʾt z qnb nb mṭ nb p t erme-t

(20) sḫ *C.*

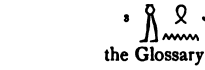
Lists of bridal possessions *nk·w n s-ḥm* in different contracts: translated above, p. 136: [see two other examples in SPIEGELBERG, *Pap. Liffey*, pp. 9 et seqq.].

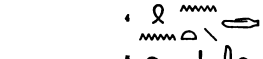
XVI (7)	wʿ ʾn-šn[3]	a ḥṭ 200		wʿ·t qnbw (?)[6]	a ḥṭ 50
	ke ʾn-šn	a ḥṭ 100		wʿ·t tre[7]	a ḥṭ 30
	wʿ·t šnṭ[4]	a ḥṭ 120 (?)		wʿ šs[8] ʿo	a ḥṭ 100
	wʿ ll[5]	a ḥṭ 90		ke šs ḫm	a ḥṭ 60

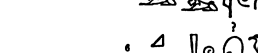
[a] *erme-t* XX, XXII, XXXVII, XXXVIII. [b] Paragraph 8 in XXVII, XXVIII, XXX. [c] *swn·t-w* XXVIII. [d] XX, XXII omit *n ḥmt* 24 *a qṭ* 2: XXXVIII adds *wṭḫ* (?) *qṭ* (?) after *ḥmt*, and at end *nt ʾr krkr*, &c. [e] In XX, XXII, par. 10 is *pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t nt sḫ ḥry ḥṭ* x, &c. [f] XXXVIII adds *wṭḫ* (?) *qṭ* (?) after *ḥmt*; in XX, XXII, par. 11 is *a mḫ n ḥṭ* x+z to which XX adds *nt ʾr krkr* $\frac{x+z}{300}$ ⟨&c⟩. [g] XXX omits *e-t* (the 2nd fem. was probably pronounced **ϵ*, not ϵpϵ) just as beyond it gives *n* for *ne-t*. [h] *a* is written in XXXVII. [i] *erme-t* XX, XXXVIII.

[1] For *qṭ* (?), kiti (?), after *ḥmt* see above, p. 138, notes 3, 4.

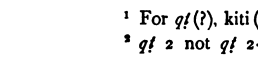
[2] *qṭ* 2 not *qṭ* 2·*t* is the usual orthography, also in other contexts; so also *qṭ* 1. But *qṭ* 3·*t* is usual. See the lists of bridal possessions, Nos. XX and XXII on next page.

[3]  *ʾn-šn* heads all the lists. See the variants in the Glossary.

[4]  δ, fem. ϣεπτω.

[5]  ληλ, armilla.

[6] *D*, probably some angulated object.

[7]  , or just possibly *tle*. Perhaps a pointed object of stone; cf. ταρ, τωρϵ, *Ä. Z.*, 13/180, 'pointed instrument,' 'punt-pole.'

[8] Evidently *D*, in XX, XXII spelt *šš*. Σειστρον though readily derived from σειω may perhaps have been influenced by the Egyptian word, the vocalization of which, however, is unknown. Possibly also αλαβαστρον may be connected with the name of the alabaster quarries *Ḥ·t-nb*: though in a later compound this would produce Hanûb, in this very ancient name the pronunciation might be quite different, e. g. Hanab, Halab, cf. p. 301, note 2.

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XVI (*continued*)

wᶜ·t mrḥ [1]	a ḥṭ 45
wᶜ šš [2]	a ḥṭ 5 (?)
wᶜ qll [3]	a ḥṭ wṯḥ (?) [4] ṯbn 1
wᶜ ᶜy wḥ nb a nb ḫm [5]	1⅓
ʾrṭb sw	20

ḥṭ 810 a sttr 4,100 (*sic*) a ḥṭ 810 ᶜn n ḥmt 24 a qṭ 2

(8) wᶜ ᶜy n wḥ nb n nb ḫm 1⅓ ḥṭ wṯḥ ṯbn 1 sw 20

XX (5) wᶜ ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 600
ke ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 150
wᶜ·t gtn [6] a ḥṭ 300
wᶜ·t qnbw a ḥṭ 150
wᶜ šš a ḥṭ 300
ke šš ḫm a ḥṭ 200
wᶜ·t mrḥ a ḥṭ 200
wᶜ·t yl [7] a ḥṭ 60
wᶜ ll a ḥṭ 60
(6) wᶜ qll a ḥṭ wṯḥ ṯbn [1]
wᶜ·t hlq [8] a ḥṭ wṯḥ qṭ 2
wᶜ·t glt a ḥṭ wṯḥ qṭ 1
wᶜ ᶜy n wḥ nb a nb ḫm 1⅓
wᶜ šš a ḥṭ 50

ḥṭ 2,070 a sttr 10,350 (&c.) ḥṭ wṯḥ ṯbn 1 qṭ 3·t (7) nb ḫm 1⅓

XXII (4) wᶜ ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 200
(5) [ke ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 150]
wᶜ šš a ḥṭ 130
wᶜ·t mrḥe a ḥṭ 40
wᶜ bs [9] a ḥṭ 20

XXII (*continued*)

wᶜ·t swḥ n ḥmt [10]	a ḥṭ 50
wᶜ qnb (?) [11]	a ḥṭ 30
wᶜ ll	a ḥṭ 40
wᶜ·t ḫpš [12]	a ḥṭ 25
k·t ḫpš 2·t	a ḥṭ 15
wᶜ·t hlq	a ḥṭ wṯḥ qṭ 2
wᶜ·t glṭ	a ḥṭ wṯḥ qṭ 1
šš 2	a [ḥṭ] 60
(6) [sw ʾrṭb 10]	

ḥṭ 700 a p(?) ḥṭ 60 a sttr 3,800 a ḥṭ 760 ᶜn ḥṭ wṯḥ qṭ 3·t sw ʾrṭb 10

XXVII (6) wᶜ ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 300
wᶜ·t gly a ḥṭ 100
wᶜ·t g[tn ?] a ḥṭ 200
wᶜ·t qnbw (?) a ḥṭ 50
wᶜ bs a ḥṭ 30
wᶜ šš [a] ḥṭ 50
(7) [+ ḥṭ 100 =] ḥṭ 830 a sttr 4, [150]

XXVIII (5) wᶜ ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 800
wᶜ·t gtn a ḥṭ 200
wᶜ ll a ḥṭ 40
wᶜ·t ṯb (?) a ḥṭ 60
(6) (+ḥṭ 100 =)ḥṭ 1,200 a sttr 2,400 (*sic*)

XXX (7) wᶜ ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 500
wᶜ·t gṯn a ḥṭ 100
wᶜ·t swḥ a ḥṭ 60
wᶜ bs a ḥṭ 25
wᶜ lle a ḥṭ 60
(8) wᶜ šš a ḥṭ [40]
(+ ḥṭ 100 =) ḥṭ 785 (9) a sttr 1,570 (*sic*)

[1] (var.), cf. Brugsch, *Wtb. Suppl.*, 619. [2] Cf. ϣⲁⲱ, latrinae, asseres.

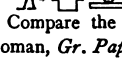
[3] Cf. ϰⲗⲁⲗ : ϫⲗⲁⲗ, collare, torques, also ϰⲉⲗⲱⲗ : ϫⲗⲟⲗ, urceus.

[4] This common symbol might be an abbreviation for *wṯḥ* (the full form of which is seen in XVII/5) or some word for 'metal.' Brugsch read it as *ṯbn*, *Ä. Z.*, 29/65; but it is found preceding *qṭ*, where only kitis are in question (XX/6, XXXVIII/3, &c.), and should therefore qualify the words *ḥṭ* 'silver,' *ḥmt* 'copper;' here and elsewhere the signs following are evidently for *ṯbn*, as required by the sense; see especially XX/6.

[5] The sign is identical with , e. g. in *šš ḫm* above, see also XLII/6, 9.

[6] Or *gtm*, but clearly *gtn* in XXVIII/5, XXX/7; cf. ϫⲁⲧⲁⲓⲉ, acervus. [7] ⲉⲓⲁⲗ fem.

[8] Must be ϩⲁⲗⲁϰ : ⲁⲗⲁϰ, fem. annulus, in spite of the not appearing in the Boheiric form.

[9]  (var.).

[10] Compare the *κωνος σιδηρους* deposited *εν υποθηκη* by a woman, *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 17.

[11] The reading very doubtful, cf. XXXVIII/2, probably not the same as the fem. *ṯb* (?) in XXVIII/5, nor as the *qnbw* (?) of XVI. [12] Note the fem. gender.

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XXXVII (2)	wᶜ ʾn-šn	a ḥṭ 55
	wᶜ·t qbe·t[1]	a ḥṭ 50
	wᶜ ᶜy wḥ nb	a nb ḫm 2
		a ḥṭ 40
	wᶜ·t ᶜo·t[2]	a ḥṭ 300
	k·t sge·t[3]	a ḥṭ 150
	wᶜ šš	a ḥṭ 5
ḥṭ 600 a sttr 3,000		
XXXVIII (2)	wᶜ ʾn-šn	a ḥṭ 600
	wᶜ qnb (?)	. . . .

PAP. No. XVI. 152 B.C. Marriage contract. Pl. LXIV. Translated, above, p. 139.

(1) ḥ-sp 29 ʾbt 3 pr 7 (?)[4] n n Pr-ᶜo·w Ptlwmys erme Glwptre te-f sn·t n ḫrṭ·w[5] Ptlwmys erme Glwptre n ntr·w nt pr·w erm Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys pe-w (?)[6] šr ᶜo p ntr ʾWptr erme p wᶜb ʾLgsntrws erme n ntr·w nt lg ḫb[7] n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w[8] n ntr·w nt pr·w[9] n ntr·w mr-mw·tw[10] erme p ntr ʾWptr

(2) erme t fy qne nᶜše[11] n Brnyge t mnḫ·t erme t fy tnʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyne t mr-sn erme t wᶜb n ʾRsyne t mr yt-s a ḫ n nt smn n Ra-qṭ [P-sy] nt p tš n N e Hrmyps sy Gryṭn n wᶜb Ptlwmys P-Swtr e Ptlwmys sy Ptlwmys n wᶜb Ptlwmys (3) p mr mw·t e Lwsnyʾs sy Hyrnwmws n wᶜb Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys [pe-w (?)] šr ᶜo p ntr ʾWptr e Swgrṭs sy Nygnṭrs n wᶜb Ptlwmys p mr sn e Hrms (?)[12] sy Ṭmṭrys n wᶜb Ptlwmys p mnḫ e ʾSnws sy Lqwprn n wᶜb Ptlwmys p mr yt-f (?)[13] e Ṭyṭwmws (4) sy ʾPwlᶜnys n wᶜb Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys p ntr nt pr·w eʾr ʾr(?) ne[-nfr]·w[14] e Glyʾ ta Gtsyʾne n wᶜb t Pr-ᶜo·t Glwptre e Ṭmṭryʾ ta (*sic*)[15] ta Lysmqws[16] n wᶜb Glwptre t mw·t t ntr nt pr·w e Ṭrwphnys ta Nygnr sy (?)[17] Ṭrwpn n fy tnʾ nb m-bḥ (5) ʾRsyne tʾ mr sn

z Blhn (?)[18] ms n Km [Ḫn]s[19]-Ṭḥwt sy Ḥr-pa-ʾS mw·t-f T-šr·t-p-wr n s-ḥm·t Šbytyt[20] ta Ḥr-sy-ʾS mw·t-s Ta-ʾS

ʾr-y t-t n ḫm·t ṭe-y n-t ḥṭ 400 a sttr 2,000 a ḥṭ 400 ᶜn ʾrṭb sw 10 te-w pš·t sw 5 a ʾrṭb sw 10 ᶜn pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t

e-y qᶜ-t n ḫm·t mte-y mstt-t mte-y ḫn k·t s-ḥm·t a ḥr-t e-y (6) a ṭy n-t ḥṭ 30 a sttr 150

[1] or *qbḥ·t*, cf. ⲕⲁⲃⲓ 'oil-vase,' ⲕⲟⲃⲓ 'hermit's cloak' or 'mat,' ⲕⲟⲃⲉ, nervus.

[2] ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱ is the same both masc. and fem. in Coptic: perhaps ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲁⲥⲣⲓⲁⲉ would be read.

[3] ⲥⲏⲉ : ⲥⲏⲭ masc., pullus asinae.

[4] Possibly 5.

[5] *sn·t*, *ḫrṭ·w* are almost destroyed.

[6] More like *p* than *pe-w*, but the sign is injured.

[7] *ḥb* cf. *Pap. Strassb.*, 21/1, is probably ⲭⲏⲃⲉ, luctus; 'who stay grief,' for Σωτηρες: often *nt nḫm*.

[8] *w* apparently suffix, not pl. of *mr-yt*: cf. *ʾRsyne t mr yt-s* in l. 2.

[9] *w* here probably qual., occurring also in the singular l. 4 (twice).

[10] *w* seems to be plural to *mr-mw·t*, cf. *p mr-mw·t* in l. 3.

[11] Otherwise *t fy šp n qn m-bḥ B.* or *t wᶜb n B.*

[12] Perhaps Ερμης or Ερμας, but the last letter is injured by the join of the leaf.

[13] Rather *yt-f*, followed by det. of divinity, than *yt-w*.

[14] *ne-nfr*, as often where *nfr* would be expected.

[15] The name seems to end with a superfluous filiation sign *ta* before the determinative.

[16] *q* is nearly certain, *m* less so. *Lys-* for Λυσ- of Λυσι- (with ŭ?) is interesting and is found again (in the same name) *Lysymqws* = Λ[υσιμαχου], *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 5507/6 = Leid. Gr. P/19: while Λυσανιας (with ŭ?) above is *Lws-*.

[17] The remains would fit *e* as well as *sy*; the former reading would indicate that some names and another priestess had been omitted. A grandfather's name, however, may have been recorded for some special reason.

[18] The last phonetic letter might be *n* or *s*, the determinative is probably or and suggests an animal-name of a Typhonian or other ill-omened sort. In all probability we have here the name (in the singular) of the Βλεμμυες, Sah. ⲂⲖⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩⲉ, ⲂⲁⲖⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩ (CRUM, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 123), Boh. ⲂⲁⲖⲡⲉⲙⲙⲁⲱⲩⲓ, which may be plurals of *ⲂⲖ-ⲣⲁⲛ, *ⲂⲁⲖ-ⲡ-ⲉ(ⲣ)ⲙⲁⲛ, 'pelican's eye.'

[19] Restored by the Greek parallel, p. 139, note 13.

[20] Σεβτιτις. The superfluous *y* is curious.

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a ḥṭ 30 ʿn p bl py ḥṭ 400 ʾrṭb sw 10 nt ḥry a·ṭe-y n-t pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t a mḥ pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry ḥṭ 430 ʾrṭb sw 10 nṭ ḥry a·ṭe-y n-t pe-t špe s-ḥm·t mte-y ṯy n-t p ⅓ nt nb nk nb nt mte-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y a ṯy ḫp-w

pe-t šr ʿo pe šr ʿo ḫn n ḫrṭ·w a-ms-t ny ḥnʿ n ḫrṭ·w nt e·ʾr-t ms·t-w n-y n nb·w nt nb nk nb nt mte-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y a ṯy ḫp-w

tys p wn ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t a·ʾn-t (7) a pe ʿy ṭ'ṭ-t wʿ ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 200 ke ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 100 wʿ·t šnṭ a ḥṭ 120(?)[1] wʿ ll a ḥṭ 90 wʿ·t qnb a ḥṭ 50 wʿ·t ṭre a ḥṭ 30 wʿ šs ʿo a ḥṭ 100 ke šs ḫm a ḥṭ 60 wʿ·t mrḫ a ḥṭ 45 wʿ šš a ḥṭ 5[2] wʿ qll a ḥṭ wṭḫ (?) ṭbn 1 wʿ ʿy wḫ *sic* nb a nb ḫm 1⅓ ʾrṭb sw 20 a swn ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t a·ʾn-t a pe ʿy ṭ'e·t-t ḥṭ 810 a sttr 4,100 a ḥṭ 810 ʿn n ḥmt 24 a qṭ 2 (8) wʿ ʿy wḫ nb n nb ḫm 1⅓ ḥṭ wṭḫ (?) ṭbn 1 ʾrṭb sw 20 p bl py ḥṭ 400 ʾrṭb sw 10 nt ḥry a·ṭe-y n-t n pe-t špe s-ḥm·t a mḥ ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry ḥṭ 1,210 a sttr 6,050 a ḥṭ 1,210 ʿn n ḥmt 24 a qṭ 2 nb ḫm 1⅓ ḥṭ wṭḫ (?) ṭbn 1 ʾrṭb sw 30.

šp-y s·t ṭ'ṭ-t e-w mḥ ʾt sp nb ḥṭ-y mty·w nʾm-w ee-t n ḫn ee-t n ḫn erme-w ee-t n bl ee-t n bl erme-w mte-t pe-w šy ʾnk pe-w syḫf (?)

(9) [p] ss qʿ-t n ḥm·t nt e-y a ʾr-f ge mte-t eʾr-t mr e n-t ḥʿ-t a tm ḫp e(-t) mte[-y] n ḥm·t e-y a ṯy n-t p smt ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry ge swn·t-w n ḥṭ a ḫ p nt sḫ ḥry bn e-y rḫ ṯy ʿnḫ m-s-t p ʿy n wpy eṭbe p hp ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry z bn-p-t ʾn·t-w a pe ʿy ntʾ·t-t mte-t nt ṯ ḥṭ a ḥr-y nʾm-w ʾt z qnb·t nb mṭ nb p t erme-t

sḫ Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s sy Nḫt-ʾMn(?) (10) nt sḫ rn n wʿb·w Ḥthr nb ʾN·t(?) n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr-yt-w n ntr·w nt-pr·w n ntr·w mr mw·tw p ntr ʾWptr p 5 s·w

Witnesses on verso:

Pa-ḥr[3] sy ʿNḫ(?)-Sny(?)
Ḥr sy Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s
Nḫt-Mn sy Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s
Ns-nb-ʿnḫ sy Ṭḥwt-m-ḥb
(5) Pa-Mw·t(?)[4] sy Ze-ḥr
P-mr-ʾḥ sy Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Sy-p-mw
Ḥr-sy-ʾS sy Pa-Mwt(?)
Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s sy Sm-tw
(10) Ḥr-pa-ʾS sy Ṭḥwt-mne
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy P-šr-ʾS
P-mr-ʾḥ sy Ns-nb-ʿnḫ
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Pa . . .
Ns-Mn sy Nḫt-Mn
(15) Wn-nfr(?) sy P-šr-Mn
Nḫt-Ḥr-Ḫns(?) sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-ʾw (?)

[1] The figure 20 (?) is obscure.

[2] There is a spot before the 5, perhaps caused by the join of the leaf.

[3] *Pa-ḥo* = Παως.

[4] Or *Pa-ḥw*: here as elsewhere it is difficult to decide which is to be read. Πατους is very common in the Greek papyri from Gebelên. *Παμουθης seems as yet to be unknown from Ptolemaic Egypt.

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PAPYRI OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY EUERGETES II.

PAP. No. XVII. 118 B. C. Donation of a mortgaged house, with banker's receipt in Greek (p. 145). Pl. LXV, the endorsement on Pl. LXVI. Translated, above, p. 142.

(1) ḥ-sp 52 ʾbṭ 2 pr 20 n Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys p mnḫ sy Ptlwmys erme Glwptre n ntr·w nt pr·w erme t Pr-ʿo·t Glwptre te-f sn·t erme t Pr-ʿo·t Glwptre te-f ḥm·t n ntr·w mnḫ·w erme ne-w ḫrṭ·w erme p wʿb n ʾLgstrws n ntr·w nt nḥm n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr·w p ntr mr-mw·t p ntr a·tn yt-f[1] n ntr-w mnḫ·w (2) erme t fy qn nʿše n Brnyge t mnḫ·t erme t fy ṭnʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyne t mr-sn erme t wʿb n ʾRsyne t mr yt-s erme n nt smne n Ra-qṭ erme n nt smne n P-sy nt n p tš n N

z ḥn-ntr(?) sḫ n tš n N T-šṭ-rs[2] Pa-t-s-ʿo·t sy P-hb mw·t-f s-ḥm·t n s-ʿnḫ T-šr·t-ʾS n rm e-f šp . . . ḫn n rm·w n Lʾqhs e-f sḫ a t hʾpytrs n ʾMtr[3] (3) Ne-nḫt-f[4] z·t n-f ʾWnws sy Pa-t-s-ʿo·t mw·t-f Ta-Ḥns

ṭe-y n-k pe ʿy nt ḫr zz p ḫtm[5] n p šy e-f mḫ n sy sb[6] nt ʾr wʿ·t ry·t wʿ[7] ḫyṭ wʿ ṭrṭ ḫry ḫry[8] e-f qṭ ḫbs n t ʾwe·t ybt n Pr-Ḥthr nt e-w z n-f p šy nt e ne-f hyn·w rs p ʿy n Wrše[9] sy Ḥr mḥt p ʿy n P-šr-p-wr sy Ḫns-Ṭḥwt[10] nt ḫr ne-f ḫrṭ·w ybt ʾmnt p ḫyr n Pr-ʿo . . . . . n hyn·w n (4) n (*sic*) p ʿy nt qṭ ḫbs e-f mḫ n sy sb nt ʾr wʿ·t ry·t wʿ·t ḫyt wʿ ṭrṭ ḫry ḫry nt ḫry ṭr-w

ṭe-y s n-k mnte-k s pe-k ʿy nt qṭ ḫbs e-f mḫ n sy sb nt ʾr wʿ·t ry·t wʿ·t ḫyt wʿ ṭrṭ ḫry ḫry nt ḫry pe

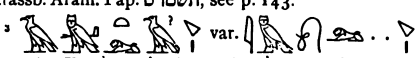
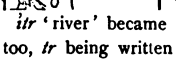
mn mte-y mṭ nb n p t eʾrn-k n rn-f

bn e rḫ rm nb n p t ʾr syḫ nʾm-f bl·k n ṯ n p hw a ḫry

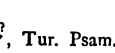
p šr šr-šr[11] p sn t sn·t p rm n mhw nt e-f a ʾy n-k e-ṭb p ʿy nt ḫry (5) mte-f[12] ṭy ḥṭ

[1] *tn* transitive (?). Cf. *e-w tne-s* 'honouring (?) her' αξιωσαντες, Can. I/48.

[2] In abn. hier. , Tur. Psam., 45/3; , Psam. 30, B/4, Nek., *Corp. Louvre*, 24/2; in Dar., *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3110, ; Louvre stela, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxi. 18, ; Strassb. Aram. Pap. תשטרם, see p. 143.

[3]  var.  , &c., from the Eg. *iw-m-ỉtr* (p. 130). *ỉtr* 'river' became ειοορ, and the *t* was lost in this name too, *tr* being written differently from *ṯr* in *hʾpyṯrs* ὑπαιθρος (p. 143, note 6).

[4] Νεχουτης, i.e. Nekhûtf in the docket and elsewhere, in MAH.-SM. Νεχυθης, i.e. dial. Nekhôtf, cf. Χατυλις also in MAH.-SM. = Boh. ϣⲁⲑⲟⲩⲗ. The fem. Νεχουθις (Paris Pap.) is evidently *Ne-nḫt-s*, XXIX/4. It appears to furnish an example of the 'nominal' verb formed from a triliteral adjective (?), STERN, § 308–310, STEINDORFF, *Gram.*[3], § 268. The prefixed *n-* was evidently absorbed by an initial *n* or *m* in the root: hence *nfr* varies with *ne-nfr*, *mnḫ* with *ne-mnḫ*, &c., and *ne-nfr* is used in good demotic (see XVI/3) instead of *nfr*. In XV verso/9 this name is spelt simply *Nḫt-f*.

[5]  : επανω της πυλης in the docket fixes the meaning also of *ḥ-zz* in this phrase.

[6] τεθυρωμενης και δεδοκωμενης.

[7] A good instance of the masc. form of the article (masc. and fem. ⲟⲩ-) falsely used with a fem. word; ϩⲁⲉⲓⲧ occurs again twice with *wʿ·t* in ll. 3, 4.

[8] An upper and lower stage, cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 19, note 3. το εν τω απο λιβος μερει υπερωον ā και το εν ταυτηι καταγαιον of the same house are sold in *BGU.*, iii. 999: or possibly *ḫry* (*a*) *ḫry* is intended.

[9] Ορσηους του Ωρου, *BGU.*, ibid. The gen. is Ορσεους in *Amh. Gr.*, 50, and MAH.-SM. The nom. Ορσης is given by MAH.-SM., and by *Tebt.*, where, however, the gen. is Ορσειους and Ορσηιους. Possibly ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉ vigilia is the name, but more probably Wershê.

[10] His daughter Ταενουπις Ψενποηριος has it in *Amh. Gr.*, 51.

[11] ϣⲉⲛϣⲛⲣⲉ, SPIEGELBERG, *Mumienetiketten*, p. 28. Note the absence of the article with this compound.

[12] *mte-f* conj., but the meaning is as if it were an independent sentence in the fut. ind., containing a condition of the contract: the 'elliptical' use, STERN, § 446.

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wṯḥ (?) ṯbn 15 n n tʾ·w[1] n n pr-ḥṭ·w n Ptḥ n wṯḥ a n gll·w n Pr-ʿo eʾr-k m-sʾ-f n ṯy ʾr-f a ḥ mṯ nb nt ḥry ʿn

e s·ḥm·t n s·ʿnḫ nb eṯb ḥṭ[2] T-šr·t-ʾMn (?) ta P-ʾŠr[3] mw·t-s T-šr-t-ʿ-pḥ (·t ?)[4] te-f rm·t[5] z šp sḫ n ṯʾ n ḥn-ntr sḫ n tš n N T-šṯ-rs Pa-t-s-ʿo·t sy P-hb mw·t-f s-ḥm·t n s-ʿnḫ T-šr·t-ʾS pe hy nt ḥry ḥt-y mty·w nʾm-f e-y m-s-f n p hp n p sḫ n s-ʿnḫ erme p sḫ eṯb ḥt aʾr-f n-y a ʾr n-y pe-f hp n ss nb e-y ww a Ne-nḫt-f z·t n-f (6) ʾWnws sy Pa-t-s-ʿo·t mw·t-f Ta-Ḫns n pe-f ʿy erme n nt m-s-f[6] nt ḥry ʾt z qnb·t nb mṯ nb n p t

sḫ Ns-p-ntr sy Z-ḥr nt sḫ n rn n wʿb·w n Sbk nb ʾMtr n p 5 s·w

For the Greek docket, see above, p. 145.

Witnesses on verso:

P-mr-ʾḥ sy P-a·ṭe-Sbk
Nḫt-ʾNp (?)[7] sy Pa-t-s-ʿo·t
Pa-t-s-ʿo·t sy P-hb
Pa-wn[8] sy P-šr-ʿḤ
(5) Ne-nḫt-f sy Ptlwmys
Pa-ṭe sy Qrr[9]
Pa-tw sy Ḥr
P-mr-ʾḥ (?) sy Pa-t-s·t-ʿo·t
Pa-gne sy Pa-ḥr
(10) P-šr-Ḥp (?)[10] sy ʾMnys (?)
Pa-n-Nḫt·w[11] sy P-mr-ʾḥ
Sy-Sbk[12] sy Wn-nfr
P-a·ṭe-Hr-p-Rʿ sy Pa-Gb

[1] 'Pieces,' 'coins' (?).

[2] *(e)ṯb-ḥṭ* may be a noun, 'owner of an exchange of silver'; but more probably 'owner for silver' is intended.

[3] . The third sign is more like than any elsewhere in the papyrus, but it could be read , and *P-ʾMr* 'the Amorite' is a name in earlier times, Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 241. See Spiegelberg, *Mumienetiketten*, pp. 67*, 68*, for an example of *P-ʾŚwr* in hieroglyphic and in demotic, as well as for the plural form in Πα-ν-εσαυρις to which the fem. sing. T-εσαυρις can now be added from *Pap. Reinach*, 46/16; cf. Πεσυρις in Mah.-Sm. On the other hand, there is as yet no evidence for an ethnic name *ʾMwr* in demotic. See additional note.

[4] Cf. Boh. Ⲡⲥⲉⲛⲁⲡⲁⲣⲓ, *Zoega*, 75/33. *T-šr-ʿo·pḥ·t* = Σεναπαθης, *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3116, 4/23 = Cas. 9/4, cf. *Gr. Pap.*, i; and *ʿO-pḥ·t* = Απαθης (O. C. ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲧⲉ), Berl., 3116, 4/17 = Cas. 33/6. Perhaps ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲧⲉ : ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲓ are like ⲁⲗⲗⲁⲣⲧⲉ : ⲁⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓ.

[5] Ahure, a sister-wife, is called the *rm·t* of Neferkeptah, I Kham. 6/20, but probably the term has no special meaning other than wife.

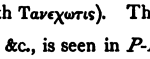
[6] 'They that have claim on him' in the legal sense, or 'those things that (are written) after it (the house).'

[7] *Nḫt-s-ʾNp* might seem a likely reading, but Νεχθαουτπις Πατσεουτος (so collated by Kenyon) occurs *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 25.

[8] Φαγωνις, the same individual being called Παγανις in one papyrus; see *Gr. Pap.*, ii. p. 61. Another instance of ⲁ varying with ⲟ is seen in Αμωσις = Αμασις, both forms in the *Leid. Gr.*

[9] Κρουρις, *Gr. Pap.*, i, ii. 'frog.'

[10] Or perhaps *P-šr-ʾNp*.

[11] Πανεχατης, see p. 276, note 3. In *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3116, 5/20, *Pa-n-Nḫt·w* = Πανεχ^{ⲁ}, Cas. 11/6, also mis-spelt *P* (sic)-*Nḫt·w*, ib. 3/19 = Cas. 6/2, and *Ta-n-Nḫt·w*, ib. 3/13 = Ταν$\varepsilon\chi^{?}$οτι[ς], Cas. 5/3. In Mah.-Sm. the form is Πανεχωτις (with Ταν$\varepsilon\chi$ωτις). The singular of  , I Kham., 4/7, &c., is seen in *P-Nḫt* (as in XXVII, verso/4) = Πεχυτης (*Gr. Pap.*, i, *Amh. Gr.*), pointed out by Revillout, cf. *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, p. 11. Thus *Nḫt* is sing. Ekhôt, pl. Ekhote, dial. Ekhate like ⲉϣⲱⲧ, pl. ⲉϣⲟϯ, &c.

[12] Σισουχος.

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Pa-Tw sy P-mr-ʾḥ
(15) Pa-Tt(?)[1] sy Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṭy-s
Ḥr-syʾS sy Sbk-ḥtp[2]

PAP. No. XVIII. 117 B.C. Agreement for sale of a house, with banker's receipt in Greek (p. 146). Pl. LXVI. Translated above, p. 145.

(1) ḥ-sp 54 tp ʾḫ 14 n Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys p ntr mnḫ[3] sy Ptlwmys erme Glwptre n ntr·w nt pr·w erme t Pr-ʿo·t Glwptre te-f sn·t erme t Pr-ʿo Glwptre te-f ḥm·t n ntr·w mnḫ·w erme ne-w ḫrṭ·w erme p wʿb ʾLgsntrws erme n ntr·w nt nḥm (2) erme n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr·w p ntr a·tne yt-f p ntr mr mw·t p ntr mr yt-f n ntr·w mnḫ·w erme t fy qn nʿš Brnyge t mnḫ·t erme t fy ṭnʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyn t mr sn erme t wʿb·t ʾRsyne (3) t mr yt-s erme n nt smn·w[4] n Ra-qṭ P-s[y] nt n p tš n Ne

z ʾn wwy n t ʿb·t n ʾS n Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr P-šr-ʾNp sy Ḥr mw·t-f T-b-ʾr-rḥ-s[5] n s-ḥm·t Mʿ-Ṭḥwt[6] ta P-šr-ʾNp mw·t-s T-šr·t-ʾMn

ṭe-t mty ḥt-y n p ḥṭ n swn mḥ ʾṭn 1½ a (4) mḥ ḫte[7] 150 a mḥ ʾṭn 1½ ʿn nt n t ʾwe·t ḥr-ʾb ʾmnt n Pr-Ḥ·t-ḥr nt e ne-w hyn·w rs p ḫyr n Pr-ʿo mḥt ʾmnt p sp n ne wrḥ·w ybt p wrḥ n T-šr·t-ʾMn ta P-mr-ʾḥ . . . . n hyn·w n p wrḥ n šwy[8] nt ḥry ṭr-f nt ʾr mḥ ʾṭn 1½

(5) ṭe-y s n-t mte-t s pe(-t) wrḥ n šwy nt ḥry pe

šp-y swn·t-f n ḥṭ ṭʾ·t-t e-f mḥ ʾt sp nb ḥt-y mty·w nʾm-f mn mte-y mṭ nb n p t eʾrn-t n rn-f

bn e rḥ rm nb n p t ʾnk mte ʾr syḥ nʾm-f bl-t n ṯ n p-hw a ḥry

p nt e-f a ʾy a ḥr-t a-ṭb·t-f n rn-y rn rm nb n p t (6) e-y ṭy wy-f a ḥr-t mte-y ṭy wʿb-f n-t a sḫ nb qnb nb hp nb n mṭ nb n p t n ss nb

mte-t ne-f sḫ (*sic*) ne-f qnb·w n ʿy nb nt e-w nʾm-w

sḫ nb aʾr-w aʾr-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb aʾr-w n-y ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb nt e-y mʿ·k nʾm-w n rn-w mte-t st ḥnʿ pe-w hp

mte-t p nt mʿ·k nʾm-w rn-y

[1] More probably *Pa-ḫrṭ*.

[2] Αρσιησις Σχωτου, SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 33. Σχωτης is the form at Gebelên, while Σοχωτης is the contemporary form in and about the Faiyûm; MAH.-SM., *Gr. Pap.* ii. 40 (as verified by KENYON).

[3] *mnḫ*, not *nt mnḫ*. It corresponds precisely to *mnḫ* in earlier texts and the reading is shown by the spelling of the name *P-šr-mnḫ*, verso, l. 3 = Ψεμμενχης. The initial sign is a superfluous prefixed.

[4] *smn·w* in this phrase, also in XIX, &c., either qual. or simply plural.

[5] 'The unknown' (?) or 'the ignorant.' The name seems strangely formed with the article and no relative *nt* before the *b-sḏm-f*. Possibly, however, this is the correct construction. , *Sphinx*, 8/218, in a Roman papyrus, hardly seems to be a name. , LIEBLEIN, 352, , ibid., 412, appear to be as old as the Middle Kingdom!

[6] Μαιθωτις in the docket: cf. Μαιεθωτις, Cas. 42/5; Μαιενουρις, ibid., 31/5. In a bilingual [Μαιενο]υριος (?), Leid. Gr., P/22 (fragm. I), is written *Mʿ-ʾNḫr* (?), *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3098/7, with var. *Mw-ʾNḫr* (?) (written with *mw* as group 338, 3 in Glossary of *Pap. Mag. L.L.*), ibid., 5507/7. The meaning of the name, however, may really be 'beloved of Thoth.'

[7] *mḫ ʾṭn . . . . mḫ ḫte*. For *ʾṭn* 'ground' see especially IX. 17/17, where it evidently means the main-land ἤπειρος as opposed to the island: *mḫ ʾṭn* therefore seems to mean cubit for ground or main-land measurement, while *mḫ ḫte* probably means cubit for a circumscribed area, perhaps from *ḫtm* 'seal'; cf. σφραγις, WESSELY, *Milth. Raineri*, iii. 270. For the cubits in Egyptian, see *PSBA.*, xiv. 410 et seqq.

[8] Probably the χερσος of Greek papyri.

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p ʿnḫ p ʿḥ rṭ nt e-w a ṯy-s m-s-t (7) [n] p ʿy n wpy e-ṭb p hp n p sḫ nt ḥry a.ʾr-y n-t a ṯy ʾr-y s e-y ʾr-f ʾt z qnb nb mṭ nb n p t erme-t

sḫ Nḫt-Mn sy Nḫt-Mn nt sḫ rn n wʿb·w n Ḥt-Ḥr nb ʾNt(?) n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr·w p ntr a·tn yt-f p ntr mr mw·t n ntr·w mnḫ·w n p 5 s·w

For the Greek docket see above, p. 146.

Witnesses on verso:

(1) Sy-Sbk sy Wn-nfr
Pa-tw sy P-šr-ʾS
P-šr-mnḫ sy Pa-n-Nḫt·w
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Ne·nḫt-f
(5) Pa-Gb sy P-mr-ʾḥ
Šp-Mn sy Ze-ḥr
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Ne·nḫt-f
Ḫns-Ṭḥwt sy Sy-Sbk
Sy-Sbk sy P-hb
(10) . . . .
Ne-nḫt-f sy P-a·te-Sbk
Pa-t-s-ʿo·t sy P-hb
Ns-Mn sy P-mr-ʾḥ
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy P-šr-ʿo-pḥ·t
(15) Pa-ṭe sy Qrr
Pa-t-s-ʿo·t sy Pa-te

Pap. No. XIX. 118 B.C. Agreement for sale of share in land, with banker's receipt in Greek (p. 148). Pl. LXVII. Translated, above, p. 147.

(1) [ḥ-sp[1] 52 ʾbṭ 2 pr 28(?) n Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys p ntr mnḫ sy Ptlwmys] erme Glwptre n [ntr·w nt pr·w] erme t Pr-ʿo·t Glwptre te-f sn·t erme t Pr-ʿo·t Glwptre te-f ḥm·t (2) [n ntr·w mnḫ·w erme ne-w ḥrṭ·w (?) erme p wʿb n ʾLgsnṭrws erme n ntr·w nt nḥm erme n ntr·w sn·w] n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w [mr yt-w n ntr·w] nt pr·w p ntr a·tn yt-f p ntr mr mw·t n ntr·w mnḫ·w erme t fy qne (3) [nʿš Brnyge t mnḫ·t erme t fy ṭnʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyn t] mr sn erme t wʿb·t n ʾRsyne t mr yt-s erme n nt smne·w n Ra-qṭ P-sy nt n p tš n N

z rm e-f šp . . . (4) [e-f sḫ a . . . . Ḥr-m-ḥb sy Ḥr ḥnʿ Slḥ sy Ḥr pe-f sn mw·t-w T-ʾq(?) n rm e-f šp . . . . e-f sḫ a ʾMwr][2] P-šr-mnḫ[3] sy Pa-n-Nḫt·w[4] mw·t-f Qlwze

ṭe-k mty ḥt-n n p ḥṭ n swn te-n tʾ·t ⅓·t n yḥ qy nt t qe (*sic*) (5) . . . [n p ḥtp-ntr Ḥt-Ḥr nb ʾN·t(?)] eʾr pḥ a ḥr-n n rn Ḥr sy Pa-tw pe-n yt n [h]yn·w n p yḥ ṭr-f rs p yḥ n Pa-tw sy P-hb mḥt p yḥ P-wr-ybt[6] (6) [sy . . . ybt p yḥ Qlwz sy P-hb ʾmnt p ṭw . . . . n hyn·w] p yḥ nt ḥry ṭr-f

ṭe-n s n-k mte-k s te-n[sic] tʾ·t ⅓·t n yḥ qy nt ḥry te

šp-n swn·t-s n ḥṭ ṭʾ·t-k e-f mḥ ʾt sp nb (7) . . . . . .

. . . . [ʾn-n] mte-n[6] ʾr syḫ n·ʾm-f bl-k n ṯ n p hw a ḥry

[1] The restorations are from Nos. XVIII and XXIV, both written by the same scribe.

[2] The precise form of the title to be restored here is quite uncertain.

[3] *Ψενμενχης Πανεχατου.* The *-ης* is due to the terminal e of adjectives, Stern § 168.

[4] See above, p. 274, note 11.

[5] = *Πορεγεβθις, Φορεγεβθις, Tebt.*

[6] So also in XXIII/4, *ʾn-n mte-n* 'like ourselves(?),' *mte* being used as a preposition by the scribe Nekhtmin, rather unintelligibly. In *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3114, the phrase is *ʾn-n mte* like the ordinary *ʾnk ḫr-y mte*, with *mte* as an adverb. This was the first reading in XXIII, but was corrected by the addition of *-n*.

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p nt e-f a ʾy aʾr-k eṭb·t-f n rn-n n rn rm nb p t e-n ṯy wy-f aʾr-k mte-n ṯy (8) . . . . nʾm-w

sḫ nb aʾr-w ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb aʾr-w n-n ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb nt e-n mʿk nʾm-w n rn-f mte-k st ḥnʿ pe-w hp mte-k p nt mʿk nʾm-w n rn-n

p ʿnḫ (9) . . . . -n n-k a ṯy ʾr-n s e-n ʾr-f ʾt z n[1] qnb nb n mṯ nb n p t erme-k

sḫ Nḫt-Mn sy Nḫt-Mn nt sḫ n rn n wʿb·w n (10) [Ḥt-Ḥr nb ʾN·t(?) n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr·w p ntr a·tn y]t-f p ntr mr mw·t n ntr·w mnḫ·w n p 5 s·w

For the Greek docket see above, p. 148.

Witnesses on verso:

P-šr-ʾNp sy ʾMwnys
Sy-Sbk sy Wn-nfr
Pa-Gb sy P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-sm-tw
P-šr-Wsr sy Wn-nfr
(5) P-mr-ʾḥ sy Sbk-ḥtp
Pa-t-s·t-ʿo·t sy Pa-ṯe
P-mr-ʾḥ sy Pa-t-s·t-ʿo·t
P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Ns-Mn
P-ʾw-Ḥr[2] sy Pa-tw (?)
(10) Sy-Sbk sy P-hb
P-hb-ʾNp (?) sy P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-sm-tw
Twt (?) sy Pa-n-Nht·w
T-bw-Ṭḥwt (?) sy Sy-Sbk
P-mr-ʾḥ sy Pa-tw
(15) Pa-Gb sy P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-sm-tw
Pa-t-s·t-ʿo·t sy Pa-tw

PAPYRUS OF THE REIGN OF CLEOPATRA II WITH CLEOPATRA III AND SOTER II.

PAP. No. XX. 116 B.C. Marriage contract. Pl. LXVIII, verso on Pl. LXIX. Translated, above, p. 149.

(1) ḥ-sp 2·t ʾbṭ 2 ʾḥ 9(?)[3] n t Pr-ʿo·t Glwptre erme t Pr-ʿo·t Glwptre erme Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys pe-s šr p mr mw·t p Swtr erme p wʿb n ʾLgstrws (2) n ntr·w nt nḫm n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr·w p ntr mr mw·t p ntr a·tn yt-f n ntr·w mnḫ·w p mr mw·t nt[4] p Swtr erme t fy qne nʿše n Brnyge (3) t mnḫ·t erme t fy ṭnʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyne t mr-sn

z rm e-f šp . . . ḫn n rm·w n Lʾqhs e-f sḫ a ʾMtr ʾWnws sy Pa-t-s-ʿo·t n s-ḥm·t Ta-p-r-mḥt[5] (4) ta Pa-te mw·t-s Nḥm-s-ʾS[6]

ʾr(-y) t-t n ḥm·t te-y n-t ḥṭ 100 a sttr 500 a ḥṭ 100 ʿn ʾrṭb sw 10 te-w pš·t sw 5 a sw 10 ʿn n pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t

n ḫrṭ·w nt e·ʾr-t (a) ms·t-w n-y n ʾre·w n pš n ne ḫrṭ·w n nt nb nt mte-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y a ṯy ḫp-w

te-y s (5) p wn n ne-t nk·w n [s-ḥm·t] a·ʾn-t a pe ʿy erme-t wʿ ʾn-šn (?) a ḥṭ 600 ke

[1] *Qnḏ nḏ* being practically a plural, *n* is selective, in process of evolution to the *n-* of the indirect object.

[2] Cf. Πινυρις, MAH.-SM. *tw* following has been altered.

[3] Perhaps rather 5 or 7 to judge by Pap. No. XL.

[4] *nt* is very unusual at this point, but the stroke is not likely to be a cartouche line.

[5] Cf. above, p. 149, note 3.

[6] A troublesome name to Graecize. It appears as Ναομσησις, Ναμοσησις, Νημεσησις, Ναμεσησις, Νααμσησις; Nahmesêsi was probably the typical native pronunciation for 'May Isis save her.'

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ʾn-šn (?) a ḥṭ 150 wʿ·t gtm (?) a ḥṭ 300 wʿ·t qnbw a ḥṭ 150 wʿ šš a ḥṭ 300 ke šš ḫm a ḥṭ 200 wʿ·t mrḥ a ḥṭ 200 wʿ·t yl a ḥṭ 60 wʿ ll a ḥṭ 60 (6) wʿ qll a ḥṭ wṭḥ (?) ṯbn [1] wʿ·t hlq a ḥṭ wṭḥ (?) qṭ 2 wʿ·t glt a ḥṭ wṭḥ (?) qṭ 1 wʿ ʿy n wḥ nb a nb ḫm (?) $1\frac{1}{3}$ wʿ šš a ḥṭ 50

a swn ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t aʾ·n-t a pe ʿy erme-t ḥṭ 2,070 a sttr 10,350 a ḥṭ 2,070 ʿn ḥṭ wṭḥ (?) ṯbn 1 qṭ 3·t (7) nb ḫm (?) $1\frac{1}{3}$ pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t nt sḫ ḥry ḥṭ 100 sw 10 a mḥ n ḥṭ 2,170 nt ʾr krkr 7 ḥṭ 70 ḥṭ wṭḥ (?) ṯbn 1 qṭ 3 nb ḫm (?) $1\frac{1}{3}$ sw 10

šp-y s·t n ṭʾ·t-t e-w mḥ ʾt sp nb ḥt-y mty·w nʾm-w e-t n ḫn e-t n ḫn erme-w e-t n bl e-t n bl erme-w mte-t pe-w šy (8) ʾnk pe-w syḫf (?)

p ss n qʿ-t n ḥm·t nt e-y a ʾr-f ge mte-t aʾ·r-t mr še n-t ḥʿ-t a tm ḫp e-t mte-y n ḥm·t e-y ṯy n-t p smt n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry ge swn·t-w n ḥṭ a ḫ p nt sḫ ḥry bn e-y rḥ ṯy ʿnḫ m-s-t n p (?) ʿy n wpy e-ṭb p hp n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry z bn-p-t ʾn·t-w a pe ʿy n ṭʾ·t-t mte-t nt ṯ ḥṭ a ḥr-y nʾm-w ʾt z qnb·t nb mṭ nb n p t erme-t

sḫ Ns-p-ntr sy Z-ḥr nt sḫ rn n wʿb·w n Sbk nb ʾMtr n p 5 s·w

Witnesses on verso Pl. (XX):

Hr-ʾNp[1] sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw
Pa-Gb sy Pa-tw
Pa-Gb sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw
Pa-Ḥrṭ sy Ḥr
(5) Pa-Gb sy P-mr-ʾḥ
. . . . sy Ḥr-ʾGš
Pa-t-s·t-ʿo·t sy P-hb
Pa-t-s·t-ʿo·t sy P-šr-ʾNp
Pa-tw (?) sy P-a·ṭe- . . .
(10) Pa-ṭe sy Qrr
P-a·te-Ḥr-sm-tw sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw (?) sy Sbk-ḥtp
Ne-nḫt-f sy Sbk-ḥtp
Ne-nḫt-f sy Pa-mwt (?)
(15) Sy-Sbk sy P-mr-ʾḥ
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Pa-Mw·t (?)

Papyri of the Joint Reign of Cleopatra III with Soter II.

Pap. No. XXI. 112 B.C. Loan of corn. Pl. LXIX. Translated, above, p. 150.

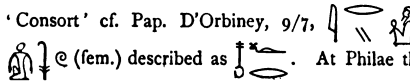
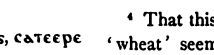
(1) ḥ-sp 6 ʾbṭ 2 šm 18 n t Pr-ʿo Glwptr (2) erme Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys n ntr·w (3) mr-mw·tw p ntr ḥwn mr yt-f (4) p Swtr erme*sic*nt smne n Ra-qṭ (5) Pr-sy nt p tš Ne

z (6) Wynn n ms n Qmy ḫn (7) n ḫrṭ·w n srtyts[2] P-a·ṭe-ʾR- (8) ḥms-nfr[3] sy P-a·ṭe mwt-f T-šr·t-Mw·t n Wynn (9) n ms n Qmy P-a·ṭe-Sbk sy Pa-Šʿ

(10) wn mte-k ʾrṭb sw[4] 10 te-w pš ʾrṭb sw 5 a (11) ʾrṭb sw 10 ʿn e pe-w ḥw ḫn-w eʾ·r n-y (12) n rn pr·w eʾ·r(-y) gm·t-w a P-a·ṭe sy Pa-nb- (13) ḫn[5] pe yt mte-y ṯy n-k ʾrṭb (14) sw 5 a hn ḥ-sp 6 ʾbṭ 3 šm 10 mte-y ṯy (15) n-k p ke ʾrṭb sw 5 a hn ḥ-sp 7·t tp šm ʿlq (16) n pr e-f wʿb ʾt s (?)[6] ʾt sṭḥ e-w (17) ḫy·w e-w fy·w e-w swt·w[7] a pe-k (18) ʿy n Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr n p

[1] Εριενουπις, Ερμανουφις, &c., frequent at Gebelên: probably a *sḏm-f* form.

[2] Coptised for στρατιωτης like *srḏyḳs* for στρατηγος, cατεερε for στατηρ.

[3] Αρσενουφις (e.g. *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 36) as if *ar-ḥ(m)se-nûfi*, but cf. Borchardt in *Archiv*, iii. 359. For *ʾr-ḫms* 'Consort' cf. Pap. D'Orbiney, 9/7,  (fem.) described as . At Philae the name is sometimes written in hieroglyphic *ʾR-ḫs-nfr*  .

[4] That this is only a variant of the ordinary group for *stw* 'wheat' seems proved by the writing on the docket in a different hand.

[5] Apparently Πανοβχουνις (var. -νεβ-), which, however, is spelt *Pa-nb-ḫn* (?) by the scribe Nekhtmin, Spiegelberg, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, pp. 26, 27; cf. p. 161, note 10.

[6] Or *mw·t* which might perhaps mean 'chaff.'

[7] See Spiegelberg in *Pap. Reinach*, p. 183.

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ʾws 29 (19) ʾt he hm ḥ-sp 6 ʾbṭ 3 šm 10 ʾrṭb 5 ḥ-sp 7·t (20) tp šm ʿlq ʿrṭb sw 5 a mḥ p ʾrṭb sw 10 nt sḫ ḥry

(21) e-y tm ṯy s a hn a p ss hw (22) nt ḥry e-y ṯy s erme pe-w 1½ n p ʾbṭ nt m-s p (23) ʾbṭ rn-f n ḥte ʾt mne bn e-y rḥ ṯy ge (24) ss hw ar-w m-s p ss hw nt sḫ ḥry (25) [bn e-y] rḥ z ʾr-y n-k p hp n te mql[1] (26) e te mql nt ḥry n ṭ·t-k bn e-y rḥ z (27) ṭe-y n-k ḥṭ pr nt nb n p t ʾt ʾsw (?)[2] e-f ʿḥ rṭ

(28) nt nb nk nb nt mte-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y ṯy ḫp-w n ʾwe (29) n mṭ nb nt ḥry šʿ-te(-y) ʾr a ḫ·t-w pe-k rṭ (30) p nt ṯ ḥṭ a mṭ nb nt e-f zt-w erme-y (31) mte-y ʾr-w a ḫrw-f n ḥte ʾt mne ʾt sḫ nb

(32) sḫ Ḥtp-Sbk sy Wn-nfr nt sḫ rn n wʿb·w (33) n Sbk nb ʾMwr p 5 s·w

Witnesses on verso:

sḫ Pa-t-s-ʿo·t sy P-hb
sḫ ʾY-m-ḥtp sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ (?)
sḫ P-šr-Mnt sy P-ḥf[3]
sḫ P-mr-ʾḥ sy Wn-nfr

Docket on verso:

P-a·ṭe-ʾr-ḥms-nfr sy Pa-ṭe[4]
a sw 10

This papyrus is palaeographically instructive, and warns us against generalizing as to the age of particular forms of signs without ample material.

Pap. No. XXII. c. 115–108 B.C. Marriage contract. Pl. LXVIII, verso on Pl. LXIX. Translated, above, p. 151.

(1) [ḥ-sp] . . ʾbṭ 3 ʾḥ 1 (?) n t Pr-ʿo[·t] Glwptre erme Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys pe-s šr n ntr·w mr-mw·tw p Swtr erme p wʿb n ʾLgstrws n ntr·w nt nḥm n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt[-w] (2) [n ntr·w nt pr·w p] ntr mr-mw·t p ntr a[-tn y]t-f p ntr ḥwn mr yt-f n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr-mw·tw p Swtr erme t fy qn nʿše n Brnyge t mnḫ·t erme t fy ṭnʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyne (3) [t mr-sn erme t wʿb] n ʾRsyne [t mr] yt-s erme n nt smne n Ra-qṭ P-sy nt n p tš n Ne

ze ḫr-ḥ (?) P-mr-ʾḥ sy P-mr-ʾḥ mw·t-f Ze-ḫr n s-ḥm·t T-Rmwte[5] ta Pa-t-s-ʿo·t mw·t-s Ty-Ḫns

ʾr-y t-t n ḥm·t (4) [ṭe-y n-t ḥṭ 100 a sttr 500 a] ḥt 100 ʿn sw 5 te-w pš sw 2½ a sw 5 ʿn n pe-t špe [n s-ḥm]·t

pe-t šr ʿo pe šr ʿo ḫn n ḫrṭ·w nt eʾr-t (a ?) ms·t-w n-y p nb n nt nb nk nb nt mte-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y a ṯy ḫp-w

te-y s p wn n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t aʾn-t a pe ʿy erme-t wʿ ʾn-šn (?) a ḥṭ 200 (5) [ke ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 150 ?] wʿ šš a ḥṭ 130 wʿ·t mrḥe a ḥṭ 40 wʿ bs a ḥṭ 20 wʿ·t swḥ n ḥmt a ḥṭ 50 wʿ tb(?)[6] a ḥṭ 30 wʿ ll a ḥṭ 40 wʿ·t ḫps a ḥṭ 25 k·t ḫps 2·t a ḥṭ 15 wʿ·t hlq a ḥṭ wṭḥ (?) qṭ 2 wʿ·t

[1] The initial letter is clearly *m*, not *š*; for the latter, see l. 29.

[2] This is Spiegelberg's suggested reading, *Pap. Reinach*, p. 186, and seems probably correct in view of the employment of the sign in *ʾs*, groups 20, 21 in Brugsch's index to his edition of the Rhind papyri. Cf. also Spiegelberg, *Ä. Z.*, 37/40. The sign read *ʾb*, *ʾp*, above, p. 216, has hitherto been read *ʾsw*.

[3] Phof, Φαφις, *Gr. Pap.*, ii. 36/8.

[4] Spelt *P-a·ṭe* on recto.

[5] Θερμουθις, Kenyon, ii. p. 13. Cf. πα-τεραλογτε in Cairo and *BKU*.

[6] Spiegelberg, *Pap. Libbey*, *ib.*

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glt a ḥṭ wṯḥ (?) qṭ 1 šš 2 a [ḥṭ] 60 (6) . . . . [10 a swn ne]-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t a·ʾn-t a pe ʿy erme-t ḥṭ 700 a p (?) ḥṭ 60 a sttr 3,800 a ḥṭ 760 ʿn ḥṭ wṯḥ qṭ 3·t ʾrṯb sw 10 pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t nt sḏ ḥry ḥṭ 100 sw 5 a mḥ n ḥt 860 ḥṭ wṯḥ qṭ 3·t ʾrṯb sw 15

šp-y st n ṯʾ·t-t e-w mḥ ʾt sp nb ḥt-y mty·w nʾm-w (7) [e-t n ḫn e-t n ḫn erme]-w e-t n bl e-t n bl erme-w mte-t pe-w šy ʾnk pe-w s[yḫf]

p ss n qᶜ-t n ḥm·t nt e-y a ʾr-f ge mte-t a·ʾr-t mr še n-t ḥᶜ-t a tm ḫp e-t mte-y n ḥm·t e-y ṯy n-t p smt n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry ge swn·t-w n ḥṭ a ḫ p nt sḏ ḥry (8) [bn e-y rḫ ṯy ʿnḫ] m-s-t n p ʿy n wpy e-ṭb p hp n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry z bn-p-t ʾn·t-w a pe ʿy n ṯʾ·t-t mte-t nt ṯ ḥte a ḥr-y nʾm-w ʾt z qnb·t nb mṯ nb n p t erme-t

sḏ Ns-p-ntr sy Ze-ḥr nt sḏ n rn n n wᶜb·w n Sbk nb ʾMtr [n] p 5 s·w

Witnesses on verso:

Wn-nfr sy Sy-Sbk
Ḥr-ʾGš sy Ze-ḥr
Šp-Mn sy Ns-p-ntr
P-a·ṭe-Sbk sy Sbk-ḥtp
(5) Yr-Ḥr-ar-w sy Tḥwt-e·ʾr-ṭy-s
Ḥr-sy-ʾS sy . . . . .
Ne-nḫt-f sy Ptlw[mys]
Ḥr-pa-ʾS sy Ne-nḫt-f
Ne-nḫt-f sy Wn-nfr
(10) Ḥr- . . . sy Šp-Mn
Hry-ʾNp sy P-šr-Mn
[Pa-t-s]·t-ᶜo·t sy Ne-nḫt-[f?]
. . . . sy Šp-Mn
. . . . [sy P]-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw
(15) P- . . . . sy Yr-Ḥr-r-w
Ḥr sy ʾMn-ḥtp

Pap. No. XXIII. c. 115–108 B.C. Agreement for sale of waste land. Pl. LXX, the verso on Pl. LXXI. Translation, above, p. 152.

(1) [ḫ-sp . .] tp pr 10 n t Pr-ᶜo[·t Glwptre erme Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys pe-s šr n ntr·w mr-]mw·t p Swtr erme p wᶜb ʾLgsntrws erme n ntr·w nt nḥm erme n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr·w p ntr a·tne yt-f p ntr mr mw p ntr ḥwn mr yt-f n ntr·w mnḫ·w erme t fy qne nᶜše (2) [n Brny]ge t mnḫ[·t erme t fy ṭnʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyn t mr sn erme t wᶜb·t n] ʾRsyne t mr yt-s erme n nt smne n Ra-qṭ P-sy nt n p tš n N

Z rm Pr-ʾY-lq[1] ms n Qmy Ḥr sy P-a·ṭ-Ḥr mw·t-f Nḫt·w-s ḥnᶜ s-ḥm·t T-šr·t-ʾMn ta P-šr-ʾMn mw·t-s T-šr·t-p-wr a s 2 wᶜ r n rm e-f šp . . . e-f sḏ a ʾMwr (3) . . . . [sy Pa-]t-s·t-ᶜo·t

mḥ-k [t-n[2] ṭe-k mty ḥṭ-n n p ḥṭ swn pe-n wrḥ nt] ʾr mḥ ʾṭne 2 a mḥ ḫt 200 a mḥ ʾṭne 2 ʿn nt n Na-Pa-Km·t (?)-ḥwy[3] nt n t ʾwy·t mḥt ybt n Pr-Ḥthr [nt]e ne-f hyn-w rs n wrḥ-w Pa-t-s·t-ᶜo·t sy P-hb mḥt p ʿy Pa-Km·t e p ḫyr Pr-ᶜo ʾwṭ-w ybt p ḫyr Pr-ᶜo ʾmnt (4) . . . . . n hyn·w [n p wrḥ nt ḥry ṭr-f nt ʾr mḥ ʾṭn 2

ṭe-n s n-k mte-k s pe-k] wrḥ nt ḥry pe šp-n swn·t-f n ḥṭ ṯʾ·t-k e-f mḥ ʾt sp nb ḥt-n mty·w nʾm-f mn mte-n mṯ nb n p t aʾrn-k n rn-f bn e rḫ rm nb p t en-n mte-n[4] ʾr syḫ n-ʾm-f bl-k n ṯ n p-hw a ḥry

[1] The form with ʾy ᴇɪ for the usual is interesting.

[2] So also *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 8 *mḥ-k t-y*, no. 6 *mḥ k t-n*.

[3] 'The (estate?) of Πακημις (Mah.-Sm.) is put in the bank' seems a possible meaning for this village name.

[4] (or). The last has been added. Cf. p. 276, note 6.

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p nt e-f a ʾy aʾr-k e-ṭb·t-f rn-n rn rm nb n p t e-n a ṯy wy-f (5) [aʾr-k mte-n ṯy] wʿb-f n-k a sḫ nb [qnb·t nb mṯ nb p t n ss nb]

[nte-k ne-f sḫ·w ne-f qnb·w n ʿy] nb nt e-w nʾm-w

sḫ nb aʿʾr-w ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb aʿʾr-w n-n ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb nt e-n mʿk nʾm-w n rn-w mte-k st ḥnʿ pe-w hp nte-k p nt mʿk mʾm[-w ?] rn-n

p ʿnḫ p ʿḥ rṯ nt e-w a ṯy st m-s-k n p ʿy n wpy e-ṭb p hp n p sḫ nt ḥry aʿʾr-y n-k a ṯy ʾr-y s e-y (a) ʾr-f ʾt z qnb (6) [nb sḫ nb erme-k]

sḫ Nḫt-Mn sy Nḫt-[Mn nt sḫ n rn n wʿb·w n H·t-Ḥr nb ʾN·t(?) n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ]·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr·w p ntr a·tn yt-f p ntr mr mw·t p ntr ḥwn mr yt-f n ntr·w mnḫ·w n p 5 s·w

Witnesses on verso:

Sy-Sbk sy Wn-nfr
P-mr-ʾḥ sy Sy-Sbk
Pa-Gb sy Sbk-ḥtp
Pa-t-s·t-ʿo·t sy Pa-tw
(5) P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy P-šr-ʿo-pḥ·t
P-mr-ʾḥ sy Pa-t-s·t-ʿo·t
P-šr-ʾS (sy) Pa-tw
Ḥr sy Pa-ṭe
. . . . . .

The remainder lost through the lower half of the roll having been torn away.

Pap. No. XXIV. c. 113 B.C. Cession of rights to land. Pl. LXXI. Translated, above, p. 153.

ḥ-sp [4 ?] ʾbṯ 2 šm 27 n t Pr-ʿo Glwptre n ntr·w nt pr·w erme Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys p mr mw·t p Swtr (2) [erme p wʿb ʾLgs]trws erme n ntr·w nt nḥm erme n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr·w p ntr a·tne yt-f (3) [p ntr mr mw·t p ntr ḥw]n mr yt-f n ntr·w mnḫ·w erme t fy qne nʿš Brnyqe t mnḫ·t (4) [erme t fy] ṭnʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyne t mr sn erme t wʿb·t ʾRsyne t mr yt-s erme n nt smne·w (5) [n Ra-qṭ] P-sy nt n p tš n Ne

z s-ḥm·t T-šr·t-mnḫ·t ta Ḥr ḥnʿ s-hm·t T-ḥtr·t ta Ḥr mw·t-w T-ʾq(?) (6) [ṭmṭ s 2 r wʿ] n rm e-f šp . . . e-f sḫ a ʾMwr P-šr-mnḫ sy Pa-n-Nḫt·w

ṭe-n wwe ar-k n p hp n py sḫ 2 (7) [aʿʾr-k n Ḥr-m-ḥb sy] Ḥr ḥnʿ Šlḥ sy Ḥr mw·t-w T-ʾq(?) ne-n sn·w n ḥ-sp 52 ʾbṯ 2 pr 26 a p yḥ qy nt t qy ʾY- (8) . . . . n p ḥtp-ntr Ḥt-ḥr nb ʾN·t(?) n hyn·w n p yḥ rn-f rs p yḥ Pa-tw sy P-hb mḥt p yḥ P-wr-ybt (9) [sy . . . . yb]t p yḥ Qlwz sy P-hb ʾmnt p ṭw . . . . n hyn·w n p yḥ qy nt ḥry ṭr-f

ṭe-n s n-k mte-k s (10) [pe-k yḥ nt] ḥry pe p nt e-f a ʾy aʾr-k e-ṭb·t-f n rn-n rn rm nb n p t e-n a ṯy wy-f aʾr-k mte-n ṯy wʿb-f n-k (11) [a sḫ nb qnb] nb mṯ nb n p t n ss nb

nte-k ne-f sḫ·w ne-f qnb·w n ʿy nb nt e-w nʾm-w sḫ nb aʿʾr-w ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb aʿʾr-w n-n ar-f (12) [nte-k st ḥnʿ pe-w h]p[1] nte-k p nt mʿk nʾm-w rn-n

[1] This is all that the lacuna can contain.

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p ʿnḫ p ʿḥ rṭ nt e-w [a ṭy] s m-s-k (13) [n p ʿy n wpy n rn p ḥ]p n p wwe nt ḥry a·ʾr-n n-k a ṭy ʾr-n s e-n a ʾr-f ʾt z qnb nb mṭ nb p [t] erme-k

(14) [sḫ . . . . sy . . . . nt sḫ n] rn n wʿb·w Ḥt-ḥr nb ʾN·t (?) n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt-w (15) [n ntr·w nt pr·w p ntr a·tn yt-f] p ntr mr-mw·t p ntr ḫwn mr yt-f n ntr·w mnḫ·w n p 5 s·w

Witnesses on verso:

Sy-Sbk sy Wn-nfr
Pa-Gb sy Sbk-ḥtp
Ne-nḫt-f sy Sbk-ḥtp
P-a·ṭ-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Pa-tw
(5) Pa-tw sy Ḥr
Ṭḥwt-stm[1] sy Pa-Gb
Ḥns-Ṭḥwt sy [Sy ?]-Sbk (?)
Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṭy-s sy Gl-tw

PAP. No. XXV. 118–115 B.C. Report of proceedings in a sacerdotal conclave. Pl. LXXII. Verso blank. Translated, above, p. 154.

Col. I. (1) . . . . erme Pr-ʿo ʿ.w.s. [P]tlwmys [ʿ.w.s.] pe-s šr
(2) [n ntr·w mr-mwt·w p Swtr] (*short line*)
(3) . . . . . [mr] yt-w n ntr·w nt pr[2] p ntr a·[tn] yt-f
(4) [p ntr ḫwn mr-yt n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr-mw·tw p Sw]tr ḫms ḫn t wsḫ·t
(5) . . . [St-]w-wt[3] sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-wr a stp n wʿb·w a hb
(6) . . . . . sy Pa-ḥ[4] p ḥn-ntr n ʾS mr šn[5] a (?) n rpy·w n p tš n Ne
(7) . . . . . Ḥr-sy-ʾS mḥ . . . eʾr ḥr n wʿb·w wʿ bk[6]
(8) . . . . . eʾr-ḥr n wʿb·w
(9) . . . . . Ṭḥwt sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS ʾWnws sy Pa-t-s·ʿo·
(10) . . . . . n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr
(11) . . . . . mr-mw·tw [p] Swtr e-f ḫp eʾr-w[7]
(12) . . . . . 5 ʾbṭ 4 šm ʿlq n (?) . . . gr (?) a rnp·t 12 a ʾbṭ 146
(13) . . . . . ʾr nʾm-w (?) . . . . . wbe p sʾ (?)[8]
(14) . . . . . p šy
(15) . . . . . en-n (?) ʾn·t-f
(16) . . . . . ʾr p[9] rpy·w
(17) . . . . . n hw·w ḫʿ
(18) . . . . . my ʾr-w (?) . . . .

[1] See SPIEGELBERG, *Mumienetiketten*, no. 90, and references there.

[2] Regularly so in this papyrus instead of the usual *pr·w*.

[3] See *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, no. 6, l. 4, for the complete group in demotic, *St-w-wt*: Stu-wêti, Στοητις (rare), MAH.-SM., usually pronounced with fem. article Stu-(t)-wêti, Στοτοητις et varr.; see also p. 191, where a different explanation is suggested, and the spelling *St-t-wt* in XLV.

[4] Παης.

[5] The article is written with a title if it follows a name, but it is probably not repeated with a second title, cf. p. 258, note 11. It is doubtful whether *a* (?) is not part of the title *mr šn*.

[6] Possibly *wḫ* 'letter.' [7] Corrected from *e·ʾr-ỉn*.

[8] *wbe* is generally used with persons.

[9] Apparently *p* is a correction over *n*, the plural remaining to *rpy·w*.

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(19) . . . . . [p] ntr a·tny yt[-f]
(20) . . . . . a shn (?)
(21) . . . . . bk (?) a·ṭe-w

Col. II. (1) [s tp (?) sḫ] Pr-ʿo Ptlw[my]s sḫ[1] [ḥn-ntr] n Wrn·w ḥn-ntr S[m]·w ḥn-k (?) n ntr·w mnḫ n ntr·w mr-yt w n ntr·w nt pr (2) [p ntr a·tny] yt-f p ntr mr-mw[·t] p ntr ḥwn mr yt-f p ntr mnḫ n ntr·w mr-mw·tw p Swtr sḫ Nḫt-Mn sy Ṭḥwt-(?)e-ʾr-ṭy-s (3) sḫ Ne-nḫt-f sy Pa-tw sḫ Nḫt-Mn sy Nḫt-Mn (4) sḫ Hry·w sy Nḫt-Mn sḫ P-a·ṭe-Sbk sy Nḫt-Mn

(5) s 2-n sḫ ḥn-ntr n Wrn·w (*&c., as before* (6) *to* p Swtr) sḫ P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ sy Pa-Gb sḫ Ṭḥwt-sṭm sy Pa-Gb sḫ P-a·ṭe (?)-Mn[2] (7) sḫ Pa-Gb sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sḫ Ḫns-Ṭḥwt sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sḫ Sy-Sbk sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sḫ Sy-Sbk sy Wn-nfr sḫ Wn-nfr sy Sy-Sbk

(8) s 3-n sḫ ḥn-ntr n Wrn·w (*&c., as before to* (9) p-Swtr) P-šr-Mn sy Wn-nfr sḫ m-nn (?)[3] Sy-Sbk sy Wn-nfr sḫ m-nn (?) Sy-Sbk (10) sḫ Sy-Sbk sy P-mr-ʾḥ sḫ Pa-t-s-ʿo·t sy Sy-Sbk sḫ Sy-Sbk sy P (*sic*) Ṭḥwt . . . sḫ P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-wr sy Pa-tw sḫ Ḫns-Ṭḥwt sy Sy-Sbk sḫ P-mr-ʾḥ sy Sy-Sbk

(11) s 4-n sḫ ḥn-ntr n Wrn·w (*&c., as before* (12) *to* p-Swtr) Sbk (?)-Mn sy Ns-nb-ʿnḫ Ns-nb-ʿnḫ-p-ʿo (13) sḫ Ns-Mn sy . . . .

(14) [s 5-n sḫ ḥn-ntr n] Wrn·w (*&c., as before* (15) *to* p-Swtr, *the rest lost*).

Papyri of the Reign of Cleopatra III with Ptolemy Alexander I.

Pap. No. XXVI. 102 B.C. Lease of a farm. Pl. LXXIII. Translated, above, p. 156, where also the verso is described.

(1) ḥ-sp 15 nt ʾr ḥ-sp 12 ʾbṭ 4 šm 11 n t Pr-[ʿo·t Glwptre erme] (2) Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys pe-s [šr nt e-w z n-f ʾLgstrws] (3) erme n ntr·w mr mw·t nt nḥm erme n nt [s·mne n Ra-qṭ P-sy] (4) nt n p tš n Ne

Z Nḥs (?) . . . . . (5) Ḥr-pa-ʾS sy P-wr-ṭyw[4] n ḥn-ntr P-a·ṭe-Ḥr sy Pa-ṭe

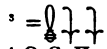
[s·ḥn-k n-y te-k tʾ·ty[5] pš] (6) n p yḥ mrwt nt ḥr (?) t mrwt mḥt . . . . [Pr-Ḥ·t-ḥr[6] nt ḥr] (7) p ḥtp-ntr Ḥ·t-ḥr nb ʾN·t (?) n p qy (?) [n . . . n ḥ-sp 15 a ḥ-sp 16] (8) nt ʾr ḥ-sp 13 tp šm ʿlq

n hyn·w n p yḥ [nt ḥry ṭr-f rs p yḥ n] . . . . . (9) sy Pa-t-s-ʿo·t mḥt p yḥ Glh[b ? [7] ybt] . . . . . (10) ʾmnt t . . . . . ·t Pr-ʿo . . . n hyn·w [n p yḥ ṭr-f nt e] (11) wn mte Pa-tw sy Ḥr te-f tʾ·ty (*sic*) pš

. . . . . (12) . . . . a mḥ p r (?) n p yḥ ṭr-f [nt ḥry mte-y ṭy n-k p $\frac{1}{10}$ (?) n p] (13) hrnt (?)[8] šs (?) tk[9] mte-y sk[-f (?) n p mw n ḥ-sp 15 a ḥ-sp 16 mte-y

[1] The tail of *sḫ* is traceable.

[2] Or *P-šr-Mn*.

[3] =  (?), cf. p. 262, note 2.

[4] O.C. Πογερτειογ, *Pap. Mag. L. L.*, 2/26, Πογρτιγ, Spiegelberg, *Mumienetiketten*, no. 222; = Πορτις, *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3119, verso/7 = Grey, l. 32; see *Pap. Mag. L. L.*, p. 31, note.

[5] So spelt for το : τοι in l. 11.

[6] Cf. XXIX/5.

[7] *Glḥ*[is quite clear on the original.

[8] Cf. *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, 9/13. Possibly the word is ϩερααπ. The Strassburg Pap., 'I will give thee $\frac{1}{10}$ of the *hrnt* (?) and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the remaining trees that are in it,' at any rate, suggests a fruit.

[9] Cf. ϯσϵ, cucumis, cucurbita, hardly *tkm*.

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mḥ-f n ʾḥ·t pr·t] (14) rm s·ṭbḥ nb wyᶜ[1] pr [šm[2] . . . . . (15) wyᶜ e ške (?) n qy[3] . . . . . (16) n ḥw (?) nt e-f (?) ḫt-w[4] n p yḥ nt ḥry (?) . . . . . (17) (*a trace left*)

PAP. No. XXVII. 108–101 B.C. Marriage contract. Pl. LXXIII. Translated, above, p. 157.

(1) [ḥ-sp . . . nt ʾr ḥ-sp . . . ʾbṭ . . . . n t Pr-]ᶜo·t Glwptre erme Pr-ᶜo P[t]lwmys pe-s šr nt e-w z n-f ʾLgsntrws erme n ntr·w mr-mw·tw erme (*sic*) n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnḫ·w (2) [n ntr·w mr yt-w n ntr·w nt pr p ntr mr mw·t] p ntr a-tn yt-f p ntr ḥwn mr yt-f n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr mw·tw nt nḥm erme t fy qn nᶜš Brnyge t mnḫ·t (3) [erme t fy ṭnʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyn]e t mr sn erme t [wᶜb·t] ʾRsyne t mr yt-s erme n nt smne n Ra-qṭ P-sy nt n p tš n Ne

z Wynn (4) [n ms n Kmy . . sy . . mw·t-f . . . .] n s-ḥm·t T-šr·t-ʾMn [ta Ne-] nḫt-f mw·t-s T-šr·t-ʾNp

ʾr-y t-t n ḥm·t ṭe-y n-t ḥṭ 100 a sttr 500 a ḥṭ 100 ᶜn ʾrṭb sw 10 te-w pš sw 5 a ʾrṭb sw 10 ᶜn n pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t

(5) [e y qᶜ-t n ḥm·t mte-y msṭ·t-t mte-y ḫn]e (?) k·t s-ḥm·t a ḥr-t e[-y ṭy] n-t p fe (?)[5] py ḥṭ 100 ʾrṭb sw 10 nt ḥry a·ṭe-y n-t pe-t špe s-hm·t

[pe-t šr] ᶜo pe šr ᶜo ḫn n ḫrṭ·w nt ʾr-t ms·t-w n-y p nb nt nb nk nb nt mte-y (6) [ḥnᶜ n nt e-y a ṭy ḫp-w

teys p wn ne-t nk]·w s-ḥm·t a·ʾn-t a pe ᶜy ṭ·t-t wᶜ ʾn-šn a ḥṭ 300 wᶜ·t gly a ḥṭ 100 wᶜ·t g[tm ?] [a] ḥṭ 200 wᶜ·t qnbw (?) a ḥṭ 50 wᶜ bs a ḥṭ 30 wᶜ šš [a] ḥṭ 50 p sp pe-t šp s-ḥm·t (7) [ḥṭ 100 ʾrṭb sw 10 a swn ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t a·ʾn-t a pe] ᶜy ṭ·t-t [ḥṭ 8]30 a sttr 4[150] a ḥṭ 830 ᶜn n ḥmt 24 qṭ 2·t sw (?) 2·t (?)

šp-y s·t ṭ·t-t e-w mḥ ʾt sp nb

ḥṭ-y mty·w nʾm-w

e-t n ḫn (8) [e-t n ḫn erme-w e-t n bl e-t n bl erme-w nte-t pe-w šy ʾnk pe-w s]yḫf (?)

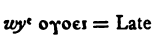
p ss qᶜ-t [n ḥm·t nt] e-y ʾr-f ge m[te]-t aʾr-t mr še n-t ḥᶜ-t a tm ḫp e-t mte-y n ḥm·t e-y ṭy n-t p smte ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t (9) [nt ḥry ge swn·t-w n ḥṭ a ḫ p nt sḫ ḥry bn e-y rḫ ṭy ᶜnḫ] m-s-t p ᶜy w[py e-]ṭb p hp [ne-t] nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry z bn-p-t ʾn·t-w a pe ᶜy n ṭ·t-t

mte-t nt [ṭ-ḥṭ a ḥr-y nʾm-w (10) ʾt z qnb nb mṭ nb p t erme-t]

[sḫ . . . . sy . . . .] nt sḫ rn n wᶜb·w Ḥ[·t-ḥ]r nb [ʾN·t ? p 5 s·w]

Witnesses on verso:

P-mr-ʾḥ sy P-a·ṭe-Sbk (?)
P-wr-ybt sy E-f-ʾnḫ
Sy-Sbk sy P-hb
Pa-Gb sy P-Nḫt (?)
(5) P-hb sy . . .
P-šr-ʾS sy Pa-tw
P-mr-ʾḥ sy Pa-tw
Hry sy Nḫt-Mn

[1] *wyᶜ* ογοει = Late Eg.  of harvesting, D'Orb. 3/1, BRUGSCH, *Wtb. Suppl.*, 192.

[2] Cf. *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3102/14. The reading of the group *šm* is due to SPIEGELBERG, *Pap. Reinach*, p. 181, with erratum, p. 240, [*Rec. de Trav.*, 28/197].

[3] Cf. *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, 9/12; *ške* (?) might be ϣⲁⲕⲉ = καρφος, in PEYRON, *Gramm.*

[4] Possibly *nt e(-y) a ḫt-w.*

[5] See pp. 134, note 6, 268, note 3.

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Wn-nfr sy Sy-Sbk
(10) Pa-Gb sy Ṭḥwt-stm
P-a-ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy . . .
Pa-Gb sy P-a-ṭe-[Ḥr-sm-tw ?]
Pa-t-s-[ʿo·t sy . . . .
Ḥr sy Pa-ṭe
(15) Pa-ḫrṭ sy Ṭḥwt- . . .
Wn-nfr sy Sy-Sbk

Papyri of the Reign of Ptolemy Alexander I.

Pap. No. XXVIII. 91 B. C. Marriage contract. Plate LXXIV. Translated, above, p. 157. The verso blank.

ḥ-sp 23 ʾbṭ 4 ʾḫ ss 29 Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys nt e-w z n-f ʾLygstrs[1] erme t Pr-ʿo·t Brnyge te-f sn·t te-f ḥm·t erme n ntr·w mr-mw·tw (2) nt nḥm erme t fy qne nʿše n Brnyge t mnḫ·t erme t fy ṭnʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyne t mr-sn·t erme n nt smne n Ra-qṭ (3) n P-sy n-nt n p tš n N z ʿm (?)[2] bk Ḥr-sm-tw P-mr-ʾḫ sy ʾWnwms mw·t-f Ta-p-r-mḥt n s-ḥm·t Ta-Gb ta P-a-ṭe-ʾr-ḥms-nfr mw·t-s Ta-Fet (?)[3]

(4) ʾr-y t-t ḥm·t ṭe-y n-t ḥṭ 100 a sttr 200 (?) a ḥt 100 ʿn ʾrṭb sw 5 n pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t pe-t šr ʿo pe šr ʿo ḫn n ḫrṭ·w n-nt ʾr-t ms-w[4] n-y p nb nt nb nk nb nt mte-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y (5) ṭy ḥp-w

teys p wn n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t aʾn-t a pe ʿy tʾ·t-t wʿ ʾn-šn (?) a ḥṭ 900 wʿ·t gtn a ḥṭ 200 wʿ ll a ḥṭ 40 wʿ·t tb (?) a ḥṭ 60 p sp pe-t špe s-ḥm·t (6) ḥṭ 100 ʾrṭb sw 5 a swn·t-w (*sic*)[5] ne-t nk·w s-ḥm·t aʾn-t a pe ʿy ṭʾ-t ḥṭ 1,200 a sttr 6,400 a ḥṭ 1,200 ʿn ḥmt 24 qṭ 2·t

šp-y s·t ṭʾ·t-t e-w mḥ ʾt sp nb ḥt-y (7) mty·w n-ʾm-w e-t n ḫn e-t n ḫn erme-w e-t n bl e-t n bl erme-w mte-t pe-w šy ʾnk pe-w syḫf (?)

p ss qʿ-t n ḥm·t n-nt e-y ʾr-f ge mte-t aʾr-t mr še n-t ḥʿ-t (8) a tm ḫp n-mte-y ḥm·t e-y ṭy n-t p smṭe ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry ge swn·t-ẇ n ḥṭ a ḫ p nt sḫ ḥry

bn e-y rḥ ṭy ʿnḫ m-s-t n p ʿy wpy (9) e-ṭbe p hp n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry z n-bn-p-t ʾn·t-w a pe ʿy ṭʾ·t-t

mte-t nt ṯ ḥt a ḥr-y nʾm-w ʾt z qnb·t nb n-mṭ nb n p t erme-t

sḫ P-a-ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Pa-Gb nt sḫy rn n n wʿb·w n Ḥt-ḥr nb ʾN·t (?) n p 5 s·w

The back blank.

Pap. No. XXIX. 91 B. C. Agreement for sale of a plot of ground. Pl. LXXIV. Translated, above, p. 158.

(1) ḥ-sp 23 tp šm 17 Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys nt e-w z n-f ʾLygstrs erme t Pr-ʿo·t Brnyge te-f sn·t te-f ḥm·t (2) erme n ntr·w mr-mw·tw nt nḥm erme t fy qne nʿše n Brnyge t mnḫ·t erme t fy ṭnʾw (?)[6] nb m-bḥ (3) ʾRsyne t mr-sn·t erme n nt s·mne n Ra-qṭ n P-sy n-nt p tš n Ne

[1] The scribe Peteharsemteu adds not a few superfluous *y*s, *ʾLygstrws*, *sḫy* (cf. ϲϬϩⲓ?), *e-y* for *e*, &c.: also *ns* in *n* (or *e*?) *nt*, &c. In XXX his orthography is worse than in this.

[2] Apparently *ʿm*, pl. ⲁⲙⲛⲟⲩ, which occurs in farm-contracts of the age of Amasis, *Corpus Louvre*, 10/1 (*ʿm n Mnt*), 12/1, 14/2, 15/1, 2 (*ʿm n pr-Mnt nb Ws*), and of Darius, *Corpus Louvre*, 23/3 (*ʿm Pr-ʿo*), also Turin, year 35/1. [Cf. Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/201.]

[3] Compare the name in Pap. I. Q/13, II. A/8.

[4] The omission of the *t* before the suffix may be significant, cf. Boh. ⲙⲁⲥⲟⲩ, but it is also not shown in *p·t-t*, l. 6, &c.

[5] Vulgar: but as in Coptic.

[6] The *w* (?) may be determinative; cf. note on Κηβ, p. 268.

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z sḫ P-nfr-ḥr sy P-mr-ʾḥ erme ne-f sn·w (4) n-t (?)[1] Ns-wre·t[2] ta Pa-ṭe mw·t-s Ty-Ḥr te-w mw·t n nt z n s-ḥm·t Ne-nḫt-s ta Pa-ṭe mw·t-s Nḥm-s-ʾS.

ṭe-t mty (5) ḥt-n n p ḥṭ swn n tʾ·w wrḥ km (?) a·šp-n ṭʾ P-šr-mnḫ sy Pa-n-Nḫt·w ḥr t mrwt mḥt Pr-Ḥthr (6) nt e ne-s hyn·w rs Ḥr-pa-ʾS sy Pa-n-Nḫt·w mḥt Ḥr sy (P)-ḥn-ntr-Mw·t[3] ybt t ʿn-mw[4] t my P-tb[5] ʾmnt Ne-nḫt-f sy Pa-n-Nḫt·w . . . . (7) n hyn·w n tʾ·w wrḥ km(?) nt ḥry erme pe-s (*sic*) kns[6]

ṭe-y s n-t n tʾ·w n wrḥ km (?) nt ḥry

šp-y (*sic*) swn·t-f n ḥṭ ṭʾ·t-t (8) e-f mḥ ʾt sp nb ḥt-n mty·w nʾm-w mn mte-n mṭ nb eʾr-n-t rn-f bn e-y (*sic*) rḫ rm nb p t ʾnk mte ʾry (*sic*) syḫ n ʾm-f n bl-t (9) n ṯ p-hw a ḥry

p nt e-f a ʾy a ḥr-t e-ṭb·t-f rn-n rn rm nb p t e-y ṯy wy-f a ḥr-t mte-n ṯy wʿb-f n-t a sḫ nb qnb·t nb (10) hp nb mṭ nb p t n ss nb

mte-t s (?) ne-f n (?) sḫ-w ne-f qnb·w n ʿy nb nt e-w nʾm-w

sḫ nb aʾr-w ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb aʾr-w n-y ar-f ḥnʿ sḫ nb n-nt e-y mʿk nʾm-f (11) rn-f mte-k (*sic*) st ḥnʿ pe-w hp mte-t p nt mʿk nʾm-f rn-n

p ʿnḫ p ʿḥ rṭ nt e-w a ṯy-s m-s-t n p ʿy wpy (12) e-ṭbe p hp p sḫ nt ḥry aʾr-n n-t a ṯy ʾr-y (*sic*) s e-y-n (*sic*) ʾr-f ʾt z qnb·t nb mṭ nb p t erme-t

sḫ P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Pa-Gb nt sḫy rn n wʿb·w Ḥt-ḥr nb ʾN·t (?) p 5 s·w

On verso:

P-a·ṭe-Sbk sy Hry-ʾNp
Sbk-ḥtp sy Ḥr-sy-ʾS
Ne-nḫt-f sy P-mr-ʾḥ
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy P-šr-ʾS
(5) P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Ne-nḫt-f
Ze-ḥr-ʾgš (?) sy Sy-Sbk
Thrsn[7] sy Ne-nḫt-f
Pa-Gb sy Sbk-ḥtp

PAP. No. XXX. 89 B.C. Marriage contract. Pl. LXXV. Translation, above, p. 159.

(1) ḥ-sp 25 ʾbṭ 2 šm (?) . . 3 (?) Pr-ʿo Ptlwmys nt e-w z n-f ʾLygstrs erme t Pr-ʿo.t Gplwn (*sic*) (2) te-f sn·t te-f ḥm[·t] erme n ntr·w mr-mw·tw nt nḥm erme t fy qn nʿše Brnyge t mnḫ·t (3) erme t fy [ṭn]ʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyne t mr-sn erme n nt smne n Ra-qṭ n P-sy n-nt p tš Ne

(4) z ʿm (?) [bk?][8] Ḥr-sm-tw P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-[sm]-tw sy P-a·ṭe-Sbk mw·t-f T-šr·t-Sbk n s-ḥm·t Ta-Gb ta P-a·ṭe-ʾr-ḥms-nfr mw·t-s Ta-fet (?)

(5) ʾr-y t-t n ḥm·t te-y n-t ḥṭ 100 a [stt]r 200 (*sic*) a ḥṭ 100 ʿn ʾrṭb sw 5 n pe-t špe n s-ḥm·t

pe-t šr ʿo pe šr ʿo ḫn n ḫrṭ·w (6) n-nt ʾr-t ms·t-w n-y p nb nt nb nt mte-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y ṯy ḫp-w

ty-s p wn n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t aʾn-t (7) a pe ʿy ṭʾ·t-t wʿ ʾn-šn (?) a ḥṭ 500 wʿ·t gṯn a

[1] Probably intended for ναν. The scribe Peteharsemteu is particularly careless of etymology.

[2] Apparently an unetymological spelling of *ʾS-wr·t*, the great Isis, O. C. Θεογερε Εσουηρις, STEINDORFF, *Ä. Z.*, 28/52, probably Eswêri rather than Eswêri.

[3] = *Φεντενμους, gen. Φεντενμουτος, SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 23, note 1, and p. 24; cf. p. 258, note 11.

[4] Evidently identical with (the 'dyke (?)' of) the διωρυξ βασιλικη, 'public canal,' which bounded the island of Piteb on the east according to *BGU.*, no. 993.

[5] See p. 159, note 1.

[6] Spelt like κοπς; σοπς, 'violence': possibly meaning 'extent,' or 'quality.'

[7] Θρασων (at Gebelên, *Gr. Pap.*, ii. no. 23 *a*); *Trsn* was written originally and *h* was added below the *t*.

[8] There appears to be just room enough for *bk*.

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ḥṭ 100 wʿ·t swḥ a ḥṭ 60 wʿ bs a ḥṭ 25 wʿ lle a ḥṭ 60 (8) wʿ šš a ḥṭ [40] p sp n pe-t špe s-ḥm·t ḥṭ 100 ʾrṭb sw 5 a swn ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t a·ʾn-t a pe ʿy ṭʾ·t-t ḥṭ 785 (9) a sttr 1,570 a ḥṭ 785 ʿn n ḥmt 24 qṭ 2·t

šp-y st ṭʾ·t-t e-w mḥ ʾt sp nb ḥt-y mty·w nʾm-w (10) e-t n ẖn e-t n ẖn [erme-w e-t n bl e]-t n bl erme-w nte-t pe-w šy ʾnk pe-w syḫf

p ss qʿ(-t) n ḥm·t n-nt e-y ʾr-f (11) ge mte-t e·ʾr-t [mr] še n-t [ḥʿ-t] a tm ḫp mte-y n ḥm·t e-y ṭy n-t p smṭe n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry (12) ge swn[·t-w] n ḥṭ a ẖ p nt sẖ ḥry bn e-y rḫ ṭy ʿnḫ m-s-t p ʿy wpy t (? *sic*) e-ṭb p hp (13) n n nk·w n [s-ḥm·t z] bn-p-t ʾn·t-w a pe ʿy ṭʾ·t-t mte-t nt ṯ ḥt a ḥr-y nʾm-w ʾt z qnb (14) nb n mṭ nb p [t erme-t]

sẖ P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-[tw] sy Pa-Gb nt sḫy n rn n n wʿb·w n Ḥ·t-Ḥr nb ʾNt (?) p 5 s·w

On verso:

Ḥr-sy-ʾS (?) sy Sbk-ḥtp
Pa-Gb sy P-mr-ʾḥ
Sy-Sbk sy P-šr (?)-Mn
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Ne-nḫt-f
(5) P-a·ṭe-Sbk sy Nḫt-Mn
Pa-Gb sy Sbk-ḥtp
P-a·ṭe-Wsr sy Ḥr-sy-ʾS
. . . . sy P-wr-ybt
P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy . . . .
(10) P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw sy Pa-Gb
Ze-ḥr-w sy Sy-Sbk
Ne-[nḫt]-f sy P-mr-ʾḥ
Pa-t-s-ʿo sy P-hb
Sy-Sbk sy Pa-tw
(15) P-hb sy Pa-Gb
P-mr-ʾḥ sy P-šr-Mn

Papyri without Royal Names.

Pap. No. XXXI. 119–118 (?) B.C. Notification of payment. Pl. LXXVI. The verso blank. Translation, above, p. 159.

(1) ẖ p wʿ sḫ n gyz (2) n ḥ-sp 5̣2·t n Pr-ʿo ʿnẖ z·t erme (3) t Pr-ʿo·t te-f sn·t erme n nt smne erme-w

(4) z bk Ḥ·t-Ḥr Sy-p-mw (sy) (5) P-šr-p-Rʿ n P-šr-ʾNp sy Ḥr (?)[1]

(6) te-y mḥ krkr 200 ẖn n pr·w (7) a·tey[2] n-y P-mr-ʾḥ p ḫm sy P-hb (8) e·ʾr-k st n-y pe-k ʿy mḥ(-y) t-k nʾm-w (9) ḥr p sḫne[3] n sgn (?)[4]

Pap. No. XXXII. Second century B.C. Grant (?) of waste land by priests. Pl. LXXVI. The verso blank. Translation, above, p. 160.

(2) . . . . . [Nḫt]-Mn sy Ns-Mn[5] p mr šn . . . . (3) . . . . . e-f ḥw . . . . . (4) qṭ-f ʿb-n-ʾS (?) p ybt p nt tg[6] Ṭḥwt ẖn p ḥtp-ntr n Ḥ·t[-Ḥr]

[1] A strange way of writing *Ḥr*. Probably a name beginning with *P-* was first written and then corrected.

[2] For *a·ṭe* (?).

[3] *n p sḫn n Ne*, Pap. Bibl. Nat. 218/21 (Young, *Hieroglyphics*, Pl. 32) = επι την εν Διοσπο(λει) τραπεζαν, Grey, ll. 37, 38; cf. Spiegelberg, *Pap. Reinach*, p. 193, 'cavalryman of the *sḫn* of Apollophanes,' where *sḫn* seems to mean 'banking account,' 'credit' from which the troops were to be paid.

[4] The determinative seems strangely written for ϭⲟϭⲛ but may be 𓊹, cf. *gʿ* in XXXV/3.

[5] See l. 13. The handwriting in this papyrus is difficult to read.

[6] Cf. *p-nt-wʿb*, above, p. 233, note 10; or read *p mtg*,

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(5) n hyn·w p wrḥ rn-f rs n wrḥ·w Ḥ·t-Ḥr nt . . . . . (6) mḥt t ḥ sbe·t nt š a p yr-ʿo ẖn p wrḥ Ḥ·t-Ḥr . . . . . (7) ybt p wrḥ Ḥ·t-Ḥr nt ẖr[1] Ṭḥwt ʾmnt p nt tg Ḥ·t-Ḥr (8) nt ẖr Ṭḥwt . . . . n hn·w rn-w[2] p wrḥ n rn-f

sw (?)-f n (?) ḫ-ntr (?)[3]

mn mṭ (9) e-n ʾwṭ (?)-k[4] rn-f mte-k s pe-k wrḥ nt ḥry n ṯ p-hw (a) ḥry (10) šʿ z·t

sẖ Ḥr-pa-ʾS sy Ṭḥwt-e·ʾr-ṭy-s (?)[5] nt sẖ rn n wʿb·w Ḥ·t-Ḥr . . . .

(11) ḥ-sp 2·t ʾbṭ 2 ʾḫ

(12) sẖ ḥn-ntr wrm·w (?) ḥn-ntr 4-n n Ḥ·t-Ḥr P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-wr sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-tw

(13) sẖ ḥn-ntr wrm·w (?) Nḫt-Mn sy Ns-Mn p mr-šn

(14) sẖ ḥn-ntr wrm·w (?) ʿo-n-wʿb[6] sẖ mz (?)[7] Ḥ·t-Ḥr Ḥr-sy-ʾS sy P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-wr

(15) sẖ ḥn-ntr wrm·w (?) Pa-tw sy Ṭḥwt-sṭm

(16) sẖ ḥn-ntr wrm·w (?) P-šr-Mn p ḫm sy Pa-ne

(17) sẖ ḥn-ntr wrm·w (?) P-šr-Mn sy Nḫt-Mn

(18) sẖ ḥn-ntr wrm·w (?) ʿNḫ-p-ẖrṭ sy Ṭḥwt-m-ḥb

(19) sẖ ḥn-ntr wrm·w (?) Ṭḥwt-m-ḥb sy Ṭḥwt-sṭm

Pap. No. XXXIII. Second century B.C. Release from contract. Pl. LXXVI; the writing on the verso has been washed off. Translated, above, p. 160.

(1) ḥ-sp 19 ʾbṭ 2 pr 2 Pa-ẖrṭ sy Ṭḥwt-e·ʾr-ṭy-s Pa-ẖrṭ sy P-a·te-Ḥr-sm-tw (2) P-šr-mnḫ[8] sy Pa-n-Nḫt·w P-šr-ʾS p-ʿo sy Gyphln[9] (3) erme ne-w ʾr·w n nt z n (?)[10] Ne·nḫt-f sy Pa-t-s-ʿo

(4) te-n wy·t ar-k n p hp n py . . . . bk (?)[11] ʾr-f (?) br (?)[12] (5) ar-k[13] erme n . . . mṭ (?) nb erme n . . . . a·ṯ-n a p šb (?)

bn e-te-n[14] (6) ʾš m-s-k n mṭ ʾn

(7) [sẖ ?] . . . . . .

(8) [sẖ ?] . . . . sy P-šr (?)-Mnt (?)

(9) sẖ P-šr- . . . . sy Ne·nḫt-f

Pap. No. XXXIV. Fragment of farming agreement. Pl. LXXVII. Translated, above, p. 161.

(1) . . . [Ns]-p-ntr sy Wn-nfr p nt ze n ʾWnws sy Pa-t-s-ʿo·t

(2) . . . n-k pe yḥ n p mw n ḥ-sp 9·t a ḥ-sp 12 a

(3) . . . [rṇp]·t 3·t e-y . . . tgs (?) . . . . yḥ . . .

cf. τωϭε, plantare, *n yḥ·w ṯgy*, Ros., l. 9 = παραδεισοι (for fruit-trees, see Dittenberger, *OGIS.*, i. p. 150).

[1] *ẖr* appears to indicate tenure rather than absolute ownership, cf. Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 13: but this meaning of *ẖr* is not yet quite clear.

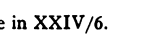
[2] *rn-w* is probably a mistake corrected by the following words written above the line.

[3] *Sw* (?)-*f* (for *swn·t-f*?) *sy Nḫt* would seem possible.

[4] Not *m-s-k*. A fem. pronoun referring to *mṭ* is required in this sentence.

[5] Probably a much abbreviated form of this name.

[6] Cf. *ʿo n wʿb n Pr-Mnt nb Ws* in Dar., *TSBA.*, viii; cf. also the signature in Brugsch, *Gram. Dém.*, Pl. 3.



[7] Probably a variant of [hieroglyphs], suggesting that [hieroglyph] is only a determinative.

[8] See the name complete in XXIV/6.

[9] Perhaps for Κεφαλων, occurring at Gebelên, e.g. *Gr. Pap.*, i. no. 19.

[10] The scribe began to write *eʾr-ḥr* and corrected it to *n*.

[11] Hardly *be-wḫ* 'letter carrying.'

[12] Hardly ⲛⲣⲉϥ *br*. Perhaps *ty* ('this') *br*.

[13] 'That thou madest,' or 'unto thee.'

[14] ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ ⲱϣ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ . . . ⲁⲛ.

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(4) . . . mte-y ?] ṯy n-k ʾrṭb n sw 22 ḫr rnp·t n t rnp[·t 3·t ?]
(5) [ṭmṭ ʾrṭb n] sw 66 n rn n sw·w nt mte-k ʿy
(6) . . . . [nb nt e-]f ḫpe aʾr-k a ṯ·t-w n t mty ʾwṭ-n
(7) [n p s] 2 p nt e-f a sp ar-w nte-f pš a ḥr-n
(8) . . . . t pš a wʿ nte-n mḥ Pr-ʿo p ntr
(9) . . . . [ʾwṭ]-n n p s 2 nte-n . . . . . .

On the back *τρ τε* (read by HUNT) in large characters, apparently isolated.

PAP. No. XXXV. 94–93 (?) B.C. Memorandum of expenditure. Pl. LXXVII. Translated, above, p. 161.

(1) ḥ-sp 25 tp ʾḫ
p he n qṭ (2) n t ʿby n ʾS n Mʿ[1]
(3) ḥṭ 3 15 k·t gʿ[2] 2·t
(4) tbe[3] 320·t
(5) p he[4] n p rpy n[5] Rm-ʿo
(6) ḥṭ 120 a·ṭe-y n Ne-nḫt-f
(7) Psrtyqws[6]
(8) P-šms (?)[7] ḥṭ 10

PAP. No. XXXVI. 90 B.C. Affidavit. Pl. LXXVII. Translated, above, p. 161.

(1) ḫ p ʿnḫ nt e·ʾr Ne-nḫt-s ta Pa-ṭe a (?) ʾr-f[8] n ḥ-ntr [n ?] (2) Nb Bḫn (?) n ḥ-sp 24 ʾbṭ 4 šm 2 (?) n P-šr-ʾS sy Pa-tw
ʿnḫ (3) Sbk nt ḥtp ṯy erme ntr nb nt ḥtp erme-f
(4) ny n ʾwe·w nte ʾr-k mṭ erme-y e-ṭb·t-w (5) mn ḥṭ e ṭe s Nḥm-s-ʾS t mw·t[9] m-s (?) 2 100 (6) mn p e·ʿš-s ar-k[10] nʾm-f n py hw a zz[11] (7) n ʾwe·w
e-s ʾr p ʿnḫ nt sḫ ḥry mte P-šr-ʾS (8) ṯy n-s t yl mte Ne·nḫt-s wy ar-f (9) [n ?] t k·t ʾwe 2·t ḫr ḥṭ 100 nt eʾr (*sic*) ḥṭ 200 e-s st (10) ʾ (?) 20 mte-s wy a (?) t yl
ḥ-sp 24 (11) ʾbṭ 4 šm 2 (?) P-šr-ʾS sy Pa-tw ʾw a t(?) Bḫn (?) wy-f (12) ar-s n p ʿnḫ erme Nḥm-s (*sic*) t mw·t (13) e·wnee-f z nʾm-s z e-s ṯy t . . . ṭ[t-s (?)] (14) mte-s ṯy ḥṭ 35 n p-hw mte-s ṯy ke ḥṭ 25 (15) tp ʾḫ ʿlq mte-f ṯy n-s t yl n p-hw (16) e mn rm ʿš m-s pe-f ʾr nʾm-w (17) n ṯ n p-hw a ḥry

sḫ Pa-Gb sy Sb[k]-ḥtp
(18) Wn-nfr (?) . . . . . .
(19) ʿḫ (?) py sḫ P-mr-ʾḫ (sy) ʾWnwms

[1] i. e. Ισις Νεμης, 'the true (?) Isis,' see p. 146, note 1.
[2] Cf. ϫH : ϫH, fem. 'plate,' 'censer,' or ϫω : ϫωι.
[3] Not *ṯse*. The *b* is formed as in *ʿby* in l. 2.
[4] Cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Rechnungen*, p. 64.
[5] Only ∿∿∿ in the original; there is a dark spot in the papyrus.
[6] The *q* is certain.
[7] The signs are now quite clear in the original after careful mending. See the Glossary.
[8] The *a* is by no means certain, but the construction appears to be that of p. 226, note 19.
[9] *Nḥm-s* may be a correct abbreviation of the full name (l. 12 and XX/4).
[10] Cf. ʿš *m-s* in l. 16.
[11] Cf. ϵϫϵN, 'for,' STERN, § 538. Here perhaps 'concerning.'

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(20) Glwg[1] t rm·t P-nt-nḫt-šwš[2]
(21) erme p sp ne (?)[3] a·wne ʾwṭ-w

on verso at lower end:

(1) t wḫ (?)[4] p ʿnḫ n Ne·nḫt-s
(2) n Pa(*sic*)-šr-ʾS sy Pa-tw ḫr n ʾwe·w

Pap. No. XXXVII. Probably after 108 B. C. Marriage contract. Pl. LXXVIII. Translated, above, p. 162.

(1) p bl py ḥṭ 25 a [sttr 125 a] ḥṭ 25 ʿn nt ḥry [a·]ṯe-y n-t n pe-t [špe] n s-ḥm·t a mḫ ḥṭ 50 a sttr 250 a ḥṭ 50 ʿn mte-y ṯy n-t p ⅓ nt nb nk nb nt mte-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y a ṯy ḫp-w

pe-t šr ʿo pe šr ʿo [ḫn n hrṭ·w (&c., *traces visible*)]

(2) [tey s p wn n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t aʾn-t a pe] ʿy[5] [er]me-t wʿ ʾn-šn (?) a ḥṭ 55 wʿ·t qbe·t a ḥṭ 50 wʿ ʿy wḫ nb a nb ḫm 2 a ḥṭ 40 wʿ·t ʿo·t a ḥṭ 300 k·t sge·t a ḥṭ 150 wʿ šš a ḥṭ 5 a swn ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t aʾn-t a pe ʿy erme-t ḥṭ 600 a sttr 3,000 a ḥṭ 600 ʿn ḥmt 24 a qṭ 2

šp-y s·t ṭʾ·t-t e-w mḫ ʾt sp nb (3) [ḥt-y mty·w nʾm·w e-t n ḫn e-t n ḫn] erme·w e-t bl e-t bl erme-w mte-t te-w šy ʾnk pe-w syḫf

p ss n qʿ-t n ḥm·t nt e-y a ʾr-f ge mte(-t) eʾr-t mr še n-t ḥʿ-t a tm ḫp e(-t) mte-y n ḥm·t e-y a ṯy n-t p smṭ n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry ge swn·t-w n ḥṭ a ḫ p nt sḫ ḥry bn e-y rḫ ṯy ʿnḫ m-s-t n p ʿy (4) [wpy e-ṭbe p hp n ne·t nk·w n s-ḥm·t] nt ḥry ze bn-p-t ʾn·t-w a pe ʿy n ṭʾ·t-t mte-t nt ṯ ḥte a ḥr-y nʾm-w ʾt z qnb·t nb n-mṭ nb n p t erme-t

sḫ Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s sy Nḫt-Mn nt sḫ rn n wʿb·w Ḥthr nb ʾN·t (?) p 5 s·w

Witnesses on verso:

. . . . sy Ṭḥwt-sṭm (?)
Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s sy Yr-ḥr-a[r-w ?]
(5) P-hb sy P-n-Nḫ[t·w] (?)
ʾYmḥtp (?) sy Hr[y·w ?]
Ḥr sy ʾMn-ḥtp (?)
Nḫt-Mn sy Ns-Mn
Hry sy Pa-tw
(10) Šp-Mn sy P-a·ṭe-ʾS (?)
Nḫt-Mn sy Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṯy-s
P-mr-ʾḥ sy P-hb
P-a·ṭe-Sbk sy Šp-Mn (?)
Ns-nb-ʿnḫ p-ʿo [sy] . . . . .
(15) Sy-Sbk sy P-šr-Mn
Wn-nfr sy P-šr-Mn (?)

[1] Is this only another form of *Khwz*?
[2] Perhaps 'He that wards off scourging (Boh. ⲙⲟⲩⲱⲙ).'
[3] Or *p sp rm* would be a possible reading.
[4] Or *ḥk* (?).
[5] A narrow strip has been recovered since the photograph was taken, adding a few unimportant signs to the beginning of ll. 2–4.

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PAP. No. XXXVIII. About last quarter of 2nd century B. C. Marriage Contract. Pl. LXXVIII. Translated, above, p. 163.

(1) P-šr-ʾNp mw·t-s T- . . . -ʾS (?)
[ʾr-y] t-t n ḥm·t ṯe-y n-t . . . . (2) . . .
[m]te-y ḥnʿ n nt e-y a ṯy ḫp-w
te-y s p wn n ne-t nk[·w n s-ḥm·t aʾn-t a p]e ʿy erme-t wʿ ʾn-šn (?) [a] ḥṭ 600 wʿ tby (?) [a ḥṭ . .] (3) . . . . . 15 a ḥṭ 75 ḥmt wṯḥ (?) qṭ (?) [1] 24 (a) qṭ 2 . . . . a ḥṭ 20 a swn ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t aʾn-t a pe ʿy erme-t (4) . . . . [ḥmt] wṯḥ (?) qṭ 24 (a) qṭ 2 ḥṭ 170 a ḥṭ 935 nt ʾr krkr 3 ḥṭ 35 a ḥṭ 935 ʿn ʾrṯb sw 5
šp-y s·t tʾ·t-t e-w mḥ ʾt sp nb ḥt-y (5) [mty·w nʾm-w e]-t n ḫn e-t n ḫn erme-w e-t n bl e-t n bl erme-w mte-t pe-w šy ʾnk pe-w syḫf
p ss n qʿ-t n ḥm·t nt e-y a ʾr-f ge nte-t (6) [aʾr-t mr] a (?) še n-t ḥʿ-t a tm ḫp e-t mte-y n ḥm·t e-y ṯy n-t p smṯ ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry ge swn·t-w n ḥṭ a ḫ p nt sḫ ḥry bn e-y rḫ (7) [ṯy ʿnḫ m-s]-t n p ʿy n wpy e-ṯbe p hp n ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t nt ḥry z bn-p-t ʾn·t-w a pe ʿy erme-t mte-t nt ṯ ḥt (8) [a ḥr-y nʾm-w ʾt z] qnb nb mṯ nb n p t erme-t
sḫ Šp-Mn sy Ns-p-ntr nt sḫ n rn n wʿb·w n Sbk nb ʾMtr n p 5 s·w

Witnesses on the verso:

. . . . sy Pa-Gb
(5) . . . . sy P-šr-Mn
Ne-nḫt-f sy Sy-Nyt (?)
Wn-nfr sy P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-sm-tw
Ḥr sy Ne-nḫt-f
Ne-nḫt-f p km (?) sy Sy-Sbk
(10) Wn-nfr sy P-šr-Mn
Ne-nḫt-f sy Šp-Mn
Ef-ʿnḫ sy P-wr-ybt
Ḥr sy Hry-ʾNp
Ḥr-sy-ʾS sy Sbk-ḥtp
(15) Z-ḥr sy Ns-p-ntr
Ne-nḫt-f sy Qlz

[1] Cf. p. 270, note 4.

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PTOLEMAIC PAPYRI: PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

Nos. XL–XLII.

PAP. No. XL. Accounts. Pl. LXXIX–LXXXIII.

For the divisions of the text and partial translations see above, p. 164.

(1) recto, cols. A–E (A, B, C, in Pl. LXXIX; C, D, E in Pl. LXXX).

(A) ḥ-sp 3·t tp [pr] p[1] wṯḥ (?) wz (?) . . . . . ke (?)[2] a . . . . ʾbṯ 4 ʾḫe ʿlq krkr[3] 6[00+], [14]9 qṭ 5

tp pr ss [1 a·ʾn-w] a ḥry · [krkr . ., 149 qṭ 5	ḥṭ(?) [wz(?)]	krkr [609]
ss 1 a·ṯ[-w a ḫry] · [krkr] 9, 56 qṭ 5	[ṯmṭ(?)]	krkr 6[18], 56 qṭ 5
ss 2 a·ʾn-w a ḥry · krkr (1)9, 56 qṭ 5	ḥṭ [wz]	krkr 5[99]
(5) ss 2 a·ṯ-w a ḫry · krkr (10), 198 qṭ 5	ṯmṭ[4]	krkr 609, 198 qṭ 5
ss 3 a·ʾn-w a ḥry · krkr (1)5, 198 qṭ 5	ḥṭ wz[5]	krkr 5[9]4
ss 3 a·ṯ-w a ḫry · krkr (40), 225 qṭ 5	ṯmṭ	krkr 554, 225 qṭ 5
ss 4 a·ʾn-w a ḥry · krkr (30), 225 qṭ 5	ḥṭ wz	krkr 524
ss 4 a·ṯ-w a ḫry · krkr 6, 100	ṯmṭ	krkr 530, 100
(10) ss 5 a·ʾn-w a ḥry · krkr 86, 100	ḥṭ wz	krkr 444
ss 5 a·ṯ-w a ḫry · krkr 1, 142 qṭ 5	ṯmṭ	krkr 44[5], 142 qṭ 5
ss 6 a·ʾn-w a ḥry · krkr 26, 142 qṭ 5	ḥṭ wz	krkr 4[19]
ss 6 a·ṯ-w a ḫry · krkr . ., [20?]7 qṭ 5	ṯmṭ	krkr 42[0+, 20?]7 [qṭ 5]
[ss 7 a·ʾn-w a ḥry · krkr . . ., 20?7 qṭ 5	ḥṭ wz	krkr 424]

(B) ss [7 a·ṯ]-w a ḫry · krkr 42, 231	ṯmṭ	krkr 466, 231
ss [8 a·]ʾn-w a ḥry[·] krkr 17, 231	ḥṭ wz	krkr 449
ss 8 a·ṯ-w a ḫry · krkr 38, 11 qṭ 5	ṯmṭ	krkr 487, [1]1 qṭ 5
ššt·t[6] ḥṭ (?)[7] ss 6 · krkr 5,	ḥṭ wz[8]	krkr 482, 1[1 qṭ] 5
(5) ss 9 a·ʾn-w a ḥry · krkr 23, 11 qṭ 5	[ḥṭ] wz	krkr 459
ss 9 a·ṯ-w a ḫry · krkr 3, 153	ṯmṭ	krkr 462, 153
ss 10 a·ʾn-w a ḥry · krkr 3, 153	ḥṭ wz	krkr 459
ss 10 a·ṯ-w a ḫry · krkr 1, 198	ṯmṭ	krkr 460, 198

[1] Hardly *ḫṭ*, which seems to be written differently, see note 7. The peculiar hand makes decipherment of the symbols difficult.

[2] The first fragment as mounted and photographed overlaps the second from top to bottom. Apparently about ·03 cm. is hidden, cutting off signs especially in the groups (1)9, (10), (1)5, (40), (30) in ll. 4–8.

[3] That this ligature represents *krkr* ϭιπϭωρ 'talent' (300 teben) is best shown in this papyrus by the sum in G/3–4, where 23 teben and 1 stater from 1 *krkr*, 6 teben and 4 staters leave 283 teben and 3 staters.

[4] Some word like 'total' is to be expected.

[5] A conjectural reading of the group (meaning 'balance'?) which occurs in every alternate line.

[6] Cf. ϣωϣτ, impedire.

[7] Looks like or but seems to represent *ḫṭ*, *ḫṭ ṯbn* (?) in this papyrus: cf. U/7, 8 where *ḫṭ* (?) *wṯḥ*? is followed by *ḫmt wṯḥ* (?).

[8] Written over *ṯmṭ*.

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	ss 11 a·ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr 41, 198	ḥṭ wz	krkr 419
(10)	ss 11 a·ṯ-w a ḥry ·	255 qṭ 5	ṭmṭ	krkr 419, 2[5]5 qṭ 5
	ss 12 a·ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr 5, 255 qṭ 5	ḥṭ wz	krkr 414
	ss 12 a·ṯ-w a ḥry ·	krkr 6, 271	ṭmṭ	krkr 420, 271
	[ss 13 a·ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr . ., 271	ḥṭ wz	krkr . . . .]
	[ss 13 a·ṯ-w a ḥry .	krkr . ., 290 qṭ 5	ṭmṭ	krkr 423, 290 qṭ 5]
(C)	ss 14 [a·]ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr 29, 290 qṭ 5	ḥṭ wz	krkr 394
	ss 14 [a·]ṯ-w a ḥry ·	krkr 3, 52 qṭ 5	ṭmṭ	krkr 397, 52 qṭ 5
	ss 15 a[·ʾn]-w a ḥry ·	krkr 38, 52 qṭ 5	ḥṭ wz	krkr 359
	ss 15 a[·ṯ]-w a ḥry ·	krkr 2, 186	ṭmṭ	krkr 361, 186
(5)	ss 16 [a·ʾn-w] a ḥry ·	krkr 2, 186	ḥṭ wz	[krkr] 359
	ss 16 a·ṯ-w [a] ḥry ·	krkr 60, 148	ṭmṭ	krkr 419, 148
	ss 17 a·ʾn[-w a] ḥry ·	krkr 10, 148	ḥṭ wz	krkr 409,
	ss 17 a·ṯ-w a ḥry ·	krkr 33, 140	ṭmṭ	krkr 442, 140
	ss 18 a·ʾn[-w] a ḥry ·	krkr 68, 140	ḥṭ wz	krkr 374
(10)	ss 18 a·ṯ[-w] a ḥry ·	krkr 1, 7 qṭ 5	ṭmṭ	krkr 375, 7 qṭ 5
	ss 19 a·ʾn[-w] a ḥry ·	krkr 11, 7 qṭ 5	ḥṭ wz	krkr 364
	ss 19 a·ṯ[-w] a ḥry ·	krkr 7, 219	ṭmṭ	krkr 371, 219
	ss 20 [a·ʾn-w] a ḥry ·	krkr 7, 219	ḥṭ wz	[krkr 36]4
	[ss 20 a·ṯ-w a ḥry ·	krkr 4, 170	ṭmṭ	krkr 368, 170 qṭ 5]
(D)	ss 21 a·ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr 24, 170 qṭ 5	ḥṭ wz	krkr [344]
	ss 21 a·ṯ-w a ḥry ·	krkr 5, 1[05] qṭ 5	ṭmṭ	krkr 3[49,] 105[1] qṭ 5
	ss 22 a·ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr 5, 105 [qṭ 5]	ḥṭ wz	krkr 3[4]4
	ss 22 a·ṯ-w a ḥry ·	krkr 18, 239	ṭmṭ	krkr 3[62], 239
(5)	ss 23 a·ʾn-[w a] ḥry ·	krkr 13, 239	ḥṭ wz	krkr [349]
	ss 23 a·ṯ-w [a ḥr]y ·	krkr 2, 22[8 ?]	ṭmṭ	krkr 351, [228 ?]
	ss 24 a·ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr 22, 228 (?)	ḥṭ wz	krkr 329
	ss 24 a·ṯ-w a ḥry ·	krkr 14, 83	ṭmṭ	krkr 343, 83
	ss 25 a·ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr 4, 83	ḥṭ wz	krkr 339
(10)	ss 25 a·ṯ-w a ḥry ·	krkr 59, 173 (?)	ṭmṭ	krkr 398, 173
	ss 26 a·ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr 4, 173	ḥṭ wz	krkr 394
	ss 26 a·ṯ-w a ḥry ·	krkr 2, 1[40]	ṭmṭ	krkr 400[+] (*sic*)
	ss 27 a·ʾn-w [a] ḥry ·	krkr 12, 140	ḥṭ wz	krkr . . .
	ss 27 [a·ṯ-w a ḥry] ·	krkr 2, . . .	ṭmṭ	[krkr . . .]
(15)	[ss 28 a·ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr . ., . . .	ḥṭ wz	krkr . . .]
	[ss 28 a·ṯ-w a ḥry ·	krkr . ., . . .	ṭmṭ	krkr . . .]
(E) (1)	ss 29 a·ʾn-w a ḥry ·	krkr 10 (?) . . .	(2) ḥṭ wz	krkr 344 (?)
(3)	ss 29 a·ṯ-w a ḥ(ry)[2] ·	krkr 32, [40 ?]	(4) ṭmṭ	krkr 376, 40 (?)
(5)	ss ʿlq a·ʾn-w ·	krkr 7, [40 ?]	(6) ḥṭ wz	krkr 369
(7)	ss ʿlq a·ṯ-w .	krkr 4, 200+	(8) ṭmṭ	krkr 373, . . .

[1] The tail of the ⟨ has been omitted.

[2] *ḥ* is an abbreviation for *ḥry* used in *Pap. Mag. L. L.*

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(2) recto, cols. F–K (F in Pl. LXXX; F, G, H, J in Pl. LXXXI; K lost).

(F)	ḥ-sp 3·t tp pr . . . . . a . . . . ʾbṭ 4 ʾḫe ʿlq ḥṭ wṯḥ k[rkr . . . . stt]r 4·t			
	tp pr ss 1 a·ʾn[-w a ḥry]	ḥṭ wṯḥ[1] krkr 1, 12 sttr 2·t	ḥṭ wz[1]	ḥṭ [wṯḥ . . . . stt]r 2·t
	ss 1 a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ 49 sttr 1·t	ṯmṭ	ḥṭ [wṯḥ . . . . stt]r 3·t
	ss 2 a·ʾn-w a ḥry	wš·w		
(5)	ss 2 a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ 16	ṯmṭ	ḥṭ wṯḥ . . . . [stt]r 3·t
	ss 3 a·ʾn-w [a ḥry]	wš·w		
	ss 3 a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ 12 sttr 2·t	ṯmṭ	ḥṭ wṯḥ 200 [+]
	ss 4 a·ʾn-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ 11 sttr 2·t	ṯmṭ	ḥṭ wṯḥ 214 sttr 4·t
	ss 4 a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ wš	ššt·t	ḥṭ wṯḥ 23 sttr 1·t
(10)	ss 5 a·ʾn-w a ḥry	wš·w		
	ss 5 a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ 31 sttr . . .		ḥṭ wṯḥ 200 [+ sttr] 2·t
	ss 6 a·ʾn-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ 10 sttr 1·t	ḥṭ wz	ḥṭ wṯḥ 230 [+]
	ss 6 a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ		ḥṭ wṯḥ 200 [+]
	[ss 7 a·ʾn-w a ḥry	. . . . .		. . . . . .]
(G)	ss 7 a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ 59 (?)		ḥṭ wṯḥ 287 sttr 1·t
	ss 8 a·ʾn-w a ḥry	ḥṭ [wṯḥ 2 sttr 3·t ?]	ḥṭ wz	ḥṭ wṯḥ 284 sttr 3·t
	ss 8 a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ . . [sttr] 1·t	ṯmṭ	ḥṭ wṯḥ krkr 1[2], 6 sttr 4·t
	ššt ḥṭ ss 4	ḥṭ wṯḥ [23 stt]r 1·t[3]	ḥṭ wz	ḥṭ wṯḥ 283 sttr 3·t
(5)	ss 9 a·ʾn-w a ḥry	[wš·w]		
	ss 9 a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ	ṯmṭ	ḥṭ wṯḥ krkr 1, 32 sttr 3·t
	ss 10 a·ʾn-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ . . [sttr 1] t	ḥṭ wz	ḥṭ wṯḥ 282 sttr 2·t
	ss 10 a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ 30 [+] sttr 1·t	ṯmṭ	ḥṭ wṯḥ krkr 1 . . .
	ss 11 a·ʾn[-w] a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ 30 [+]	ḥṭ wz	ḥṭ wṯḥ . . . sttr 3·t
(10)	ss 11 [a·ṯ-w a ḥry]	ḥṭ wṯḥ 30 [+] sttr 2·t	ṯmṭ	ḥṭ wṯḥ . . . sttr 3·t
	ss 12 [a·ʾn-w a ḥry]	wš·w		ḥṭ [wṯḥ]
	ss 12 [a·ṯ-w a ḥry]	ḥṭ wṯḥ		
	[ss 13 a·ʾn-w a ḥry]			
	[ss 13 a·ṯ-w a ḥry]			
(H)	[ss 14 a·ʾn-w] a ḥry	[wš·w]		
	[ss 14 a·ṯ-w a] ḥry	ḥṭ [wṯḥ] 40 (?)		
	[ss 15 a·ʾn-w a] ḥry	[wš·]w		
	[ss 15 a·ṯ-w a] ḥry	ḥṭ [wṯḥ] 52 sttr 1·t		
(5)	[ss 16 a·ʾn-w a] ḥry	[ḥṭ wṯḥ] 19		
	[ss 16 a·ṯ-w a] ḥry	[ḥṭ wṯḥ] 92 sttr 1·t		
	[ss 17 a·ʾn-w a] ḥry	. . .		
	ss 17 [a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ wṯḥ] 12 sttr . .[4]		
	ss 18 [a ʾn-w a ḥry]	wš		
(10)	ss 18 [a·ṯ-w a ḥry	ḥṭ] wṯḥ 12 sttr 1·t		

[1] Conjectural reading, see p. 292, note 4.

[2] Changed from 300.

[3] See day 4.

[4] The fragment on which these entries are may be from another column: see the verso, U/11 et seqq.

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[ss 19] [ḥṭ] wṭḥ 33 sttr
[ss 19]
[ss 20]

(J) [ss 20 . . . . .] ḥt wṭḥ
[ss 21 . . . . .] ḥṭ wṭḥ 100 [+]
[ss 21 . . . . . s]ttr 2·t ḥṭ wz ḥṭ wṭḥ
[ss 22 wš·w]
[ss 22 . . . ḥṭ wṭḥ
[ss 23] ṭmṭ ḥṭ wṭḥ
[ss 23 stt]r 1·t
ss 24
ss 24
ss 25
ss 25

[K. entirely destroyed.]

(3) verso, cols. L–U (all in Pl. LXXXII).

(L)
krkr 15
100
90
22

(M)
krkr 5
krkr 2, 9
. . .[1]
1 (?)
(5) 4 qṭ 5
krkr[2] 5

(*blank space*)

krkr 15 200 [+]
krkr 12 12 qṭ [5]
krkr 3 190 [+]

(N)
. . .
20
18
2 qṭ 5
(5) krkr 1 33 [qṭ] 5
1 qṭ 5
22 qṭ 5
krkr 1, 125
10
(10) 290
264
krkr 1, 100 (?)
200
131 qṭ 5
(15) 88
150

(O)
. . .
15 (?)
115
20
(5) 10
25
10
qṭ 5
krkr 1, 10
(10) 22
krkr 1
½ qṭ 2½
75
175

(P)
krkr 5
krkr 4, 200
krkr 2, 40[3]
72 qṭ 5

(Q)
krkr[4] 32
krkr 3, 200
krkr 1, 110
32

(R)
krkr 4, . 00
krkr . ., . 00
. . . .
110 [+ . . .]
(5) 130 [+ . . .][5]

[1] Another ligature for *krkr*; or this and the stroke in the next line may together read *nt wš*.
[2] Corrected.
[3] There is an ink dash at some distance below 40 (?), see the facsimile.
[4] Another hand begins at Q. The ligature for *krkr* is the same as in XLII/5, 7.
[5] Other entries including hundreds followed.

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(S)
kr[kr
kr[kr
. . . .
. . . .
(5) 37, 22
31, 242
ḥry krkr 5, 80

(T)
. . . .
krkr 25[1]
krkr 3, 100
krkr 3, 70
(5) 70

(U)[2]
. .
145
. . 8, 4·t
1.3, 4·t
(5) . . .
. . .
ḥṭ wṯḥ 150 sttr . . .
ḥmt wṯḥ 14
. . . .
(10) . . . .
. . . ḫr (?) . . .[3]
. . . ḫr (?) . . .
. . . ḫr (?) . . .
. . . ḫr (?) . . .

(4) verso, cols. W–Y (in Pl. LXXXIII).

(W)
. . .
. . 2
. . . . .
(5) .. 90 (?)
. . .

(X)
. . .
. . .
. . . ψ
. . .
(5) . . .
. . .
. . .
. . . δ
. . . δ
(10) . . .

(Y)
. . .
. . .
. . .
. . .
(5) . . .
ρξθι
ξι . .
βεαν
νβεσκ
μδο
. . ν . .
ωντβ, τε (?)
/ ρμ

PAP. No. XLI. Farming agreement. Pl. LXXXIII. Translated, above, p. 166.

(2) mḥ-w n ne-w pr . . . . . ʾr-w yp nb wy[ʿ] . . . . . .

(3) p ḫw p nt ḫt n n yḥ nt ḥry n p šm ḫ-sp 23 aʾr-k tn (?)[4] [ʾrṭb sw 5] te-w pš sw $2\frac{1}{2}$ a ʾrṭb sw 5 ʿn [a st 1 yḥ a ḫ p nt sḫ ḥry][5]

(4) mte-k ʾp(-w ?) aʾr-k ḫn p ʾrṭb sw $187\frac{1}{2}$ nt ḥry p sw [nt ?][6] e-f ʾr n-k ʾsw (?) ʿy ḫn p ʾrṭb sw $187\frac{1}{2}$ nt ḥry

[1] Corrected from 23.

[2] Col. U consists of two fragments, both of which are printed upside down on Pl. LXXXII and should be reversed. The recto of the first fragment is the upper left-hand fragment of H, the last but one to the left in Pl. LXXXI.

[3] On this separate fragment the writing seems to be the reverse way so that it reads correctly as it stands in the plate; the principal sign repeated in it may be 𓉔 for the corn measure *ḫr*. The recto of this fragment is the lower left-hand fragment of H in Pl. LXXXI.

[4] Perhaps the same word in Ros., l. 9, *pe-w ỉn n ʾr wʿb* = το τελεστικον (sc. των ιερων), DITTENBERGER, *OGIS.*, i. p. 151, and I Kham. 3/16.

[5] The tails of 1 and *sḫ ḥry* are visible, cf. l. 7.

[6] A narrow piece may be missing at the join.

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(5) mte-y mḥ-w nʾm-w n p[e ?] rm nmḥ ḥ-sp 23 ʾbṭ 2 šm ʿlq e-y (?) tm (?) mḥ-k nʾm-w n ḥ-sp 23 ʾbṭ 2 šm ʿlq mte n yḥ p ḥtr nt ḥry ḫp

(6) e-w sḥn·w n-k ṯ . . . . ḥ-sp 23 a ḥ-sp 24 a ḥry nte-k sk ʾsḫ ḫn-w mte-k ʾp p šm p yḥ nt eʾr-k

(7) sk-f n šs (?) aʾr-k ḫr-[rn]p (?) tn (?) ʾrṯb sw 5 a st 1 yḥ a ḫ p nt sḫ [ḥr]y mte-k ṯ te-w pš pr . . . . nt nb (?) nt e-w ḫp

(8) ḥr (?) n yḥ nte ʾr-k ʾsḫ-w ḫr-rnp erme p gr (?) p . . . . . pr·t erme ne-k yp·w n wyʿ nte-k ṯ

(9) . . . . . [š ?]gr nt pḥ a ḥr-f (?) ḫr[1] nb . . . . ne-w (?) sw·w (?) nt ḥry erme pe-w šm tn (?) sw 20 n p ḥṭ (?)[2] ḫr-rnp

(10) ṯ ḥ-sp 24 tp ʾḥ ss 1 . . . .[3] šʿ-te-y mḥ-k nʾm-w erme pe-w šm ṯ ḥ-sp 24 [tp] ʾḥ ss 1 a ḥry a ḫ p nt sḫ ḥry nte-y ṯy (?) wy

(11) ne-k (?) . . . . w yḥ šr (?) . . . . . rm nb p t aʾr-k p šm (?) p ḫw n (?) nt ḥṭ n n yḥ·w nt ḥry [ḫr ?] rnp (?) n pe rm nmḥ nte-k mḥ-w (?) n

(12) t mṭ Pr-ʿo n n yḥ [nte] ʾr-k sk-w . . . ḫr-rnp (?) erme pe-w . . . . n pe-k . . . . nte-k mḥ [t mṭ] Pr-ʿo n yḥ

(13) nt eʾr-k ʾsḫ-w . . . . . [ʾw]ṯ-y erme-k . . . . . te-n pš (?) a ḥr-n erme pe-w . . . . . [ḫr]-rnp

(14) p sw 200 ḥṭ wṯḥ (?) p s . . . . . nt ḥry ḫr-rnp [n ?]te-y mḥ-w pe rm nmḥ e bn-p-y [ʿš ?]

(15) m-s-k n nk p t . . . . . ne (?)-w šm·w . . . . n-aʾr-f mte-k qʿ n yḥ nt ḥry a[ḥr ?]-y ʾbṭ 2 šm ʿlq mte-k (?) . . . .

(16) . . . . . n sw·w [nt ḥry er]me pe-w šm·w nt ḥry e bn . . . . . e bn e rḥ

(17) . . . . .

On the verso are names, &c., in four columns.

(verso A)

P-aṭe-Mn pa (?)[4] P-aṭe-ʾS (?) ḥmt (?) $\frac{3}{5}$ (?)[5]
Wrš-nfr ḥṭ (?) qṭ (?) 2·t (?)
pe-w (?) lyn
(5) Wn-nfr . . .
Ḥwn[6] (sy) P-aṭe-Mn
Hry·w ḥṭ qṭ $\frac{1}{3}$ (?)

P-tltl 11 (?)
. . . . .
(10) . . p-bk
. . . . (sy) Pa- . .
P-aṭe-Mn (sy) Twt
. . . . . .

[1] 'as,' cf. Boh. ⲥⲁ, Stern, §§ 545(7), 483.

[2] Or ʾrṭḃ.

[3] No trace of the tail of *ḥry*, though [*a ḥry*] seems the probable reading.

[4] The sign of (masculine) filiation is regularly omitted in this list as in the Roman papyri below. Perhaps ci- or na- was read, but possibly the father's name was constructed as a direct genitive on the analogy of the Greek. In this instance we may have *pa-* expressed, but the reading is very doubtful.

[5] Apparently $\frac{3}{5}$ obol.

[6] Hune = Ουης, Berl. 3116, 2/24, 25 = Cas. 3/10.

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(B)

. . . . . .
P-trtl (sy) Pa-n-Nḫt·w
Wrš-nfr (sy) P-a·ṭe-Mn 37 (?)
(5) P-a·ṭe-Mn (sy) . . . .
. . . . . .

(C) . . .
. . .
. . 2
30 .

P- . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
(10) . . . .
. . . . . .
p mr-šn

(D) P rm p zwz 20
. . 9?
. . .
. . .
(5) . . .
. . . . $1\frac{1}{3}$

PAP. No. XLII. Marriage contract. Pl. LXXXIII. Translated, above, p. 167.

(1)
(2) ḫr]ṯ·w nt e'r-t ms·t-w n-y mte-y ṯy (?) n-t bṭ (?) . . . . . .
(3) . . . . ṯ ḥt a t wz·t n pe·t šs (?) ḥbs . . . .
(4) . . . . . s-ḥm·t a ḥr-t e-y ṯy n-t ḥṭ 10 a (?) s[ttr 50 . . .
(5) . . . . [ḥm]t (?) wtḥ ḥbs (?) ḥṭ krkr 10 te-w pš ḥṭ krkr 5 a ḥṭ [krkr 10 ʿn . . .
(6) . . . ḥṭ krkr 10 n ḥmt 24 qṭ 2 nb ḫm . . .
(7) . . [kr]kr 10 te-w pš ḥṭ krkr 5 a ḥṭ krkr 10 ʿn . . . .
(8) . . . hp nt ḥry wʿ (?) hw ḫn hw . . . .
(9) . . . . . ḥmt 24 qṭ 2 pe-t nb ḫm . . . .

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ROMAN PAPYRI FROM DIMÊ. Nos. XLIV, XLV

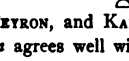
PAPYRUS OF THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS.

PAP. No. XLIV. 29 A. D. Sale of a house, consisting of (A) agreement for sale and (B) cession, in demotic, and (C) abstract with signatures, in Greek (p. 171). The verso blank. Pl. LXXXIV. Translation, above, p. 169.

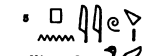
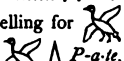
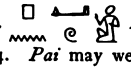
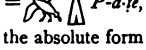
(A. 1) [ḥ-sp 15·t tp šm] ss 19 Tybrwys Qysrws Sbst (2) [p ntr p šr p ntr z s-ḥm·t Hry·]w s·t n Rhs[1] mw·t-s Ta-P-a·ṭe-Sbk e-s z wʿ r n (3) [s-ḥm·t Hys]rʿ[2] s·t n Wn-nfr mw·t-s Hry·w te šr·t ṭe-t (4) [mty ḥt-y n sw]n ty tʾ·t [2·t] ḥn tʾ·t 5·t tʾ·t 2·t ʿn py ʿy nt qṭ e-f n (5) [grg[3] sy sbe e-f] whm ḥ·t 2·t[4] ḥnʿ pe-f ʾnḥ nt ʾr n-f ybt e wn wʿ·t ry·t qṭ (6) [ḥn-f ḥnʿ n-nt nb nt ḥn-f e-]f n wš pš [nt ḥr ·t] ʾwe·t ʾmnt ṭmy n Sbk t my·t (7) [n Sbk nb Pa-y[5] p ntr ʿo nt ḥr p] ʿṭ[6] mḥt [t] ḥny·t Me-wr[7] nt ḥn t tʾ·t (8) [Hyrqy (*sic*) p tš

[1] = Λαουσις: note the absence of the distinctive mark of *l* in these papyri, no doubt due to the Faiyumic ⲗ for ⲣ, which appears occasionally in the Greek, especially in No. XLV. The name Λαουσις seems new. Cf. the crocodile *R-ḥs* in the Faiyûm papyrus, Boul. no. 2.

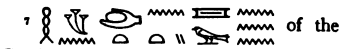
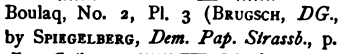
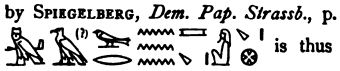
[2] Ισαρους, not rare in the Faiyûm; *BGU.*, i, ii, KENYON, ii.

[3] This word, replacing the Ptolemaic *mḥ* in Roman house sales, must read  σωρϣ: ϫωρϫ, 'fill,' 'furnish,' 'prepare,' PEYRON, and KABIS, *Ä.Z.*, 14/86. SPIEGELBERG's reading *wrm* agrees well with some instances, but the form of the signs is very variable; cf. *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 7057/4, 7058 *b*/5, 6857/4, 7054 *a*/6, *b*/6. The *n*(?) preceding is probably to fill the end of the line and not to be read.

[4] Excellently read and explained by SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 45, comparing ⲟⲩⲁϩⲁⲓⲉ and ⲥⲉ.

[5]  (-Παιος), probably an unetymological spelling for  (see p. 168); cf.  *Pa-ṭe* =  *P-a·ṭe*, Πατης, p. 279, note 4. *Paï* may well be the absolute form of the word seen in ΠΙ-ΛΑΚ, Πι-τοβ.

[6] So SPIEGELBERG, l. c. In XLV it is written differently from *šṭ* in *Nfr-ʾr-šṭy-t*. *ʿṭ* is rendered ηπειρος in Ros., l. 12, where it is opposed to *p ym*; similarly Kufi, 14/22. A somewhat different meaning is seen in the idiom *p ʿṭ 2 n ḫfṭ-ḥ*, Can. 52 = αμφοτερων μερων του δρομου and *p ʿṭ rs n ḫfṭ-ḥr*, *Rev. Ég.*, ii, Pl. 31. Cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Ä. Z.*, 37/29.

[7]  of the Faiyûm papyrus, Boulaq, No. 2, Pl. 3 (BRUGSCH, *DG.*, p. 155), as noted by SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 45. The demotic  is thus an unetymological spelling for  . This name *Mr-wr* means 'Great Channel,' 'Great Canal' in the older language. It is not found before the New Kingdom, and is then written as if it were the name of a town or district, not a canal or lake. It lay in or near the Faiyûm, and was apparently the centre of its fish-trade in the XIXth dynasty, *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. XL, l. 26. The name was undoubtedly due to the canal upon which the town or district lay, either the main canal leading from the Nile valley to Lake Moeris or a branch of it. Whether the canal itself was known by the same name to the natives is not clear. In the demotic also Me-wêr has the determinative of a town; but if, as is quite possible, it refers to the canal, it would furnish another instance of the addition of a current expression, *ḥny·t* for 'canal,' to the obsolete word *mr* 'canal,' just as *t-my* 'the island' was apparently added to the obsolete *P-ỉy* (and *ỉy* to *wṭ-wr* in the title, p. 301 (*c*)), both *Mr-wr* and *P-ỉy* being at the same time unetymologically spelt. The town continued to be known as Μνηρις (with temple of Ammon) in early Ptolemaic times (MAH.-SM.). Μοιρις is only another form, traditional or literary, of the same name, but it may rather be used for the canal. Prof. SPIEGELBERG has remarked to the writer that the lake is not named *Mr-wr* in Egyptian texts [see id., *Ä. Z.*, 43/84]. In them it is referred to as *Šy* 'Lake,' *Wȝḏ-wr* 'Great Green' (see below), &c., while the land about it was *Tȝ-šy*. The Greek population called it Λιμνη (*Rev. Pap.*) and Greek travellers and historians Μοιριδις or Μοιριος λιμνη. Neither *Šy-wr* nor *Mr-wr* was a term confined to this locality: they occur also amongst the marsh-lands of the north of the Delta, see BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géog.*, s. vv. Hence, perhaps, the careful definition of Μοιρις (τη προς Πτολεμαιδι Ενεργετιδι τ. Αρ. ν.) in the wordy legal

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ʾ]Rsynᶜ[·t nt e] n ḥe·w py ᶜy erme py ʾnḫ nt ḥry ʾr mḥ ntr (9) [(*blank*?) pr-rs pr-mh·t ḥr ḫ] mḥ ntr (*blank*) [pr-]ʾmnt pr-ybt [n] hyn·w py ᶜy erme py ʾnḫ nt ḥry (10) [rs p ᶜy Tše-nfr (sy) P-Rᶜ (?)-mn (?)] . . .[1] nt ḫr [ne-f ḫr]ṯ-w erme p ᶜy erme p ʾnḫ s-ḥme·t Ta-ʾS te·t (11) [sn·t mḥt py myt] pr nt eʾr-t pr ar-f mte-t wn r ar-f ʾmnt p ᶜy n (12) [s-ḥm·t Ta-s·t s·t n Pa-Ne·nfr-ʾmy[2] ybt p ᶜy erme p ʾnḫ n Tš[3] (sy) Nḫt-nb-f[4] nt ḫr ne-f (13) [ḫrṯ·w a mḥ n ḥe·w erme n hyn·w py ᶜy erme py ᶜnḫ] nt e te·t tʾ·t 2·t ḫn tʾ·t 5·t ḫn-f (14) . . . . . p yt] t mw·t [p] sn t [sn·t] p šr t šr·t p šm t (15) [šm·t[5] p hy t ḥm·t] . . . . . ṯy wy-f a[ḥr]-t ḥt ʾt mne (16) [mte-y ṯy wᶜb-f n-t a sḫ nb wpy nb] . . . . . mṯ nb p t ṯ? (17) [p hw a ḥry šᶜ z·t sḫ] . . . . . .

(B. 1) ḥ-sp 15·t tp šm (?) ss 19 Tybrwys Qysrws Sbst p ntr p šr p ntr

(2) z s-ḥm·t Hry·w s·t n Rhs mw·t-s Ta-P-a·ṭe-Sbk e-s z wᶜ r n s-ḥm·t (3) Hysryᶜ s·t n Wn-nfr mw·t-s Hry·w

te šr·t te-y ww a ḥr-t n te-t (4) tʾ·t 2·t ḫn tʾ·t 5·t tʾ·t 2·t ᶜn py ᶜy nt qṭ e-f grg sy sbe e-f whm n (5) ḫ·t 2·t ḫnᶜ pe-f ʾnḫ nt ʾr n-f ybt nte wn wᶜ·t ry·t qṭ ḫn-f ḫnᶜ n-nt[6] nb nt ḫn-f (6) e-f n wš pše nt ḥr t ʾwe·t ʾmnt·t ṭmy n Sbk t my n Sbk nb Pa-y (7) p ntr ᶜo nt ḥr p ᶜṭ (?) mḥt t ḫny Me-wr [nt] ḫn t tʾ·t Hyrqy (8) n (?) tš ʾRsynᶜ·t nt e n ḫy·w py ᶜy erme py ʾnḫ nt ḥry ʾr mḥ ntr (*blank*) (9) pr-rs pr-mḥ·t ḥr ḫ mḥ ntr (*blank*) pr-ʾmnt pr-ybt n hyn·w py ᶜy erme py ʾnḫ nt ḥry (10) rs p ᶜy Tše-nfr[7] (sy) P-Rᶜ (?)-mn (?) nt ḫr ne-f ḫrṯ·w erme p ᶜy erme p ʾnḫ s-ḥme·t Ta-ʾS (11) te·t sn·t mḥt py [m̀]yt pr nt e-t wn r a[r-f] mte-t pr ar-f ʾmnt (12) p ᶜy s-ḥme·t Ta-s·t s·t n Pa-Ne·nfr-ʾmy ybt p ᶜy erme p ʾnḫ n (13) Tš (sy) Nḫt-nb-f nt ḫr ne-f ḫrṯ·w a mḥ n ḥe·w erme n hyn[·w] py ᶜy erme py ʾnḫ (14) nt e te·t tʾ·t 2·t ḫn tʾ·t 5·t nt ḥry ḫn-f aʾ·n-t n tʾ·t-y (?) a-ṭb ḥṭ e-y [ʾr] n-t sḫ (15) e-ṭb ḥṭ sḫ wᶜy ar-w ḥ-sp 15 tp šm ss 19 nt ḥry mte-y (?) ʾr n-t p hp[8] p sḫ wᶜy nt ḥry (16) p bl p hp p sḫ e-ṭb ḥṭ a mḥ sḫ 2 aʾr-y n-t ar-w mte-y ʾr n-t pe-w hp ḥt ʾt mne

The Greek text C is printed above, p. 171.

documents. Πτολ. Ευεργ. is placed by GRENFELL, HUNT, and SMYLY at Illahun (*Tebt.*, p. 410); can Μοιρις (*η παρεγγυς φρουρουμενη*, ibid.) have been near the New Kingdom fort (?) *pr ḫnt* of *Mr-wr*, often mentioned in texts from Gurob, opposite Illahun on the south of the canal (*Kahun Pap.*, p. 95; LOAT, *Gurob*, Pl. XVII, 3), where there was likewise the worship of Ammon (cf. Μνηρις, above)? A late hieroglyphic text attributes to (the district? of) *Mr-wr* the worship of Sobk the crocodile god of Crocodilopolis and the Faiyûm in general, BRUGSCH, *Ä. Z.*, 30/68. Μευρις, Μυρις (MAH.-SM., p. 314; WILCKEN, *Archiv*, ii. 147) is a suburb of Crocodilopolis-Arsinoe, and the name is quite distinct from Moeris.

[1] Possibly *P-rᶜ-* . . . or *P-ḥb*.

[2] For *nfr-ʾmy* see SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 18, note 2. There is a son of a Θασης Πανεφρεμμεως in *BGU.*, ii. no. 406, 2/16.

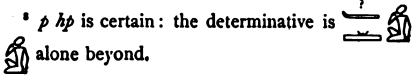
[3] ⲧⲉⲱⲥ = Tᶓ[σ]ης.

[4] *Nḫt-nb-f*. There can be no doubt of the reading of the demotic. In Roman papyri from Dimê the name is generally written Νεστνηφις, but GRENFELL and HUNT, with full knowledge of this fact, were unable to admit a *σ* in restoring the name from the fragmentary original, see p. 171. Hard by at Oxyrhynchus (*Oxyrh.*, i) Νεχθενειβις occurs. The Ptolemaic form Νεχθεναβυς, *BGU.*, iii. 1010, is interesting (cf. the literary Νεκταναβω, &c., for the name of the king), in MAH.-SM. Νεκτενιβις, Νεχθνιβις, &c. The name must have been pronounced variously Neshtnêbf, Nekhtnêbf, Nekhtnîbf, Nekhtnabf, &c. The endings *-νιβις*, &c., are no doubt for **-νιβφις*, &c., while *-υς*, *-ω* attempt to represent the *-q*. [Cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/183.]

[5] ⲙⲟⲁⲁ, ⲙⲱⲁⲁⲉ denoting father- and mother-in-law, as well as son- and daughter-in-law. *šm* is rendered οικειος in *Dem. Pap. Berl.*, 3116, 4/5, 6/26 = Cas., 7/6, 14/3. The list is restored from Berl., no. 6857, l. 14.

[6] The *n* may indicate the pronunciation n̄τ- (?), not ετ- for *nt*; on the other hand n̄- is weak in Faiyumic.

[7] Τεσενουφις, also Θεσενουφις, MAH.-SM., &c.

[8] *p ḥp* is certain: the determinative is  as against alone beyond.

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PAPYRUS OF THE REIGN OF CLAUDIUS.

PAP. No. XLV. 43 A. D. Sale of a house, consisting of (A) agreement for sale and (B) cession, in demotic, and (C) abstract with signatures, in Greek, followed by (D) a loan in Greek. The verso blank. Pl. LXXXV. For the Greek texts see above, pp. 174 et seqq. Translation, above, p. 173.

(A. 1) ḥ-sp 2·t p ʾbṭ p ntr ʾbṭ 4 šm ss 22 [Tb]ers [Qrw]ts [Qysrs] (2) Sbsts Qrmnqs e·ʾr ʾr (?)[1] mḥ [p ntr p šr] p ntr

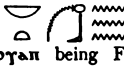
z nb wʿb (3) ḥry šy wṭ-[wr] n-nfr-ʾr-šty·t[2] St[-t (?)-w]t (sy) Pa-ne(-nfr)-ʾm[y] (4) mw·t-f

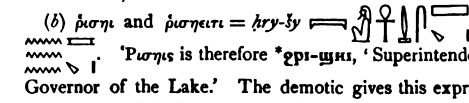
[1] There is certainly some word between *e·ʾr* and *mḥ*. The spelling in this papyrus is wretchedly bad and variable, and the writing, always peculiar at this time, is here fantastic.

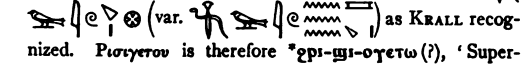
[2] The equivalent of these titles in the Greek translations was pointed out by SPIEGELBERG, *Dem. Pap. Strassb.*, p. 44, note 5, and has been usefully discussed by KRALL, *WZKM.*, xviii. 117 et seqq., but with several errors in his explanation. The forms (WESSELY, *Spec. isagog.*, p. 4) are:

νεβοαπι ρι[σ]ηι ρι[σ]ιγ[ε]του νεφορσατει no. 6
νοιβουαπει ρισειι ρισιγετου νεφορσατι no. 7
νε[β]οαπει ρ[ισ]ηγι ρισιγετο[υ νεφ]ερσαιτι no. 5
νε[ι]βοαπει ρισηειτι ρισιγε[του νεφορσατ]ει ibid., no. 15+16.

It is important to note that in each instance the dative case is required by the context. The facsimiles show that the words are divided as above into four; the first two and the last have dative endings, but not the third; *ρισιγετου* is therefore either treated as indeclinable, which seems unlikely, or it is to be joined in one title with either the preceding or the following word.

(*a*) *νεβοαπει* = *Nb-wʿb*  . Νεβοαπις is therefore **νεβ-ογαπ*, **ογαπ* being Faiyûmic for ογον, sanctus esse, sanctitas.

(*b*) *ρισηι* and *ρισηειτι* = *ḥry-šy*  . Ρισηις is therefore **ϩρι-ϣϣι*, 'Superintendent or Governor of the Lake.' The demotic gives this expression only as part of the longer title in (*c*), while the Greek versions render it as a separate title and then repeat it in the next. It is no doubt the short form of (*c*) in commoner, informal use. The signs read were misunderstood by KRALL and led to a wrong interpretation of the title: they are sometimes omitted, but where they occur (No. XLV, A 4, the Strassburg papyrus and a Vienna papyrus quoted by KRALL) they can be seen to be identical with following *Pr-ʿo* in the common expression *p ḥr Pr-ʿo*.

(*c*) Ρισιγετου = *Ḥry šy Wṭ-wr*, i.e. (*b*) followed by  as KRALL recognized. Ρισιγετου is therefore **ϩρι-ϣι-ογετω* (?), 'Superintendent of the Lake of the Sea.' The vocalization **ογετω* for 'Sea' is probable enough: cf. = cω, = ω; this *wr* , in late Egyptian, is quite differently written in demotic from the same word as pronounced *wér* in the later compounds *Wsr-wr* Οσοροηρις, *Me-wr* Μοιρις, &c. **ογετω* furnishes a fresh instance of a very ancient compound in which the final element has been greatly reduced, which indicates that a different rule of accentuation prevailed in old times: compare the following derivatives from Old-Kingdom masculine compounds:—

ογωνϩ from *wn-ḥr* , but Νεφερως (**νεϥερ-ϩο*) from the later *Nfr-ḥr*.

ϣⲛ̄ⲥ from *šs-šṯn*.

(ϩ)ⲛⲏⲥ from (*Ḥ.ṯ*)-*Nn-šṯn*.

ϩⲟⲛⲧ (*ἐντ-*) from *ḥn-nṯr*, but *nṯr* = ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

ⲙⲛϥⲉ from *Mn-nfr*, but ⲥⲧⲓ-ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ from the later *st-nfr*. (Note that ⲥⲟⲛⲧⲉ, STEINDORFF, *Gramm.*[3], § 134, is hardly from *šṯi-ntr*, but rather from *š-ntr*.)

Although (*c*) is probably to be connected with (*d*) it is separated from it in writing, and is therefore not likely to be compounded with it so as to lose its accent. -γετου might perhaps be explained as **ογωτογ* (cf. ογωνϩ) with the accent gone; but this would rather be written ουτου in Greek, and it seems altogether better to take **ογετω* (?) as the full form. (Is Μνεῦις = Mre-ô, or Mne-û?)

(*d*) *νεφερσατει* = *N-nfr-ʾr-šty·ṯ* var. , &c.), Νεφερσατις therefore represents **νεϥερϣϯ*. The occurs in all the variants, but *N-nfr-ʾr* is probably no more in the orthography of this period than the old *nfr* reinforced by additional groups because its consonants had not been worn away; cf. the spelling of *νεφερεμμις* in this papyrus. *Šṯy* (it can hardly be read *ḥṯy*) might mean many things. The determinative of *Šṯy*, or of the whole expression *Nfr-ʾr-šṯy*, implies a serpent-divinity (perhaps symbolizing a canal) and is followed in some examples by the fem. *ṯ*;

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Ta-n-nfr-ʾr-ʾmy e-f z wʿ r [n] nb wʿb ḥry (5) šy wṯ-wr n-nfr-ʾr-šty·t E-f-ʿnḫ (sy) Pa-ne-nfr (?)-ʾmy (6) mw·t-f Ta-ne-nfr[-ʾr (?)-ʾ]my

mḥ-k t-y ṭe-k mty ḥt-y n (7) swn te tʾ·t 2·t e[-w? pḥ] ar (?)-y ḫn t tʾ·t 7·t pe-n yt py ʿy (8) nt qṯ e-f grg [sy] sbe ḥnʿ pe-f ʾn(ḥ) rs ḥnʿ te·t tʾ·t 2⅓ (?) py (9) py (*sic*) ke ʿy nt wgp[1] a ḫ·t-f e-w ʾr ḥt·t (?)[2] 2·t e-w [ḥr t ʾwe·t?] (10) ybt ṭme Sbk t my Sbk nb Pa-y p ntr [ʿo] ḥr p ʿṭ mḥt (11) t ḥny Me-wr ḫn t tʾ·t Hyrqr[ts p] tš (12) ʾRsne e n ḫe ʾr (?) mḥ ntr n (?) p rs p mḥt [ḥr] (13) ḫ mḥ ntr n (?) p ʾmnt p ybt

n hyn·w p ʿy ḥw·t[3] rs p wrḥ (14) P-rm (?)-ḫr (?)mḥt p ḫr p-Pr-ʿo[4] ʾmnt p myt pr[5] ybt (15) p ʿy Ḥtb . . . . .[6] n hyn p ʿy mḥ-2 rs p ʿy (16) E-f-ʿnḫ (sy) Ḥr mḥt p ʿy E-f-ʿnḫ (p) ʿo erme ne-f sn·w [ʾmnt] (17) p ʿy St-t (?)-wt (sy) Ḥr ybt p ḫr p-Pr-ʿo a mḥ [n] (18) ḫe·w erme n hyn·w ne tʾ·w py (?)[7] ṭr (?)-f . . . . . .

(19) bn-ṭe-y (?)[8] mṭ nb p t arn-k e·ṭb·t-w [n] ṯ p hw[9] a ḥry š-z·t bn-p (?)[10] (20) rḫ rm p t ʾr sḫy nʾm-w bl-k ṯ ne[11] p hw a ḥry š-z·t

(21) p nt e-f ʾy e-ṭb·t-w rn-y e-y ṭy wy-f ar-k ḥt (22) ʾt mn e-y ṭy wʿb (*sic*) n-k sḫ nb wpy nb [mṭ] nb p t ṯ p hw (23) a ḥry š-z·t

sḫ Tš-nfr (?) . . . (sy) St-w (?)-t (?)-wty

(B. 1) ḥ-sp 2·t p [ʾbṭ p ntr ʾbṭ 4 pr (?) 22½] Tbrs Qrwts [Qysrs] (2) [Sbs]ts Q[r]mn[qs e]-ʾr mḥ p ntr p šr p ntr

[z nb wʿb ḥry šy (3) wṯ]-wr n-nfr-ʾr-šty St-w-t-wt (sy) [Pa-n-]nfr-ʾ[my mw·t-f (4) Ta-ne]-nfr-ʾr-ʾmy e-f z wʿ r n [nb wʿb ḥry šy wṯ-wr (5) N-nfr]-ʾr-šty E-f-ʿnḫ (sy) Pa-n·nfr-ʾmy mw·t[-f Ta-n-nfr-ʾr-ʾmy

te-y] (6) wy ar-k te tʾ·t 2·t e-w pḥ·t[12] py ʿy [nt qṯ e-f grg sy] (7) sbe e-f whm ḫ·t 2·t ḥnʿ pe-f ʾn(ḥ) nt ʾr [n-f rs ḥnʿ te tʾ·t 2·t (?) pe ke] (8) ʿy nt [wgp] a ḫ·t-f e-w ʾr ḥty (?) 2·t e-w [ḥr t ʾwe·t (?) ybt ṭme Sbk] (9) t my Sbk nb Pa-y p ntr ʿo ḥr p ʿṭ (?) mḥṭ [t ḥny Me-wr] (10) hn t [tʾ·t H]yrqrts [p] tš ʾRs[yne e n ḫe ʾr mḥ ntr] (11) a (?) p rs p mḥt ḥr ḫ m[ḥ] ntr a (?) p ʾmnt [p ybt

cf. ϣετπογqι as the name of the Canopic branch of the Nile.

In sum, therefore, the Greek forms three (?) or four (?) titles—

(*a*) *νεβοαπις*, 'possessor of sanctity' or 'purity.'

(*b*) *ῥισης, ῥισηεις*, 'governor of the Lake.'

(*c*), (*d*) *ῥισιγεου νεφερσατις*, 'governor of the Lake of the Sea of Nephersatis,' or separately (*c*) 'governor of the Lake of the Sea,' and (*d*) 'good of Shati.'

The demotic gives only two, or three—

(*a*) *nb-wʿb* = *ⲛⲉϧⲟⲩⲟⲡ, 'possessor of sanctity.'

(*b*), (*c*) *ḥry šy wṯ-wr N-nfr-ʾr-šty* = *ϩⲣⲓ-ϣⲓ-ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉϥⲉⲣ-ϣⲁϯ, 'governor of the Lake of the Sea (of?) Nefershati.'

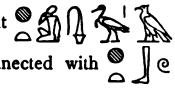
[1] ⲟⲩⲱϣⲡ, subvertere, destruere. Can *wgp a ḫ·t-f* mean 'leaning against it'?

[2] Cf. p. 275, note 7: *σφραγίς* (?).

[3] The parallel in B/12 looks more like *ḥrp* (?) = ϣⲟⲣⲡ.

[4] = ⲡ-ⲉⲣⲟ.

[5] *ισος* (= *εισοδος*) *της κατασκευης*.

[6] *Σαταβου*[*τος . . . . οικιας*]. Probably the father's name was here. Demotic equivalents of *Σαταβους* occur also in the British Museum bilingual (Wessely, *Specimina isagog.*, 1 *a*, l. 2; 1 *b*, ll. 2, 17) but are very variable. In the man's own signature (ibid., l. 17) it is spelt  (cf. *ḫt* 'fire'), but here it seems connected with ⲉ ϣⲱⲧⲙ, obturare.

[7] i. e. ⲛ-ⲛⲓ.

[8] A strange spelling. Possibly the previous line ends with *mn* ⲙⲛ-.

[9] This scribe neglects the usual distinction between ⲛⲟⲟⲩ and ⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ.

[10] The same confusion between *bn-p* ⲙⲛⲉ- and *bn e* ⲛⲛⲉ- is probable in the writing of I Kham. 5/5, &c.

[11] Here and in B/17 we have the 'fehlerhaft' Sahidic form ϫⲓⲛⲉ of Stern, Gram., § 377 ad fin.

[12] = ⲉⲩ-*ⲡⲁϩ-ⲧ (?) the direct acc. with *pḥ* being common in demotic. The parallel in A. l. 7 may be ⲉⲩⲛⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ.

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n hyn·w p ʿy] (12) ḫrp (?) rs p wrḥ P-rm-ḫr (?) mḥt p ḫr [p-Pr-ʿo ʾmnt p myt (?)] (13) pr (?) ybt p ʿy Ḫtbe (sy) . . . . n hy[n·w p ʿy mḥ-2 rs p ʿy E-f-ʿnḫ (sy)] (14) Ḥr mḥt p ʿy E-f-ʿnḫ (sy) St-t(?)-wt [erme ne-f sn·w ʾmnt p ʿy] (15) St-t-wt (sy) Ḥr ybt (p) ḫr [p ?-] Pr-ʿo [a mḥ n ḫe·w erme n hyn·w] (16) py ʿy 2 nt e n tʾ-tw nt ḥry ḫn(-w)[1] ʾr-y sḫ [. . . . . .

(17) ar-k rn-w ṯ ne p hw a ḥry š-z·t . . . . . .

(18) rn-ỹ e-y ṯy wy-f ar-k ḥte ʾt [mne . . . . .

(19) qnby nb hp nb wpy nb mṯ nb . . . . . .

(20) bne rḫ rm p t ʾr sḫy nʾm-w bl-k ṯ p ḥ[w . . . . .

(21) šm šmy·t ḥm·t ʾy ar-k e-ṭb·t-w . . . . .

The Greek text C (with one demotic signature in l. 8) is printed on p. 174.

The Greek text D (with one demotic signature in l. 36) is printed on pp. 175–6.

[1] Cf. XLIV. A/13.

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PART III

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF PAPYRI ADDITIONAL NOTES, ETC. AND INDICES

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DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE DEMOTIC PAPYRI IN THE JOHN RYLANDS COLLECTION

I. PAPYRI FROM EL HÎBEH (TEUZOI)

Reign of Psammetichus I.

I (formerly 2). Sale by Hôr of three priestly offices in the temple of Teuzoi to Essemteu, in Paophi of year 21, c. 643 B.C.

Length 12 ft. 6 in. = 3 m. 48 cm. Height 10¾ in. = 27 cm.

Fine papyrus, brown in colour[1], made up of twelve leaves, each closely 12 inches = 30–32 cm. in length, the first and last imperfect.

The document is complete. Writing on recto only, forming eight pages, which in all cases overlap the joints of the leaves, probably as a precaution against fraud[2]: in the first page (A, B) the overlap on to the first leaf, and in the fourth page (G, H, I) the overlap at the end on to the seventh leaf, are very slight. The spaces between the pages are ¾ to 1 inch = 1·50 to 2·50 cm. wide. 8 inches = 20 cm. now remain of blank papyrus at the end, and 3 inches = 7·5 cm. at the beginning.

The text is the sale (A), followed by fifteen copies (B–Q) of the same under the names of different witnesses[3], and one signature.

Vol. I, Pl. I–VIII (collotypes). Vol. II, Pl. 1–8 (hand-copies). Vol. III, pp. 44–7 (translation), pp. 201–6 (transliteration).

II (formerly 6). Grant by the sacerdotal staff of the temple of Teuzoi of a 'place' in the temple to Essemteu and his two brothers, in Athyr of year 21, c. 643 B.C.

Length 5 ft. 9 in. = 1 m. 75 cm. Height 10¾ in. = 27 cm.

Fine papyrus, brown in colour, made up of seven leaves each closely 12 inches = 30–32 cm. in length; the first and last imperfect.

The document is imperfect at the end. Writing on recto only, forming six pages, which in every case slightly overlap the joints of the leaves—the first page (A, B) at the beginning (very slightly) and the end, on to the first and third leaves, the other pages at the end

[1] All the papyri from El Hîbeh (I–IX) are of this colour, and generally so dark as to obscure the writing. Hand-copies of most of them are provided in Vol. II, in addition to the photographic plates.

[2] See p. 32.

[3] The hand-copies of Vol. II, in which these versions are written parallel to each other, do not pretend to palaeographic accuracy, but will aid the reader in studying the variations of writing and spelling.

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only. The spaces between the pages are $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 in. = 1·50 to 2·50 cm. wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches remain of the blank papyrus at the beginning.

The text is the grant (A), followed by a signature and 11 copies[1] (B–M) under the names of different witnesses.

Vol. I, Pl. IX–XIV. Vol. II, Pl. 8–15. Vol. III, pp. 47–8, 207–9.

Reign of Amasis II.

III (formerly 20). Acknowledgement by a man of servitude to the First prophet of Ammon at Teuzoi, in year 2, c. 568 B.C.

Length $18\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 47 cm. Height 11 in. = 28 cm.

The beginning of the roll is lost, the end perfect. Two leaves remain, each $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. = 19·5 cm. long, including overlap, and half of another.

The left-hand half of the document is complete, with two fragments from the other half. $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. = 14·5 cm. blank at the end. On the back remains of signatures of witnesses.

Vol. I, Pl. XV. Vol. II, Pl. 16. Vol. III, pp. 52, 209.

IV (formerly 18). Transfer of contract of servitude by the First prophet of Ammon [in year 2?].

Length 13 in. = 33 cm. Height $11\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 28·5 cm.

A fragment, imperfect at both ends. Two leaves remain, each 6 in. = 15 cm. long, and part of a third.

The left-hand end of the document is complete, with signatures of witnesses on the back.

Vol. I, Pl. XV, XXII. Vol. II, Pl. 16, 20. Vol. III, pp. 52, 210.

V (formerly 21). Contract of Peftuʿukhons of servitude to Essemteu in Payni of year 2, c. 568 B.C.

Length $22\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 37 cm. Height $10\frac{7}{8}$ in. = 27·5 cm.

Composed of four leaves—*a*. with vertical fibres on the recto, 4 in. = 10 cm.; *b*, *c*. each $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. = 19·5 cm.; *d*. 3 in. = 7·5 cm.

The document is complete, forming one long page with 4 in. = 10 cm. blank at the beginning, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. = 7 cm. blank at the end. On the back the signatures of the witnesses.

Vol. I, Pl. XVI, XXII. Vol. II, Pl. 20 (verso only). Vol. III, pp. 53, 211.

VI (formerly 7). Sale by Peftuʿukhons of himself as slave to Essemteu, in Thoth of year 3, c. 568 B.C.

Length 5 ft. 4 in. = 1 m. 64 cm. Height $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. = 27·5 cm.

Injured throughout. Composed of nine leaves, each about $7–7\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 18–19 cm. + $\frac{1}{2}$ in. of overlap. Of the first leaf only 14 cm. remain; the last is strengthened by a vertical strip of $\frac{3}{4}$ in. = 2 cm.

The writing on the recto forms three long pages, each occupying two leaves, and slightly

[1] Originally 15 as in I (?).

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overlapping a third at the end. Whether the first page overlapped on to the first leaf is uncertain. The space between the pages is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 1 in. = 2–3 cm. wide. Two leaves at the end are blank except for the slight overlap, and one (imperfect) at the beginning. The document is only slightly injured, except that a large piece is lost from the middle of the last page.

The text on the verso is the sale (A), followed by a signature and five copies (B–F) under the names of different witnesses. On the back of the sale (A), the signatures of the witnesses.

Vol. I, Pl. XVII–XIX, XXII. Vol. II, Pl. 17–18, 20. Vol. III, pp. 54, 213.

VII (formerly 28). Contract by Peftuʿukhons of servitude to Essemteu in Choiak of year 8, c. 562 B. C.

Length $21\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 54·5 cm. Height 11 in. = 28 cm.

Roll, injured at the beginning, composed of four leaves of coarse papyrus; of *a* only 1 inch remains, *b–d* are 7 in. = 18 cm. long, including an overlap of $\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 1·25 cm.

The document is complete, with $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 5·5 cm. blank at the end. Names of the witnesses in one column at the back.

Vol. I, Pl. XX, XXII. Vol. II, Pl. 19, 20. Vol. III, pp. 55, 216.

VIII (formerly 23). Sale of a plough-cow to Essemteu in Pachon of year 8, c. 562 B. C.

Length $17\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 44 cm. Height $11\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 28·5 cm.

Apparently perfect, composed of three leaves, each $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 16·5 cm. long, with overlap.

The document is complete, with $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 11 cm. blank at the beginning, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 3 cm. at the end. Names of the witnesses in one column on the back.

Vol. I, Pl. XXI, XXII. Vol. II, Pl. 19, 20. Vol. III, pp. 59, 216.

Reign of Darius I.

IX. The petition of Peteêsi regarding a violent assault made upon him by the priests of the temple of Teuzoi (A), with B. a long narrative showing his hereditary rights in the temple, and the wrongs that he and his fathers had suffered at the hands of the priests, and other documents annexed, namely, C. copies in hieratic of two stelae set up by his ancestor in the temple, and D. songs of Ammon. This petition was apparently addressed to the Satrap in or soon after the 9th year, c. 513 B. C.

Length 13 ft. 9 in. = 4 m. 19 cm. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 26 cm. Composed of 32 leaves, each 5 in. = 12–13 cm. in length. The first has lost $\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 1 cm. of its length at the beginning, and is injured; the last is perfect.

The whole document forms 25 closely-written pages, separated from each other by spaces of $\frac{1}{2}$–1 in. = 1·50–2·50 cm. Of these pages, 14 are on the recto: the first is considerably injured, the remainder have lost but a few signs; 3 in. = 8 cm. are left blank at the beginning and 2 in. = 5 cm. at the end. On the verso are 11 pages beginning from the uninjured end, leaving 3 in. = 8 cm. blank at the beginning and 2 feet = 61 cm. at the end.

Vol. I, Pl. XXIII–XLVII. Vol. II, Pl. 21–42. Vol. III, pp. 60–112 and pp. 218–53.

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II. PAPYRI FROM THEBES

Reign of Alexander IV.

X (formerly 29). Marriage contract of Petekhons and Taêsi in Athyr of year 2, 315 B. C.

Length 30 in. = 76 cm. Height 14 in. = 35·5 cm.

Composed of six leaves, each $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. = 13 cm. long; a leaf lost at the beginning.

The document is complete, the writing occupying only 2 in. = 5 cm. of the height: $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 11·5 cm. are blank at the end. Names of the witnesses in a column on the back. A strip of papyrus with writing has been pasted over a crack in the papyrus at the back immediately above the column of signatures.

Vol. I, Pl. XLVIII. Vol. III, pp. 114, 254.

Reign of Ptolemy I.

XI (formerly 3). Agreement for sale by Peleehe of all his property to the woman Teihôr in Phamenoth of year 21, i. e. apparently 303 B.C. (see Additions).

Length 8 ft. 5 in. = 2 m. 55 cm. Height $15\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 38·5 cm.

Composed of two sheets fastened together. The first is of six leaves, each 8 in. = 20 cm., in addition to which a vertical-fibred leaf at the beginning is followed by a short leaf. The second is of seven leaves, each 5 in. = 13 cm. in length, together with a final leaf. The two are united by a coarse piece composed of two narrow leaves.

The document is complete, and is written in paragraphs arranged so as to overlap each other and not form separate pages[1].

The text consists of the sale (A), followed by four copies (B–E) under the names of different witnesses. On the back of the sale (A), the signatures of the witnesses in a column.

Vol. I, Pl. XLIX–LII and LX. Vol. III, pp. 122, 257.

Reign of Ptolemy II.

XII (formerly 4). Agreement for sale of a house by the above Teihôr to the woman Teiant(?) in Thoth of year 5, 281 B.C.

Length 7 ft. 1 in. = 2 m. 16 cm. Height $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 39 cm.

In the first half it is difficult to detect the joints of the leaves; the second half is composed of nine leaves, each 5 in. = 13 cm. long.

The document is complete. After 4 in. = 10 cm. blank, there is a list of the witnesses in one column (H), followed, after 5 in. = 13 cm. blank, by the sale (A) and six witness-copies (B–G) in overlapping paragraphs. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 22 cm. blank at the end. Names of the witnesses in a column on the back of the sale (A).

Vol. I, Pl. LIII–LVI and LX. Vol. III, pp. 124, 260.

[1] Cf. p. 33.

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XIII (formerly 5). Cession belonging to the last, 281 B. C.

Length 6 ft. 8 in. = 1 m. 78 cm. Height $15\frac{1}{4}$–$15\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 39–39·5 cm.

Composed of 14 leaves, each 5 in. = 13 cm. long; one or more at the beginning torn away.

The document is complete. 2 in. = 5 cm. remain blank at the beginning; 12 in. = 30 cm. at the end. The text consists of A, the 'writing of divestment,' followed by four witness-copies in overlapping paragraphs. Names of the witnesses in a column on the back of A.

Vol. I, Pl. LVII–LIX, LX. Vol. III, pp. 128, 262.

XIV (formerly 14). Cession of the house by Teihôr's father Harsiêsi, 281 B. C.

Length 3 ft. 10 in. = 1 m. 17 cm. Height 16 in. = 40·5 cm.

Composed of five leaves, each $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 19 cm. long, besides one with vertical fibres of the same length at the beginning, with part of another, probably shorter.

The document is perfect, with 12 in. = 30 cm. blank at the end; height of the writing about 2 inches. Names of the witnesses in a column on the back.

Vol. I, Pl. LXI. Vol. III, pp. 128, 263.

III. PAPYRI FROM GEBELÊN (PATHYRIS AND CROCODILOPOLIS)

Reign of Ptolemy VI.

XV (formerly 15, some small fragments G)[1]. Agreement for sale, with Greek docket, and cession, by Siepmû to the woman Kalhib, of half of $9\frac{1}{2}$ aruras of land, in Athyr of year 19, 163 B.C.

Length 2 ft. $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 88 cm. Height $12\frac{1}{4}$–$12\frac{1}{2}$ = 31–32 cm.

Composed of eight leaves, each about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and another broken at the beginning. It is now divided into two sheets mounted separately.

The two documents form two long pages. The first is mutilated at the beginning; the Greek docket is written below it, and the signatures of the witnesses are in a column at the back near the beginning. The second is separated from the first by 3 in. = 8 cm., and is complete, with 3 in. = 8 cm. blank at the end; the witnesses have signed in a column in the middle of the back.

Vol. I, Pl. LXII, LXIII. Vol. III, pp. 131, 265.

XVI (formerly 30). Marriage contract between Khensthoût and Shebtit in Phamenoth of year 29, 152 B.C.

Length 34–35 in. = 86–89 cm. Height $12\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 31 cm.

Composed of four leaves, each of 9 in. = 32 cm., and a short one with vertical fibres at the beginning.

The document is perfect; signatures of witnesses in one column on the back.

Vol. I, Pl. LXIV. Vol. III, pp. 139, 271.

[1] G signifies that the papyrus or fragments in question were formerly in the Editor's collection, see p. 130.

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Papyri of the Reign of Ptolemy VIII (Euergetes II).

XVII (formerly 31). Gift of a house by Patseʿô to Nekhôtf, with Greek docket, dated in Phamenôth of year 52, 118 B. C.

Length 3 ft. = 91 cm. Height 12 in. = 30·5 cm.

Composed of seven leaves, each 5 in. = 13 cm. long, with another, imperfect, at each end.

The document is complete. The column of signatures on the back is by exception beyond the middle.

Vol. I, Pl. LXV, LXVI. Vol. III, pp. 142, 273.

XVIII. (G.) Agreement for sale of plot of ground by Pshenanûp to the woman Maithoüt, with Greek docket; dated in Thôth of year 54, 117 B. C.

Length $28\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 72 cm. Height $12\frac{1}{8}$ in. = 31 cm.

Composed of irregular leaves, 5–6 in. = 13–15 cm. in length.

The right-hand end is torn away to the edge of the writing; at the left-hand end 4 in. = 10 cm. are blank.

The document is slightly injured; the column of signatures on the back is towards the beginning.

Vol. I, Pl. LXVI. Vol. III, pp. 145, 275.

XIX (formerly 13). Agreement for sale of $\frac{1}{8}$ of a piece of cultivable land by Harmahi and Shleh to Pshenmenkhe [in year 52], 118 B. C. (the docket dated in year 4, 113 B.C.).

Length 15 in. = 38 cm. Height $12\frac{1}{8}$ in. = 31 cm.

Composed of leaves 5 in. = 13 cm. in length.

The right-hand end of the document is lost; at the other end are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches blank.

The column of signatures at the back is by exception towards the end.

Vol. I, Pl. LXVII. Vol. III, pp. 147, 276.

Joint Reign of Cleopatra II, III, and Ptolemy X.

XX (formerly 11). Marriage contract of Eunous and Tapremhit in Paophi of year 2, 116 B. C.

Length 2 ft. = 61 cm. Height $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 32 cm.

Composed of five leaves, each of about 5 in. = 13 cm.; the first injured. The papyrus irregular.

The document is complete: the column of signatures at the back as usual is towards the beginning.

Vol. I, Pl. LXVIII, LXIX. Vol. III, pp. 149, 277.

Joint Reign of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy X.

XXI. (G.) Terms on which Petearhesenûfi borrows corn from Petesobk in Payni of year 6, 112 B. C.

Height $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 29 cm. Width $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 11 cm. Closely written to the edges.

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The document is practically complete; on the back, below the middle, the signatures of four witnesses; at the upper end marks of a clay seal, and at the lower end a docket.

Vol. I, Pl. LXIX. Vol. III, pp. 150, 278.

XXII. Marriage contract of Pleehe and Termûti, year lost (between 115 and 108 B.C.).

Length 16½ in. = 42 cm. Height 11½ in. = 29 cm.

Composed of four leaves about 5 in. = 13 cm. in length; imperfect at both ends.

The document is imperfect at the right-hand end. The column of witnesses at the back is also injured.

Vol. I, Pl. LXVIII, LXIX. Vol. III, pp. 151, 279.

XXIII (formerly 19). Agreement for sale of waste land by Hôr to the woman Tshenamûn, year lost (between 115 and 108 B. C.).

Length 2 ft. 1 in. = 58 cm. continuous; detached fragments with writing at the beginning, and another blank. Height 6⅝ in. = 17·5 cm.

Composed of five leaves, each of about 5 in. = 13 cm., besides the fragments.

The document is very imperfect at the right-hand end; the column of witnesses on the back is imperfect at the lower end, evidently through the lower part of the sheet having been torn away, anciently (?).

Vol. I, Pl. LXX, LXXI. Vol. III, pp. 152, 280.

XXIV (formerly 22). Cession of rights to land by Tshenmenkhe to Pshenmenkhe, year [4, 113 B.C.].

Length 12 in. = 30 cm. Height 10¾ in. = 27.50 cm.

A leaf in the middle is 8¼ in. = 21 cm. long; with probably a small leaf on either side.

The right-hand end of the document is destroyed; 2 in. = 5 cm. are blank at the end. Column of signatures on the back.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXI. Vol. III, pp. 153, 281.

XXV (a small fragment added from G.). Account of proceedings in a sacerdotal conclave (?), with list of the acting priests of the five orders. Year lost (between 115 and 108 B.C.).

Height 8½ in. = 22 cm. Length 17¼ = 44 cm.

Composed of leaves 5–6 in. = 13–15 cm. in length. The top edge probably complete, both ends and bottom edge imperfect.

Writing in two columns; of the first only a portion at the left hand remains; the second is nearly complete except the lowermost lines. No writing on the back.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXII. Vol. III, pp. 154, 282.

Joint Reign of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy XI.

XXVI. (G.) Farming agreement between Harpaêsi and Petehôr in Choiak of year 15 = year 12, 102 B. C.

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A fragment, height $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 16 cm. Width $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 8 cm. Top edge and right-hand edge remain, about half of width lost, with left-hand edge and lower end torn away. On the back an ink line to head column of witnesses, but no signatures.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXIII. Vol. III, pp. 155, 283.

XXVII. (G.) Marriage contract of . . . and Tshenamûn, year lost (between 108 and 101 B. C.).

Length 12 in. = 30 cm. Height $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 22 cm. Leaves about 5 in. = 12 cm.

The roll is very imperfect, but some of the top edge remains.

Most of the writing is preserved, except at the right-hand end, and on the back the column of signatures is nearly complete, written by exception towards the end.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXIII. Vol. III, pp. 157, 284.

Reign of Ptolemy XI.

XXVIII (formerly 12). Marriage contract of Pleehe and Takêb in Choiak of year 23, 91 B. C.

Length $18\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 47 cm. Height $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 31·5 cm.

No joints are clearly recognizable.

The document is complete; 2 in. = 5 cm. are blank at each end. There is no endorsement.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXIV. Vol. III, pp. 157, 285.

XXIX (formerly 24). Sale of shares in uncultivated land by Pneferho and his brethren to the woman Nekhûts in Pachons of year 23, 91 B. C.

Length $17\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 44·5 cm. Height $11\frac{3}{4}$ in. = 30 cm.

There are two leaves, each measuring 5 in. = 13 cm., and one of $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 16·5 cm.; the beginning imperfect.

The document is complete, with list of witnesses at the back of the end of the writing.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXV. Vol. III, pp. 158, 285.

XXX (some fragments from G.). Marriage contract of Peteharsemteu and Takêb in Payni of year 25, 89 B. C.

Length 13 in. = 33 cm. Height $11\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 28·5 cm. Leaves irregular, 6–7 in. = 15–18 cm.; right-hand edge torn away.

The writing is nearly complete. On the back a column of signatures.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXV. Vol. III, pp. 159, 286.

Papyri without Royal Names.

XXXI. (G.) Notification of payment by Siepmû to Pshenanûp dated in year 2 (?) of a king and his sister.

Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 24 cm. Width $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 11 cm. Complete. Lower half and back blank.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXVI. Vol. III, pp. 159, 287.

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XXXII (formerly 26). Grant (?) of waste land, dated in Paophi of year 2, attested by priests of Hathôr.

Length 6 in. = 15 cm. Height 11½ in. = 29 cm.

The top and the left-hand edge imperfect.

Text on the recto only.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXVI. Vol. III, pp. 160, 287.

XXXIII. Release by Pakhrat and others given to Nekhûtf in Mekhîr of year 19.

Length 5½ = 14 cm. Height 4¼ in. = 11 cm.

On recto many lines of demotic erased. The preserved text is on the recto, and nearly complete.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXVI. Vol. III, pp. 160, 288.

XXXIV. (G.) Farming agreement between Espnûti (?) and Eunûs.

Height 5 in. = 13 cm. Width 4½ in. = 11·5 cm.

Right-hand and lower edges torn away.

Writing imperfect. Greek characters on the back.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXVII. Vol. III, pp. 161, 288.

XXXV. (G.) Memorandum of expenditure. Thoth of year 25.

Height 6¾ in. = 17 cm. Width 4¾ in. = 12 cm. complete.

Lower end and back blank.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXVII. Vol. III, pp. 161, 289.

XXXVI. (G.) Affidavit of the woman Nekhûts, in Mesore of year 24.

Height 9 in. = 23 cm. Width 5½ in. = 14 cm. Lower end torn away.

Writing nearly complete, except at lower end, where there is also a docket on the back.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXVII. Vol. III, pp. 161, 289.

XXXVII (formerly 16). Fragment of marriage contract; date and names of parties lost.

Length 2 ft. 3 in. = 69 cm. Height 7½ in. = 19 cm.

Only the lower half remains, and the beginning is lost. 6 in. = 15 cm. are blank below the writing, and 4 in. = 10 cm. at the end. The signatures of the witnesses remain at the beginning of the fragment.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXVIII. Vol. III, pp. 162, 290.

XXXVIII (formerly 27). Fragment of marriage contract; date and names of parties lost.

Length 10 in. = 25 cm. Height 7¼ in. = 18·5 cm.

Only the lower half of the left-hand end of the document remains, with the endorsement. 4½ in. = 11 cm. are blank below the writing.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXVIII. Vol. III, pp. 163, 291.

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XXXIX. A small packet of miscellaneous fragments of papyrus from Gebelên with Ptolemaic writing.

PAPYRI FROM UNKNOWN LOCALITIES, PTOLEMAIC

XL (formerly 25). Journals of two accounts (banker's?) for the month of Tybi in year 31, with miscellaneous accounts on the back.

Length 35 in. = 68 cm. of continuous papyrus; with some further fragments. Height 8 in. = 20·5 cm. Considerably decayed.

The text, of which the right-hand end appears to be preserved, extends throughout the recto (A–K); on the back demotic continues from the end to about the middle (L–U); near the beginning three short columns in Greek and demotic (W–Y).

Vol. I, Pl. LXXIX–LXXXIII. Vol. III, pp. 164, 292.

XLI. Farming agreement (fragment).

Length $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 21 cm. Height 5 in. = 13 cm.

Top and bottom lost, and much injured throughout.

On the back four narrow columns of names, &c.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXXIII. Vol. III, pp. 166, 296.

XLII. Fragment of marriage contract.

Width $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. = 9·5 cm. Height 3 in. = 8 cm.

Same writing and papyrus as the last. Trace of writing on the back.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXXIII. Vol. III, pp. 167, 298.

XLIII. Packet of various fragments, from cartonnage, &c.

PAPYRI FROM DIMÊ

Reign of Tiberius.

XLIV. Sale of $\frac{2}{5}$ of a house in Socnopaei Nesus by Herieu to Hisaro in Pakhons of year 15 (A.D. 29).

Length $13\frac{3}{4}$ in. = 35 cm. Height $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. = 29·5 cm. Right-hand end torn away. Leaf at left-hand edge 3 in. = 8 cm. wide; the next leaf 7 in. = 18 cm. A third leaf of 7 in. (4 in. preserved) may have completed it.

The texts are the sale (much injured) on the right, the cession (slightly injured) on the left, and below Greek text and signatures (much injured). The back blank.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXXIV. Vol. III, pp. 169, 299.

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REIGN OF CLAUDIUS.

XLV. Sale of a house in Socnopaei Nesus from Stutuêti to Efʿônkh, in Mesore of year 2 (A. D. 43).

Length 16 in. = 40·5 cm. Height 11⅓ in. = 29 cm. Left-hand end imperfect. The first strip is 2¼–1½ in. = 9–4 cm. wide: the next leaf 7 in. = 18 cm. A third may have completed the roll.

The demotic texts are, the sale (worn and somewhat torn) on the left, the cession (much injured) on the right. Below are the Greek text and signatures. On the right-hand edge is the Greek text of a loan from Apunchis to Stothetis. The back blank.

Vol. I, Pl. LXXXV. Vol. III, pp. 173, 300.

XLVI. A number of fragments of Roman papyri, contracts and accounts, some with portions of datings in the reigns of Claudius, &c., and some bilingual fragments: fragments from the same batch as XLIV and XLV.

XLVII. Fragment of accounts in minute writing, Roman.

Width 4 in. = 10·5 cm. Height 4½ in. = 11·5 cm.

Referred to in Vol. III, p. 169.

SUPPLEMENT

XLVIII. Six large and several small fragments of papyrus from a mummy cartonnage. Probably from El Hibeh, early Ptolemaic.

Total length 50 in. = 130 cm. Height 13⅓ in. = 34 cm.

On the recto 18 columns, more or less imperfect, of names of men and women, with small sums of silver opposite each name. Most of the verso is overlaid with stucco and painted with figures of deities in compartments: portions of demotic text and lists of names are visible.

XLIX. Fragment of papyrus: from Oxyrhynchus; Roman, associated with Greek fragments of the second century A. D.

Length 8 in. = 20 cm. Height 5 in. = 12 cm.

On the recto portions of two columns, dates in a month and names: accounts on the back.

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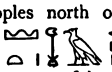
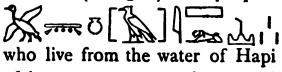
ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. **Khor, Amur,** *and the* **Ashur**; cf. p. 96, note 1, p. 223, note 16, p. 274, note 3.

In the decree of Canopus it is stated that Euergetes had relieved distress in Egypt by procuring corn at great expense εκ τε Συριας και Φοινικης και Κυπρου και εξ αλλων πλειονων τοπων[1]. At the date of this decree (in his ninth year) Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Cyprus were held by Euergetes; but Συρια is not to be confined to Coele-Syria. For Συριας και Φοινικης the demotic offers *p t3 p3 'Mr p t3 n Ḥr·w* 'The region (or province) of the (singular) Amur, the region of the (plural) Khors'[2]. Both *'Mr* and *p3 'Mr* occur in texts of the New Kingdom as the name of the mountainous region east of Phoenicia at the upper waters of the Orontes and the Jordan[3]. *Ḥr*, Khor, was at that time the designation of Palestine and the coast south of Phoenicia[4]. As Coele-Syria was included in the same government with Phoenicia in the Ptolemaic age it might be that 'the Khors' in the Canopic tablet referred to those two countries: more probably, however, it is ethnic, and should be read as 'the Khêrs (?),' the people of Khor[5].

In the ethnographic list at Edfu, dating from the second century B.C., we find 'the peoples north of the North Land (Lower Egypt), that is the  country of the Khors: who live from the water of heaven and the works of their ships in the Great Circle (the Levant or Mediterranean)[6].' This agrees well with the datum of the decree of Canopus, making Khor include Phoenicia with Coele-Syria. The Land of Khor in the Petition of Peteêsi[7] may be interpreted in the same sense, and in the Buto stela of Ptolemy I as satrap[8] the expedition to the land of Khor refers to the campaign of Gaza.

As to *'Šr* 'Ashur,' we find it in the same list, 'He brings to thee (the god) the peoples of the Mentiu, that is  the land of the Ashur: who live from the water of Hapi on its east and the water of heaven on its west'[9]. In this inscription the different kinds of water-supply are distinguished as 'water of heaven,' i.e. rain-water, 'water of wells' (or 'springs'), 'water of brooks,' and 'water of Hapi,' i.e. of the great rivers, the Nile being to the Egyptians the type of all such. Thus the further Libyans lived 'from the water of Hapi' on the west, referring to some real or mythical river such as the Niger or the Senegal[10]. In the case of the Ashur the reference is presumably to the Tigris and Euphrates of Babylonia and Assyria or Mesopotamia, and the Ashur to the Egyptians must have extended westward so as to include northern Syria and the district comprised in the Amur of the Canopus tablet. Turning to the classical authors, we find Herodotus and Strabo alike identifying the Assyrians with the Syrians. In the Demotic Chronicle, according to Revillout's copy, there seems to be a reference to 'the writing of the Ashur' *sḫ n 'Šr*[11], meaning that used by the Persians—either cuneiform for monumental purposes or Aramaic for ordinary record. Thus while the personal name Πχοιρις, Pkhêr (?)[12] means the 'Palestinian, Phoenician, Coele-Syrian,' P-eshur[13] should mean the more distant Assyrian or Syrian,

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[1] Greek, l. 17.

[2] The Hisn copy, l. 5, appears to give *'Mr* clearly as against the old reading *'Šr*, but the article *p*, if it exists at all, is less distinct than in the Tanis copy, l. 18, where it is quite clear. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 219, reads *p 'Mr*, and it seems impossible now to read *'Šr* 'Ashûr' in the group.

[3] Müller, ibid., pp. 213 et seqq.

[4] Müller, ibid., p. 148.

[5] Spiegelberg has some remarks and speculations on κοιλη Συρια and Khor, *OLZ.*, IX/106.

[6] Rougé, *Edfou*, 114/2.

[7] Above, p. 96.

[8] Sethe, *Urkunden*, II/15.

[9] Rougé, *Edfou*, 114/4, for pl. art., see ibid. 7.

[10] But the peoples south of the South Land (Upper Egypt) lived 'from Hapi' (the Nile itself), not 'from water of Hapi,' ibid., 114/2. Herodotus' statement (Hdt. ii. 32) that the Nasamonian explorers found the Nile in their far western wanderings might be founded on a confusion of these two expressions.

[11] Above, p. 26.

[12] P. 223, note 16, p. 267, note 7.

[13] Fem. *T-eshauri*, pl. *N-eshaur* (cf. Boh. ⲕⲟⲩⲣ, fem. ⲕⲁⲩⲣⲓ, Sah. ϭⲁⲓⲟⲩⲗ, fem. ϭⲁⲓⲁⲩⲗⲉ) seem to be the forms, see p. 274, note 3. The Theban village-name *T-mtn·t-n-'Šwr* = Τμοτνεσουρ, Berl. 3116, 5/9 = Cas. 10/6, may mean 'the dam (*t*) of the Assyrians (?).'

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or perhaps Περσης. In the Canopic decree the Persians are called *rm·w Prs* 'men of Pars'; 'Medes' *Mˁy·w*[1], however, seems to be the name given to the Persian armies in the Demotic Chronicle. The Persian garrisons in Egypt, and their successors the Περσαι της επιγονης, may thus explain the Coptic word for soldier, ⲗⲁⲧⲟⲓ 'Mede'(?)[2].

2. *Demotic words for the* **services** *and* **remuneration** *of priests, and their Greek equivalents.*

It is evident that *ʿrš* means 'service' of the cult of the gods and the dead, and *šˁy* salaries and other 'payments' for such services. The bilingual papyri contain many references to them in connexion with necropolis worship, but in all cases, owing to the nature of the documents, the notions of the payments and the services are so closely associated together that they might leave it a little uncertain which was which until examined collectively.

(*a*) **šˁy**: (1) *n šˁy·w* Berl. 3116, 1/2 practically parallel to *των τουτων* (sc. *των σωματων*) *λογειων και καρπειων* of Cas. 2/4.

(2) *n šˁy·w n n wʿb·w* Berl. 3119/2–3 = *λογειας των νεκρων* Grey, 7–8.

(3) *ne šˁy·w* Berl. 3119/3 = *καρπειων και των αλλων* Grey, 19–20, Berl. 3119/4 = *επιβαλλοντων μοι* Grey, 21.

(*b*) **ʿrš**: *ne-w šms·w ne-w ʿrš·w* Berl. 3119/3 = *λειτουργιων και των αλλων* Grey, 9–10. So also Berl. 5507/9 = Leyd. P/31. There is no case in which *ʿrš* occurs alone.

(*c*) **ʿrš** with **šˁy**: (1) *ne-w šˁy·w ne-w ʿrš·w* Berl. 3116, 6/21 = *και λειτουργιων και αγνευτι(κων)* Cas. 14/10.

(2) *ne-w šˁy·w ne-w ʾḫy·w ne-w šms·w ne-w ʿrš·w* twice Berl. 5507/7–8 and 9 = *καρπειας και προσπιπ*[*τοντα και ?*] *λειτουργιας* Leyd. P/25, and *αι καρπειαι* [*και τ*]*α προσπιπ*[*τοντ*]*α και αι λειτουργια*[*ι* ibid./30–31.[3]

Thus (*a*) *λογειαι και καρπειαι*, or *λογειαι*, or *καρπειαι*, or *αγνευτικαι* above correspond to *šˁy·w*. A case in which *λειτουργων και καρπειων και των αλλων* Grey, 17–18 corresponds to *n šˁy·w n n wʿb·w* Berl. 3119/3 is evidently a free rendering. In the docket of the Casati demotic papyrus Bibl. Nat. 218/40–42 *των λογευομενων . . . αν θ ης ποιουνται λειτουργιας* is practically the equivalent of *šˁy·w* (Young, *Hieroglyphics*, Pl. 32). For *λογειαι*, see Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, I. 359.

λειτουργιαι, on the other hand, is the rendering of *ʿrš·w* alone, or of *ʿrš·w* with *šms·w*, a well-known word for service.

The rendering of *ʾḫy·w*, cf. above I/2, by *τα προσπιπ*[*τοντ*]*α* is also noteworthy.

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[1] Cf. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 17.

[2] *Mˁ²y*, consistently so spelled in the New Kingdom, can hardly be the origin of Coptic ⲗⲁⲧⲟⲓ. See, however, the Ethiopian *Mdy* and Schäfer's remarks thereon in his *Aethiopische Königsinschrift*, p. 41, cf. Rougé, *Edfou*, 115.

[3] Cf. the addition on p. 320 to p. 45, note 10.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

THE sheets were printed off as far as p. 136 in May, 1906, when also pp. 201 to 216 were printed off, and the rest of the text as far as p. 303 was in type. The work was then interrupted for many months. In February, 1907, the rest was revised, and some references to the latest publications of SPIEGELBERG and others were added between [ ]. The indices, &c., were added in the spring of 1908.

p. 4, l. 3, for *d-b*}-}-*b*}-*db*} read *d-b-b*}-}-*db*}.

p. 7, l. 19. It is not probable that Sais lay on the Canopic branch of the Nile. It may have been east of this, and near the Sebennytic or Thermuthiac branch (Ptolemy IV. 5/48).

p. 12, note 1. The statement as to publication is in *TSBA.*, viii. p. 26. Several good copies of CAILLAUD'S *Recherches* have been recently put upon the market: the papyri are not to be found in it.

p. 37, l. 4. For the remarks of Drs. GRENFELL and HUNT on El Hibeh and the finding of these papyri, see their *El Hibeh*, i. pp. 1, 2. They state that the rolls 'were discovered together in a pot, inside the town close to the east wall in the southern part of the site' (ibid., p. 2), not far, therefore, from the temple (v. p. 39) with which their contents connect them so closely. There is no trace of the Ammon temple of Teuzoi, nor of the name Teuzoi in the Ptolemaic documents: it would seem as if this profitless nest of quarrelsome priests was allowed to perish in the revolts against the Persians, and was not restored. Another village may have been founded in its place: but the editors of the El Hibeh papyri are unable to identify the Greek name of the site.

p. 44, note 5 (at end, on p. 45). For Θαννυρας, cf. Φλαουιος Θεννυρας, *Oxyrh.*, i. no. 83 (327 A.D.).

p. 45, note 10. In a bilingual we have the following passage:—

'*their levies*, *their fees*, their procession(?)-cults, their services, and all that issues from them, *and the things that shall be added to them from field, temple, and village*, and every locality,' Berl. 5507, 7/8 = [τας] τουτων καρπε[ια]ς και προσπι[πτοντα και] λειτουργιας [και τας υπαρχουσ]ας (??) π[ροσοδου]ς (?) και προσεσο[μεν]ας εκ τε των [αγρων κ]αι [των] ιερων κα[ι της κωμης] . . . Leid. Gr. P/25, 26, restored as far as possible with the help of ll. 30, 31 (see the quotation from this on p. 319).

p. 45, note 11. παστοφοριον = 'place' in the same bilingual: see an edition to be published by Prof. WILCKEN and the present writer shortly.

p. 59, ll. 23–4, read 'this red plough-cow (3) in calf.'

p. 66, 1/16, read 'I said unto him, "If I reach the Governor and ascertain(?) [that the Governor(?) desires(?) to sa]ve Teuzoi I will report to him everything,"' &c.

p. 66, note 10, 'hast no people' is not possible.

p. 67, l. 1, read 'thou wast correct(?) in(?) saying "if I tell thee the things that happen unto it [i.e. Teuzoi?], these priests will slay me."'

p. 77, note 5. The date of the fourth year for the extension of Psammetichus' power to Upper Egypt may be genuine tradition. This historical date may be on a different footing from the others in the Petition, which concern chiefly the family traditions or fabrications of the petitioner: see pp. 72, 107. M. LEGRAIN wrote to me in the summer of 1907 that so far he had found no trace of Peteêsi as the Master of the Shipping, in the great mass of genealogical material which he had gathered from the cachette of Karnak and in researches in museums.

Mr. JOHNS tells me that the date of Asshurbanipal's second expedition, which resulted in the sack of Thebes, is not really ascertained. It may be that Psammetichus occupied the South Country immediately afterwards, either as favoured by the Assyrian or, as Herodotus testifies, with the aid of Ionians and Carians.

p. 81, heading, correct XI to IX.

p. 92, 14/14, instead of 'fail,' rather 'hesitate'(?).

p. 93, l. 3 from below. The best proof of an expedition to Ethiopia having taken place in the reign of Psammetichus II is given by a much injured inscription at Karnak referring to it, published by W. MAX MÜLLER in his *Egyptological Researches*, 1904, p. 22, Pl. 12, 13. By an oversight it is attributed to Psammetichus I, but the title and cartouche are clearly those of Psammetichus II.

p. 95, l. 26. Jer. xxvii–xxviii indicates a conspiracy—very likely backed by Psammetichus II, to judge by the date—to resist the Babylonians, with prophecies by Hananiah of the downfall of Babylon. But Zedekiah, the king of Judah, retired for the time (ibid. li. 59).

p. 97, note 5, read (cf. p. 166, at note 2).

p. 100, 16/10. The re-measurement of lands was frequent enough owing to the river eating away soil from some places and making fresh deposits in others, cf. Hdt. ii. 109.

p. 100, 16/12, for the group left untranslated, see p. 242, note 12. For the artaba of 40 choinikes (= 4 *ḥq·t*??), see also *El Hibeh*, i. p. 228. The account, ibid. no. 119, is also very suggestive for the interpretation of the corn-measures in these papyri.

p. 100, 16/17. For eunuchs supposed to be at the Egyptian court in the time of Amasis, cf. Hdt. iii. 4.

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p. 100, 16/20, or better 'priest of Hôr-in-Pe and of Uto' instead of 'priest of Hôr of Puto.' In Hdt. ii. 155 at Buto Apollo is Horus, and Artemis and Leto are but two aspects of the one lioness-goddess Buto: the identification with Leto was due chiefly to the alliteration. Cf. Athena = Neith, Ptah = Hephaestus, Epaphus = Apis; these early identifications may have coloured Greek myths.

p. 105, 20/14. read 'beams and planking.'

p. 105, 21/4, read perhaps 'they finished its lower story, that(?) we might dwell in it.'

p. 112, 25/2, read 'O Amûn, lord of execution!'

p. 112, 25/7, read 'He receiveth not a fat-bull from the mighty one, to overlook (8) his oppression; his fat-bull stinketh more than fish, his polled-fatling is putrid. (But) the cake offered by the just is that to which his eye inclineth.'

p. 113. The Libbey papyrus, the marriage contract of a wife, dated in the first year of the obscure king Khebobesh, has to be added to the list of documents either shortly before or shortly after the conquest by Alexander.

„ note 6. Rubensohn in *Elephantine-Papyri*, p. 23, shows that the document to which this refers probably belongs to the reign of Philadelphus.

p. 117, l. 9. This marriage contract of the wife is translated by Spiegelberg, *Pap. Libbey*, p. 7. For 'in addition to this one kiti' probably 'out of this one kiti' should be read.

p. 118, l. 12. See the claims made by the father on his married daughter on the strength of 'native law' in the petition of Dionysia, belonging to the Roman period, *Oxyrh.*, ii. no. 237.

p. 121, l. 9, read 'in the name of which I have indemnity (protection) in regard to them (the property).'

„ l. 11. 'Thine is that in regard to which I have indemnity in their name.'

p. 122, note 2. Rubensohn in *Elephantine-Papyri*, pp. 22–3, shows that in Greek documents the dates of Soter count from the beginning of his satrapy, in 324–323 B.C. Hence this papyrus almost certainly belongs to 304–303 (ibid., p. 23).

p. 124, l. 3, for '3½ years' read now '22–23 years.'

p. 125, l. 12, for 'the caravan-leader' read 'the Hakor,' i.e. the Hagrite, cf. חגר, חגרי, v. Hastings' *Dictionary* and Cheyne's *Encyclopaedia*, and so perhaps designating a Bedawi camel-driver from the East of Egypt. See *Pap. Mag. LL.*, Glossary no. 616, for instances of the word. It may be the equivalent of 'Arab' or 'Bedawi.'

p. 131, note 5, for 'altar' in the title read rather 'shrine,' 'chapel,' or 'temple.' For Ισηια, which were generally small, see *Tebt.*, i. p. 150, note 7. There were two at Kerkeosiris, but neither had any land. See also ibid., no. 5/70. An Ισιωνομος is mentioned in Mah. Sm. 82/5, associated with an ιβιοβοσκος. *BGU.*, iii. 993, mentions two Iseia in Pathyris, one of Isis Nemes (named below in XXXV), the other in Tmonebitis.

p. 132, note 9. The chief priests of Heliopolis and Memphis would be concerned with the two most venerated animals, Mnevis and Apis, respectively.

p. 133, l. 7. The μονογραφος is 'Thetertais son of Nekhtubasti(?),' not 'of Nekht-Min.'

p. 139, l. 9, for 'Hermias' read 'Hermippos.'

„ l. 17. for 'Trophinias' read 'Trophonias.'

p. 150, XXI/17, read 'by the 29-χους (measure).' The word translated 'measure' is really *qws*, the Egyptian spelling of χους, not the old Egyptian word for 'scales'; see the Glossary, s.v. *qws*.

p. 152, XXIII/2, read 'together 2 persons, have uttered one declaration to the man.'

p. 157, note 2. The erroneous form occurs as early as Euergetes in Spieg., *Pap. Eleph.*, I. p. 17.

p. 159, l. 1, read 'Pteb.' There is no *i* in the demotic, and the name means 'the *teb*,' whatever that is, not 'the island of Teb' as is stated in note 1.

„ XXXI/2. It seems necessary to read 'In year 2,' but it is difficult to see to whose reign this is to be attributed.

p. 169, XLIV/2, read 'Tapetesobk saith, making one declaration, unto.'

p. 173, XLV/4, read 'Taneferemi, making one declaration to the possessor.'

„ note 2. Circumcision is now ascertained by documents for Tebtunis also, in the division of Polemo, *Tebt.*, ii. nos. 291–3, 314.

p. 201, note 3, l. 7 from below, read *Pap. Mag. LL.*, 5/25.

p. 203, note 27. The use of this participle for the future is not common, but occurs regularly in this particular formula, unless indeed it is past even here, 'I am he that hath caused him to be cleared for thee,' which is perhaps possible.

p. 204, note 33, read rather *'n mtr sḫ* 'produce a witness of writing.'

p. 206, note 52. Ιναρως is now discussed by its interpreter in *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/198.

p. 208, beginning of paragraph, read 'There follow.'

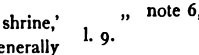
p. 211, note 3. The references should be p. 203, note 27, and p. 231, note 10.

p. 216, VIII/3, last group of page, read = ḥoki 'gravid.'

p. 217, VIII/8, for twice read ; cf. in *hy* Berl. 3076/5, 3077/4.

„ note 1, omit.

„ note 6, read perhaps *e wn* for *e 'r*, and so again in l. 9.

„ note 7, read  ; in l. 3 is .

p. 219, l. 3, read *mn bl*(?)^{s} . . . (5)

p. 220, l. 4, read *s-y*^{6} for *s-y* s^{5}, so also *s-y* in note 5.

„ note 3, correct 2/13 to 2/1.

„ note 10, correct 21/6 to 20/6.

p. 221, l. 1, read *s-y n-f 'y ḥ a p* . . .; *'y ḥ* is or *e-y ḥ*, conditional. Omit note 1.

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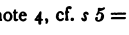
p. 221, l. 1. The second gap may perhaps be filled *e* (17) [*p ... mr nḫ*]*t Te-w-sy* 'if the governor desires to save Teuzoi.'

„ l. 2. The restoration at the beginning of 2/18 is impossible, *s-k s* not being in accordance with usage. *e-w* (18) [*a ṯy stm-k*] *n-y* 'thou shalt be made to obey me, since thou hast no one (to protect you).'

„ l. 4. *s-y n-f.*

„ l. 7. *s ʾy s n-k n mṯ nt ḫp n*[*-ʾm-s ?*] 'thou wast right (3) in saying, "If I tell thee the things that happen to [it?] these priests will slay me."'

„ note 4, cf. *s 5* =  Can. I/30.

p. 222, ll. 7, 10, 12, read *mktl* for *mktr*.

p. 223, l. 9, for *ṯmṯ* (?) it seems better to read *s* again.

„ 3/14, read *s-y e-ʾr-ḫr*.

p. 224, 4/7, read *s-y n-w* and *ʿnḫ*.

„ 4/9–10, read perhaps *ḫr-f ny s n-y* 'he said these things, namely to me.'

„ note 12. *e-ʾr-k* is not written for ⲉⲕ- in this early demotic. Probably the meaning is 'ye have seen.'

p. 227, l. 7, *e-sy my*.

„ note 8, for (ϫⲟⲧⲥ) read (cf. Boh. ϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ).

p. 228, l. 3, read *a-gm-f*.

„ l. 6, read *e-f ʾr mḫ*.

p. 229, ll. 9, 10, 11, for *pʾ-ntr-w-f* read *psṯ-ntr-w-f*.

„ l. 10, for *ḫnʿ* read *ḫnʿ*.

„ note 10. *rḫ* is not qualitative unless as survivor of the old active pseudo-participle.

p. 231, l. 4, read *P-a-ỉe-ʾS*.

„ l. 6, read *s n-y e-ʾr st s n-f*.

„ ll. 10, 16, read *psṯ-ntr-w-f*.

„ l. 11, read *ỉ ṯ-y*.

p. 232, 10/21, read *ṯy stm s*.

„ note 12, for *rm swg* read 'fools' (?).

p. 233, l. 5, read *e-sy my*.

p. 234, 11/21, read *ne-k ḫyr* (?).

„ note 13. *rn* must here be the old transitive verb 'applaud,' parallel to *ḫs* and *dw*ǯ in Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Pl. XIII *g*, last horizontal line. 'May I cause Harshafe to be praised!' may thus be an expression of wonder and admiration.

p. 235, l. 5, for *rhn* read *lh* and omit note 5.

„ l. 8, read *e-s s* (ⲁϫⲓⲥ, cf. 16/5) *n-w s* i. e. ϫⲉ, hardly *s*(*-y*).

„ l. 9, read *n ỉʾ n*.

p. 236, l. 3, read *s-y n-ỉn*.

„ l. 4, read perhaps *s n-ỉn* 'namely to you.'

„ 14/4, read *ỉe-w n-w*.

p. 237, l. 4, read *psṯ-ntr-w-f*.

p. 243, l. 1, read *bṯ 600*.

p. 243, note 5, *Ḫr-n-P Wṯ* is the better reading, see addition on p. 320.

p. 244, l. 2, read *s-y n n wʿb-w*.

„ 18/15, read *ỉe-w nqr-f*.

p. 246, l. 5, read *s-y n pa*.

p. 251, 24/6, read *n-bʾn yr-ỉ-w*.

p. 252, 24/4, perhaps 'thou shalt leave him to be bound.'

p. 253, 25/8, read *pe-f wnỉe ḫw ỉ pʾ ta p mʿ-ỉ*.

p. 257, note 4, col. 2, l. 3, read Τιμαυς.

p. 258. In var. lect. II read *e-s* (?) (blundered?) E.

p. 259, l. 8, read *mỉe-y ṯy* (A. 6) *wʿb-w*.

„ l. 13, read *ṯy ʾr-y s* (A. 7) *e-y*.

p. 262, l. 13, for *ḫry-qr* (?) read *Hkr*, v. additional note to p. 125, l. 12.

p. 264, XIV. v/5, read *Ns-Šw sy Ḫr-sy-ʾS*.

p. 265, XV. A/2. The form of the fem. possessive elsewhere in this papyrus seems to necessitate the reading *pe-f šn-ỉ pe-f ḫ-mw*: so also on p. 267, l. 1.

p. 267, XV. v/4, read *P-a-ỉe-Ḫr-p-ḫrṯ*.

„ XV. v/12, 16, read *Pa-ỉ-w* for *Pa-Mwt*.

p. 269, l. 1, read *ṯys* for *ỉe-y s*.

„ l. 20, read *Pap. Libbey*.

„ note 6. Spiegelberg reads this word *qnzwe*, the meaning is quite unknown.

p. 270. In the list XXVIII/5 read *900* for *800*, and *6,400* for *2,400*.

p. 272, l. 15, read *mr še n-ỉ*.

„ v/5, 8, read *Pa-ỉ-w*.

„ v/16, read *Nḫṯ-Ḫr-ḫb* (?) *sy P-a-ỉe-Ḫr-ʿw*.

p. 273, last line of text, read *ʾy ar-k*.

p. 277, XIX. v/13, read *Ḫns* (?)-*Ṯḥwt*.

p. 278, l. 11, read *p* (?) *ʿy n* (9) *wpy*.

„ XX. v/9, 14, 16, read *Pa-ỉ-w*.

p. 279, l. 1, read *qws* for *ʾws*.

„ l. 9, read *sḫ* for *sḫ*.

„ XXII/4 read *ḫṯ 100*.

p. 280, note 2, read *mḫ-k ỉ-n*.

p. 282, XXV/9, read *P-a-ỉe-Wsr* and *Pa-ỉ-s-ʿo-ỉ*.

p. 285, XXVIII/8 ad fin., read *wpyt*, so also in XXIX/11, XXX/12 on pp. 286, 287. Insert the line-number (10) before *sḫ P-a-ỉe-Ḫr-sm-ỉ-w*.

p. 286. In XXIX insert the line-number (13) before *n wʿb-w Ḥt-ḫr*.

„ XXIX. v/6, read *Ze-ḫr sy Sy-Sbk*: so also in XXX. v/11.

p. 287, XXXI, date first or second century; XXXI/1, for *sḫ* read *sḫ* and *ḫ-sp 2-ỉ*.

p. 288, XXXIII/4, read *py ze* (?) *bk* (?).

p. 290, XXXVII. v/6 read *ʾY-m-ḫtp*, ibid. 10 *P-a-ỉe-Wsr*.

p. 295, XL. O/12, read *6 qṯ 2½*.

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GLOSSARY OF DEMOTIC

The order of the alphabet in the Glossary is ʾ-e-ȧ, ʿ, y, w, b, p, f, m, n, r-l, h, ḥ, ḫ-ẖ, s, š, k-g-q, t-ṭ, ṯ-z: the letters here hyphened being treated as if equivalent.

The chronological divisions of the papyri are as follows:—Psam[meṯik] I, II; Ahm[asi] III–VIII; Dar[yavesh] IX; Ea[rly] Ptol[emies] (Soter and Philadelphus) X–XIV; La[te] Ptol[emies] (Epiphanes to Ptolemy Alexander I) XVI–XXXVIII; Ptol[emaic] (probably earlier than the last) XL–XLII; Rom[an] (Tiberius, Claudius) XLIV–XLV. Plate numbers in Arabic figures refer to the hand-copies in volume II, those in Roman figures to the photographic plates.

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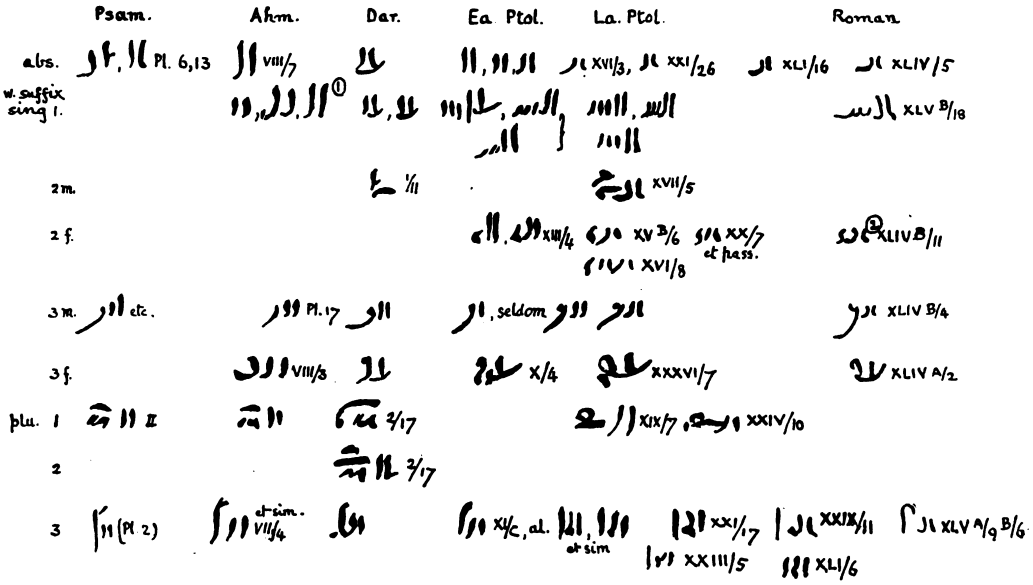
a interj. 'O!', only in ppr. n. *A-ḫr*.

e imperat. prefix, v. **ʾwy**, **ʾn**, **ʾr**, **z**: cf. also **ʾm** 'come!'



	Psam.	Ahm.	Dar.	Ea. Ptol.	La. Ptol.	Roman
abs.	Pl. 6,13	VIII/7			XVI/3, XXI/26	XLI/16, XLIV/5
w. suffix sing 1.		[1]				XLV B/18
2 m.			1/11		XVII/5	
2 f.				XIII/4	XV B/6, XX/7 et pass., XVI/8	[2] XLIV B/11
3 m.	etc.	Pl. 17		seldom		XLIV B/4
3 f.		VIII/3		X/4	XXXVI/7	XLIV A/2
plu. 1	II		2/17		XIX/7, XXIV/10	
2			2/17			
3	(Pl. 2)	et sim. VII/4		XI/c, al.	et sim, XXI/17, XXIII/5	XXIX/11, XLI/6, XLV A/9 B/6

e auxiliary verb 'be' ⲉ-.

the form *e·ʾr-* in *eʾr-k* = ⲉⲕ- appears to begin in the Ptolemaic time: p. 224, note 12, 225, note 3, probably need correction accordingly. 2 fem. sing. *e·ʾr-t* = ⲉⲣⲉ- occurs in XLV. A/11 where B has *e-t*.

very common in circumstantial and indef. relative clauses, and in fut. *e-f a* = ⲉϥⲉ-. As relative, &c., sometimes spelt *ee* in Dar., v. p. 220, note 1. In fut. before nominal subject or *rḫ* always written *a*, v. **a**; v. also **ʾy** for *e-y* condit. (p. 325).

e replaces the Eg. (v. *te-*) in 3rd sing. *e-f* = ϥ of 1st pres., &c., in Dar. (as later in other persons), e.g. *e-f ʾw*, v. **ʾw** (written as the last).

ʾ-s 'belonging to,' v. **ʾs**.

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[1] Here and elsewhere the signs are written smaller when preceded by relative *nt*, &c.

[2] *eʾr-t* in A/11: in col. 3 of the figure, 1 pl., the signs have been accidentally omitted before 2/17.

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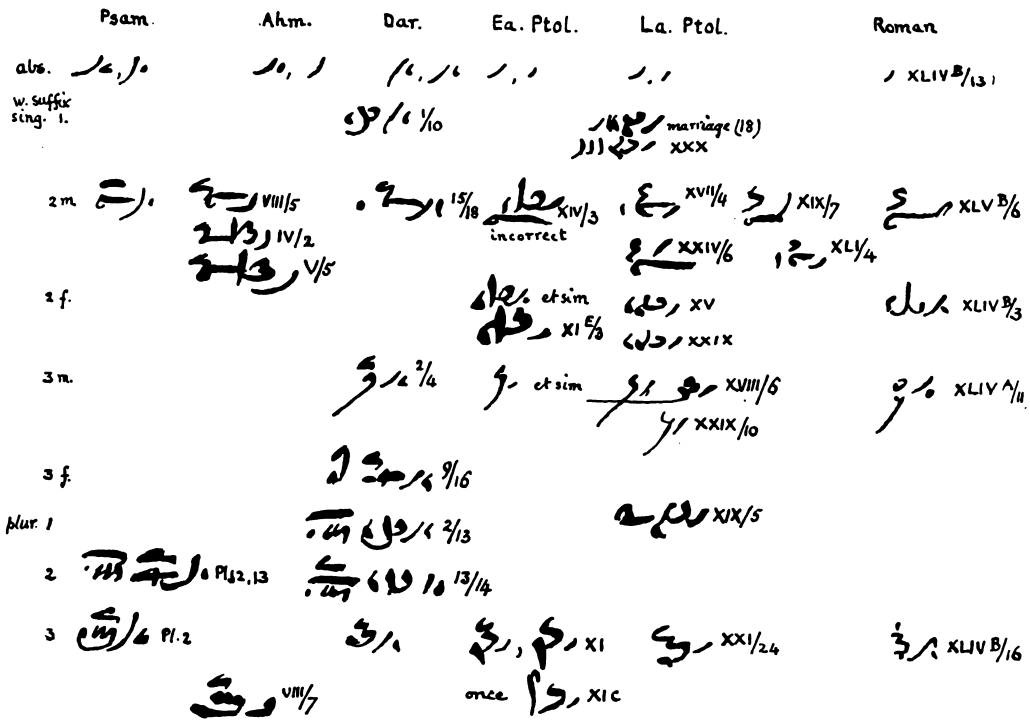

a prepos. ϵ-, ⲁ- with suffix *ar-*, *a ḫr-* ϵpo=, ⲁpo=.

1 sing. *a ḫr(-y)*, v. p. 220, note 3, IX. 1/10, &c.; *a ḫr-y* marriage form (18) on p. 269, et passim.

2 m. sing. *ar-k* I (Pl. 5), VII/5, VIII/5, IX. 15/18, XVII/4; *a ʾr-k* XXIII/4, XXIV/6, XXXIII/4, XLI/4, XLV. A/21, B/6; *a ḫr-k* IV/2, V/5, XIV/3.

2 f. sing. *a ḫr-t* X/3 et postea passim, XLIV. B/3.

3 m. sing. *ar-f* Dar. et postea passim, also *aʾr-f* XVIII/6; *a ḫr-f* (?), XLI/9.

3 f. sing. *ar-s* Dar. (also *r-s* IX. 18/18, 13/20–14/1, v. p. 236, note 13).

1 pl. *a ḫr-n* IX. 2/13, 6/18 (cf. *ḫr-n* 1/6?), XIX/5, XXXIV/7, (XLI/13 ϵρⲁⲛ?).

2 pl. *ar-tn* II (Pl. 12, 13); *a ḫr-tn* IX. 13/14, 20/13.

3 pl. *ar-w* I (Pl. 2), VII/7, IX. 5/1 et postea passim. (*r-w* in hymns IX. 24/3, 15, but *ar-w* 24/8 (?), 25/5; and in ppr. nn. *Yr-t-w-r-w*, *Yr-Ḫr-r-w*.)

'to' after verbs of motion, also *wḥ* 'add,' *nw* 'see': cf. *wn r ar-f* 'open a door to it,' XLIV. A/11.

Meanings:—

with infin. of purpose *ʾy a ṯ-t-k* I (Pl. 6).

'amounting to,' 'equal to' *ḥṯ 2 a stir 10* X/1; *nḥ ḥn 2 ḫr ʾbṯ nb a ḫr rnp nḥ ḥn 24* X/2; *p ʿy . . . ḥnᶜ p ʿy . . . a ʿy 2* XI/3.

'according to' (*ʾḥ*) *a te-(s) mrt* VIII/6, 8, 9; 'of its kind (?),' v. p. 217, note 3; *a p gy* IX. 10/7, 9.

'in regard to' *s ʿs a mṯ nb* I (Pl. 7); *ṯ ḥt ar-w* VIII/7, XVI/9; *ʾr sḫ a* XV. B/5, see p. 224, note 1.

'more than' *rm ʿo ar-k* IX. 15/18; *mr(-y) t-k a ny wʿb-w* 20/6.

'owing from' *e-ʾr-y gm-t-w a P.* XXI/12.

'from' after *wy* 'depart from.'

in compound prepositions *a wb* 'about'; *a ḫr-* 'upon'; *a r n* 'to (door of)' p. 224, note 9; *a ḥn*(?) *a* 'onward to' p. 224, note 6 (v. unread); *a ḫ* 'like.'

in adv. *a mr* 'on board ship,' p. 231, note 2; *a ḫry* (*a*) 'upward (to)'; *a mḫṯe*, v. **mḫṯe**.

omitted esp. in early fut. forms *n nt e-w* (*a*) *wḥ ar-w* I (Pl. 2, cf. 6), *e-f* (*a*) *ʾy* VIII/5.

a *false* for **e** (written as the last).

a P. a sṭm corresponds to *e-f a sṭm* in Dar. IX. 2/3, 8/1, 10/5, 14/6, 18/7, 17, 20/5, v. p. 221, note 11; so also if with *rḫ* IX. 13/13, 18/7; cf. p. 236, note 6.

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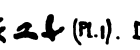
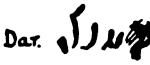
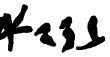
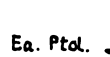
Psam. (Pl. 1). Dar.  16/21, pl.  13/18 

'ew subst. fem. 'office,' p. 236, note 10; v. also **'w**.

te 'ew ḥn-nir I (Pl. 1), cf. IX. 14/9, 16/21; *ne 'ew w'b·w* IX. 13/18.

Ahm. (etc. v. Pl. 18) Dar. Ea. Ptol. La. Ptol. XV XXI 

e'r prep. 'to,' used with persons only, perhaps emphatic form of **a** (a-, e-), v. p. 210, note 1, p. 224, note 17, p. 256, note 5. The form with suffix is *e'rn-*.

with verbs of motion 'to' a person (Dar. only) *'w e'r 'H-ms* IX. 4/17; *ỉ e'r p ḫry Mzy* 11/11; *ỉ e'r w' sry* 17/3. In figure, of dying, *ỉ e'r ne-f yi·w* 10/1, 14/15, 18/11, 19/16, 21/5.

'towards' (?), 'from' (?) *'r nmḥ e'rn-k* III/2, V/3, VI (Pl. 18), VII/3.

'owing from' *mn mte-y mṯ nb n p t e'rn-ỉ* in sale formula (8) on p. 256, XI/5, &c.; *wn mte-k . . . e'rn-y* XXI/11.

buy 'from' (?) *a·'n-y e-ỉb ḥṯ . . . e'r Wynn N.* XV. A/2 B/3.

Dar. La. Ptol.

e'r-ḥr n, comp. prep., without *n* in IX. 12/10, XXV/7, 8, with suff. *e'r-ḥr-* IX. 11/4, (n)ⲁϱⲣⲉⲛ-, (n)ⲁϱⲣⲁ-.

'into presence of' (superior person), after *ỉ* IX. 3/11, *'w* 12/10.

'in presence of' after *'ḥ* IX. 3/6, 13, 6/19, *ỉn* 7/2 *s* 3/14.

'in power of' *e'r-ḥr-n* IX. 11/4, v. p. 233, note 6.

Dar.

'y interjection 'Oh!' O. C. ⲏⲓ (*Pap. Mag. LL.*, cf. ⲉⲓⲉ:ⲓⲉ?).

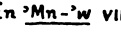
followed by optative *sṭm-f*: in formal greetings *'y ṯe 'Mn qy pe-f 'ḥ* IX. 1/1, 5/13, v. p. 64, note 1; *'y 'r-f p 'ḥ n p-R' 3/11, 5/20; 'y 'nḫ-w* 13/5, v. p. 236, note 1.

followed by vocative and imperative *'y 'Mn nḫm n* 25/8.

'y for *e-y* or *e-y a* (?) ⲉⲓ- or ⲉⲓⲉ-: so written in Dar. for condit. 1 sing. 'if I,' cf. ⲉⲓⲙⲁⲛ-.

'y ṗḥ a N. mte(-y) gm . . . e-y a 'n IX. 1/16; *'y s n-k . . . a ny w'b·w a ḥlb(-y)* 2/3 where the readings on p. 221 must be corrected.

Psam. (Pl. 5, 6, 12, 13) Ahm. Dar. Ea. Ptol. XI/5 XI B/3 La. Ptol. XVII/4 XXIII/4 Rom. XLV B/21

Ahm. in <u>'Mn-'w</u> VIII V/7 Dar. 2/5 Ea. Ptol. in <u>Ṯḥwt-'w</u> XIII V/5 

La. Ptol. XXXVI/11 <u>e·'w</u> Dar. 12/9 <u>n-'w</u> Dar. 19/12

'y irreg. verb, 'come,' p. 218, note 6 = ⲉⲓ : ⲓ: stm-f and most forms of qualitative borrowed from **'w**: imperative **'m**.

Forms: (a) infin.

in fut. indic. *e-f* (*a*) *'y* I (Pl. 5, &c.), V/5, VIII/5, &c. &c.

in past neg. *bn-p-ỉn 'y* IX. 4/13.

in circumstantial present *e-y 'y a Mn-nfr* IX. 3/4.

(b) periphr. infin. with *'r*.

past part. *N. p e·'r 'y* IX. 2/15.

past circumst. (?) *e 'r-f 'y* IX. 3/7.

past emphatic *e 'r-f 'y* IX. 4/11, 13, v. p. 224, note 15.

past neg. circumst. *e b 'r-f 'y* IX. 3/7, 4/7.

(c) qualitative in nominal sentence used for past ind. 'I came,' v. p. 218, note 6; p. 221, note 14:—

Sing. 1 *te-y- 'y-k* IX. 2/5, 4/18, 20, 5/12.

2 m. and f. —

3 m. *e-f 'w* IX. 2/12, 4/17; *N. 'w* 1/2, 2/5, 4/9, 5/4, XXXVI/11; *e-f e·'w* IX. 12/9, and in ppr. nn. *P-ḥ-'w, Ṯḥwt-'w.*

3 f., in ppr. n. *T-ḥ-'y·t* VIII/1.

pl. 1 *te-n 'y·t* IX. 19/20. pl. 2 —

pl. 3 *st 'w* IX. 2/13; *n w'b·w 'w* 4/5.

(d) qualitative with *n-*, used for present (future) ⲛ-ⲏⲩ, v. p. 225, note 2, 244, note 11:—

indic. 1st sing. *te-y n-'y·k* 'I am going,' IX. 5/4.

3 pl. *st n-'w*, IX. 18/12.

circumst. *e-w n-'w*, IX. 4/19.

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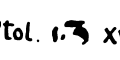
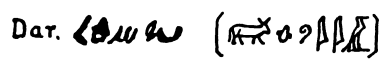
(e) stm-f (form *e-ʾw-f*, v. p. 223, note 21, and cf. above *e-f e-ʾw*):—
dep. on *ỉy* (ϯ-ayo) *ỉe-f* [*e-*]ʾw *N.* IX. 3/20, 11/17.
dep. on *my, my e-ʾw N.* IX. 3/19.
dep. on *mr, e-w a mr-ỉ-f e-ʾw(-y)* &c., IX. 12/16.
after *ḫr* consuet. *ḫr e-ʾw-w* IX. 6/18; *e ḫr e-ʾw N.* 12/7.
(f) rel. stm-f *a-e-ʾw-f* (?) IX. 20/9.
(g) Imperative see **ʾm**.

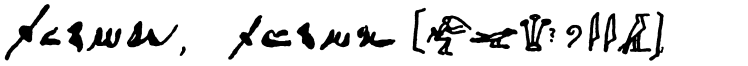
Meanings:—
'come' p. 218, note 6; note constr. *ỉ mỉ a-e-ʾw-f n-k nʾm-s* 'about it' IX. 20/9, v. p. 246, note 7.
'amount to (?)' *e-s a ʾy n bỉ 20 . . . a st 1 yḫ* IX. 17/14, v. p. 243, note 18 (on p. 244): hardly to be connected with ειμι similis esse or with tn (*ʿn* ?) 'at rate of.'
'be about to' *P. ʾw a š a mr* IX. 14/5, v. p. 235, note 13; 236, note 16.

ʾy subst. masc. 'island,' = falsely spelled. v. geogr. nn. *Pr-ʾy-lq, Pa-y.*

La. Ptol.  Dar. 

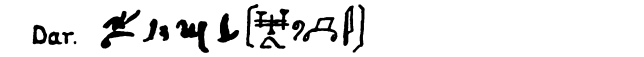
ʾy subst. fem. 'place' = or possibly **yḫ** 'land.' v. geogr. nn. *Tʾy(?)-bʾn-ỉ, Y- . . .*

ʾy subst. masc. 'fat ox' for sacrifice, Eg. .
b ʾr-f šp ʾy n-ỉʾ n p nḫỉ IX. 25/7; *pe-f ʾy ḫnš a rm* 25/8.

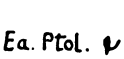
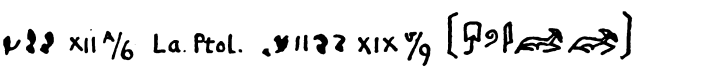
Dar. 

ʾyt (better **ʾyḫ**?) subst. masc. Cf. . *n-nỉm r-w ḫn ʾyỉ* IX. 24/7; *p ʾyỉ* 25/7, 8; v. p. 251, note 17.

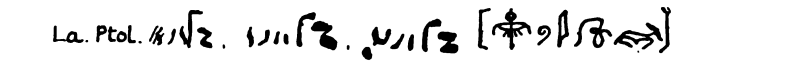
ʾw verb irreg. 'come,' see under **ʾy**, (c)–(e).

Dar. 

ʾw verb 'give,' only in imperative *e-ʾw* ay-, ayi=. *e-ʾw škr* IX. 6/18.

Ea. Ptol.  La. Ptol. 

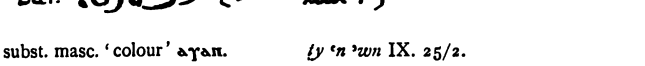
ʾw subst. masc. 'dog.' v. ppr. n. *P-ʾw-Ḥr.*

La. Ptol. 

ʾwe subst. fem. 'pledge,' cf. aoyω masc. *ʾwe n mỉ nb* XXI/28. *ỉ k-ỉ ʾwe-ỉ 2-ỉ* XXXVI/9; *n ʾwe-w* XXXVI/4, v/2.

Ea. Ptol. La. Ptol.

ʾwe-t, ʾwy-t subst. fem. 'quarter' (of a town), v. p. 258, note 5.
ʾwyỉ mḫl-ỉ Ne XI/2, XII/1, XIII/1, XIV/1.
ỉ ʾwe-ỉ ybỉ Pr-Ḥt-Ḥr XVII/3; *ḫr-ʾb* (?) *ʾmn n Pr-Ḥt-Ḥr* (with det. as if 'pledge') XVIII/4; *mḫỉ ybỉ n Pr-Ḥt-Ḥr* XXIII/3; *ʾmnỉ-ỉ ỉmy n Sbk* XLIV. B/6.

Dar. 

ʾwn subst. masc. 'colour' ayan. *ỉy ʿn ʾwn* IX. 25/2.

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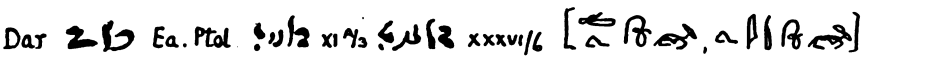
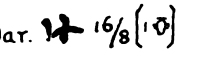
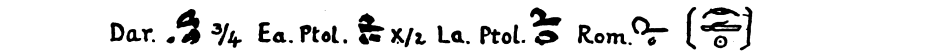


ʾwṯ prep. 'between,' 'amongst' ογτε, ογτωⲙ.
e p ḫyr Pr-ᶜo ʾwṯ-w, et sim. XI/3, XV. A/2, B/3, &c.; *n t mṯy ʾwṯ-n* XXXIV/6.
qṯy ʾwṯ ḫn·w-f IX. 25/7; *p sp ne* (?) *a·wne ʾwṯ-w* XXXVI/21.

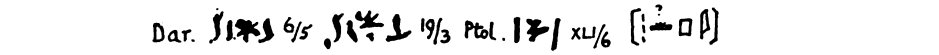


ʾb subst. masc. 'heart.'
in *ḫr-ʾb*.
in royal n. *Wḥ-ʾb-Rᶜ*, ppr. n. *Mr-ʾb-Ptḥ*.

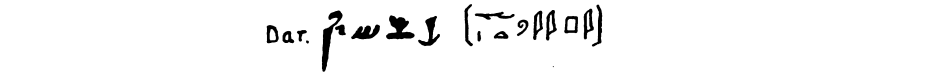
ʾby subst. 'honey' ⲉϩⲓⲱ (masc.).
ḥn ʾby 50 IX. 16/18.



ʾbṯ subst. masc. 'month' ⲉϩⲟⲧ.
p ʾbṯ XXI/22–3; *ʾr-y ʾbṯ* ⟨*3*⟩ IX. 3/2, 3/4, cf. 5/1; *pe ʾbṯ n* (?) *7* 4/11; *ḫr ʾbṯ nb* X/2; *rnp·t 12 a ʾbṯ 146* XXV/12.
p ʾbṯ p ntr XLV. A/1, v. p. 173, note 1.
for names of months v. special index, p. 418.

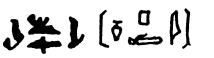


ʾp verb 'count' ωⲡ.
stm-f *ṯy ʾp-w s erme-k* IX. 6/5.
infin. *mte-k ʾp(-w?) ar-k* XLI/4; *nte-k ʾp p ǯm* XLI/6.
in title *wᶜ sḫ e-f ʾp* IX. 19/1; *py sḫ nt ʾp* 19/3, v. p. 245, note 4.
as subst. *ʾr p ʾp n p t erme* IX. 10/12; *pe-f ʾp* 10/11, 12; *ʾr pe-k ʾp* 9/10.

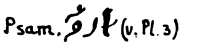


ʾpy subst. fem. 'measure' ⲟⲓⲡⲉ.
ḫb-w te-k ʾpy IX. 25/3.

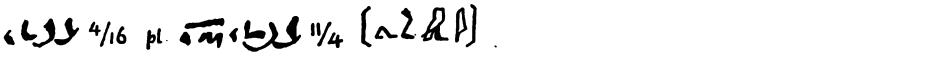
ʾpṯ subst. 'goose,' 'fowl' ωϧⲧ.
ef n ʾpṯ I (Pl. 3); *ʾpṯ 30* . . . IX. 16/18.
p ʾmn n ʾḥ ʾpṯ IX. 8/4–5; *ǯwṯ* (?) *ʾpṯ* XII. H/15.
in figure IX. 24/4; *t mw·t n n ʾpṯ-w* 24/5.



ʾpṯ subst. 'cup,' 'vessel' ⲁⲡⲟⲧ (masc.).
ʾpṯ-w n ḫṯ nb IX. 7/7.



ef subs. masc. 'flesh' ⲁⲥϥ.
ef n ʾḥ ef n ʾpṯ I (Pl. 3).



ʾm verb in imperat. 'come!' v. **ʾy**. Sing. *ʾm*, pl. *ʾm-n* IX. 11/4, 17/16. ⲁⲙⲟⲩ, pl. ⲁⲙⲱⲓⲛⲓ.
ʾm Nᶜ N IX. 12/13; *ʾm n-n* IX. 25/8.
followed by *ṯe(-y)*, *ṯe-n* IX. 4/16, 5/10, 15/17, 17/16.

ʾme 'cat,' v. **me**.

ʾmy subst. fem. (?) 'fist.'
in divine n. *Nfr-ʾmy*, v. p. 300, note 2.

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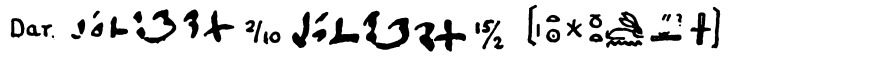
Dar.  2/10 15/2

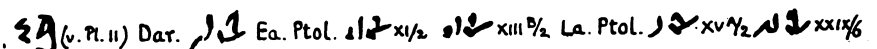
ʾm-wnt subst. masc. 'guard' ϵⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧ, v. p. 222, note 4; cf. Pap. Hood II/12, with det. .

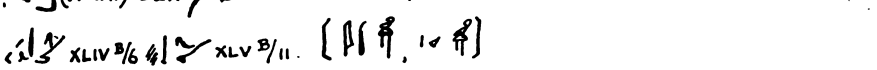
n ʾm-wnt-w a-wne ḫr r-n IX. 2/10, 11.
wˢ ʾm-wne (?) IX. 15/2, v. p. 238, note 2.

Dar. 6/4

ʾmn verb 'pasture,' Boh. ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, cf. **mn** 'pasture.'

inf. as subst. *p ʾmn n ʾḥ ʾpṭ* IX. 8/4; *p ʾmn* 8/6, 12, 9/1, 11.

Psam  (v. Pl. 11) Dar. Ea. Ptol. XI/2 XIII B/2 La. Ptol. XV A/2 XXIX/6

Rom.  XLIV B/6 XLV B/11.

ʾmnt subst. masc. 'west-side' ϵⲙϵⲛⲧ.
with suff. (Psam.), see opposite.
with article *ḫr p ʾmnt* IX. 11/10; *pr-ʾmnt Ne* XI/2, v. **p**.
adj. 'west' *te-f zy-t ʾmnt* XII/3; *t ʾwe-t ḫr-ʾb ʾmnt* XVIII/4. As adjective *ʾmnt* (and its congeners) may take the determinative of the word to which it is attached closely: e.g. in XVIII/4.

[The boundaries of property are given thus :—
Psam. II (Pl. 11) *nt e rs-s . . . mḥṭ-s . . . ʾmnt-s . . . ybṭ-s.*
Ea. Ptol. XI/2 *ne-f ḫyn-w* (*pe-f*)*rs . . . pe-f mḥṭ . . .* (*pe-f*) *ybṭ . . . pe-f ʾmnt.*
„ XII/2, &c, *ne-f ḫyn-w rs . . . pe-f mḥṭ . . . pe-f ybṭ . . . pe-f ʾmnt.*
La. Ptol. XV/2 and later *n ḫyn-w* (*p yḥ ṭr-f*) *rs . . . mḥṭ . . . ybṭ . . . ʾmnt* (var. *ʾmnt . . . ybṭ . . .*).]

Dar.

ʾmḥ subst. fem. 'cavern' (?) .
te-k ʾmḥ IX. 25/4.

ʾmḥ·t verb 'seize,' imperative of **mḥ** q.v.

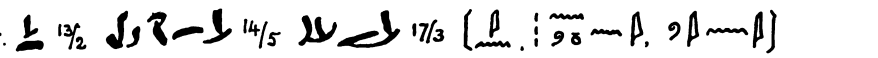
ʾm-ḫṭe. v. **mḫṭe**.

Psam. (v. Pl. 12) Ahm. V/5 VIII/5 Dar. 6/12 La. Ptol.

ʾn post-negative particle following *bn* **n̄-** . . . **ⲁⲛ**, v. p. 208, note 7, once without *bn* in variant, v. ib.
in nominal sentence; present: *bn te-tn s ʾn te* II (Pl. 12), cf. V/5, VIII/5; *bn mte-k rm ʾn* IX. 1/18.
1st pres. *bn st pḥ ʾn* IX. 17/14; *bneln* (sic for **nn̄**) *ˁš m-s-k n mṭ ʾn* XXXIII/6; *ḫr bne-f* (**n̄q**) *gˀ n-w ʾn* IX. 24/4.
impf. *wne bn N. n T. ʾn* IX. 11/9.
with nominal verb *e bn n-sbq-k n ms ʾn* IX. 6/12.
neg. perf. II (?) *bn eˑʾr-y* ⟨*sṭm*⟩ *ʾn* IX. 12/12, 13/12, v. p. 235, note 2.

ʾn interrogative particle **ϵⲛϵ : ⲁⲛ**, written as the last.
followed by nominal sentence IX. 1/11, 2/15–16, 4/6, 10–11, 19; *ʾn wn* 8/15, 10/12.
fut. *ʾn e-k a* IX. 1/15, 5/10.
past freq. *ʾn wne ḫr ṭe-w* IX. 7/2.
followed by past emphatic stm-f *ʾn e ʾr-y ʾy* IX. 4/11, also (?) *ʾn eˑr-k nˁy* 4/19.

ʾn sometimes so written for prep. **n** 'in' (?) when emphatic.
dative (?) *e-f mtr . . . ʾn s eˑʾr N.* in attestation I, II (Pl. 1, 19), VI (Pl. 17).
'in' *ʾr-n p-hw ʾn swr* IX. 9/7 (parallel *n swr*).

Dar.  13/2 14/5 17/3

ʾn, ʾne conditional particle; **ϵⲛϵ** but in dem. of a *possible* condition.
ʾn bn 'if not' IX. 13/2; *ʾne bn* 14/5–6, 17/3; v. p. 235, note 12: cf. **ϵⲛϵ ⲙⲛⲟⲛ** and **ϵⲙⲙⲟⲛ** St. § 630, p. 414.
ʾne mte pe IX. 8/18, v. p. 230, note 11.
form *ʾne N.* stm (with personal subj. only) IX. 12/13, 13/19, 20, 16/17, 20/19–20.
form *ʾn* stm-f in *ʾn wḥ*(*-y* ?) *s ʾn e-k a rḫ* IX. 10/17, v. p. 232, note 8.

ʾn subst. masc. 'courtyard,' v. **ʾnḥ**.

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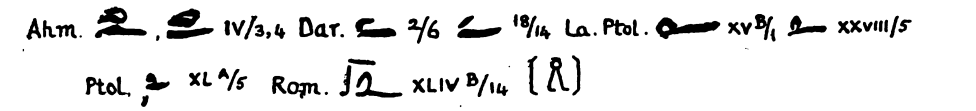


ʾn(y) verb 'bring,' 'take' ειπε.

stm-f indic. past *ʾn-f* IX. 2/6; *ʾn-w* 19/7; after *ỉy* 2/4, 3/10; after *my* 3/9.

(periphr. emph. past *e·ʾr-w ʾn·t-f* IX. 8/16, p. 226, note 2.)

a·stm-f (rel. past) IX. 16/9, 18/3, XV. A/2, B/3, marriage forms (7) (9) on p. 269; XL passim, XLIV. B/14.

infinitive *ʾn* IX. 5/6; *ʾn·t-w* marriage form (17) on p. 269.

imperative, v. p. 225, note 7; *ʾ·ʾn* IX. 5/3, 5, 19/19 (see also the next); *e·ʾn* 5/3, 17/7, 19/18.

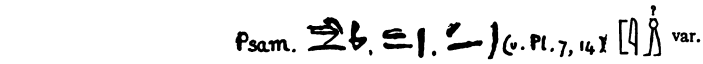
qual. 3rd fem. *te-f s n ḫ-ntr ʾn·t a ḫry* IX. 21/5.

Phrases: *ʾn e-ỉbe ḥṯ* 'buy' XV. A/2, B/3, XLIV. B/14.

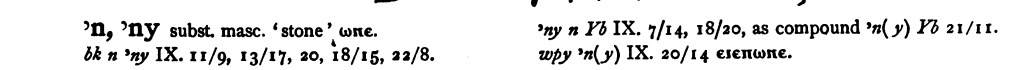
ʾn a ḫry 'pull down' IX. 18/14, 19/7, 20/1, 21/5.

ʾn a ḫry 'take out' XL. A, &c.

Occurs in title *ʾn-wwy*, p. 425. Cf. also **ʾn-šn** and div. n. *ʾN-ḫr*.



ʾn(y) verb 'produce' in imperat. in phrase *s ʾ·ʾn-mtr sḫ* I, II (Pl. 7, 14), generally spelt as the imperat. of the last (cf. IX. 5/3, &c.), but possibly for **ʿn**, see p. 204, note 33.



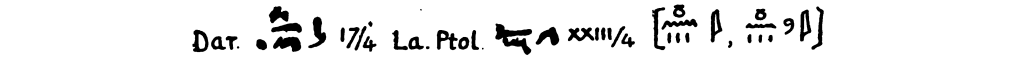
ʾn, ʾny subst. masc. 'stone' ωπε.

ỉbk n ʾny IX. 11/9, 13/17, 20, 18/15, 22/8.

ʾny ỉmgy IX. 18/20 (var. *ỉmgy* alone 7/14).

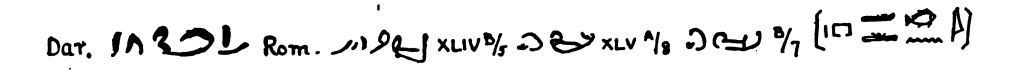
ʾny n Yb IX. 7/14, 18/20, as compound *ʾn(y) Yb* 21/11.

wpy ʾn(y) IX. 20/14 ειεπωπε.



ʾn·n abs. pron. 1 pl. 'we' ανοκ.

e ʾn-n n e·ʾr sḫ IX. 17/4; *en-n mte-n* XXIII/4.



ʾnḫ subst. masc. 'courtyard,' 'enclosure' = αυλη in XLIV, XLV ονϩ, ανϩ (spelt **ʾn** in XLV).

wᶜ ḫ nḫ n pe-f qỉy n ʾnḫ IX. 7/12.

pe-f ʾnḫ nt ʾr n-f ybt XLIV. B/5; *pe-f ʾn(ḫ) rs* XLV. A/8, B/7.

ʾn·šn. v. **šn** 'hair.'

ʾnk abs. pron. 1 sing. 'I' ανοκ. v. **ʾnn, mte-, st.**

ʾnk ḫᶜ-y I (Pl. 4), VIII/4, IX. 1/11; *ʾnk mte* sale and cession forms (9) on pp. 256, 257.

ʾnk e·ʾr ỉy I (Pl. 5), VIII/5.

ʾnk p-e·ỉe P. ʿḫ-f 14/12; *ʾnk p nt* 13/2–3.

ʾnk pe-k bk V/2, VI (Pl. 17).

as possessive, v. p. 229, note 11:—

ỉ ʔ . . . ʾnk s IX. 8/2; *ʾnk ỉ ʔ* 9/12; *ʾnk s* 18/8.

mte-ỉ pe-w šy ʾnk pe-w syḫf (?) marriage form 15) on p. 269.

ʾr· form with suffix of prep. **a** 'to,' q. v.

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Psam. 𓂋𓏲𓏲 , 𓂋𓏲𓏲 (v. Pl. 1, 5, 9, 12) Ahm. 𓂋𓏲𓏲 III/2 𓂋𓏲𓏲 IV/2 (v. Pl. 17 ex.) Dar. 𓂋𓏲𓏲 1/3 𓂋𓏲𓏲 1/4
Ea. Ptol. 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XI/5 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XI D/3 La. Ptol. 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XIX/9 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XXIX/10 : note ꜣ-f written 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XV A/5 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XVII/5
but 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XVI/9: Rom. 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XLIV B/8 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XLV A/20 [𓂋𓏲𓏲]

ꜣr verb 'do' **ερε**.

(1) As an independent verb:—

Forms: stm-f, passim.

rel. stm-f, passim: *e.ꜣr-f* V/2; *a.ꜣr-f* IX. 7/16.

as optative IX. 3/11, 10/16.

qualitative.—

infin., passim: with suff. *ꜣr-f* showing no *t*.

imperative *e.ꜣr s* IX. 13/17, 15/13; *e.ꜣr sṯ* 9/9; *e.ꜣr wḫ* 8/17. Cf. also p. 230, note 7.

Meanings: (a) without object 'do' IX. 25/1.

'act,' 'do' *ꜣr a ḫ* XVII/5, XXI/29.

ꜣr n of 'acting for,' 'serving' God IX. 24/11, 12.

(b) with object:—

(reflexive) 'become,' 'happen'(?) *ꜣr-s mṯ ḫsf.ṯ m-ḏ.ṯ-f* IX. 15/8.

'make' passim *ꜣr ḥp* 'punish' IX. 3/7, 4/8; *e(-y) ꜣr* (or *e wn*?) *ms ḫwṯ m-s-s* VIII/8, meaning doubtful, v. p. 217, note 6.

ꜣr pe-f ḥṯ . . . . 1 a 2 IX. 8/15, cf. 6/2, of multiplying.

of time 'spend' *ꜣr ss* IX. 5/8; *ꜣr wne* 3/1; *ꜣr ḥḏ* 3/2; *ꜣr ḥw* 3/2; *ꜣr p ḥ n p-Rᶜ* 3/11; also *ꜣr sp* 3/6, 4/7.

similarly *ꜣr ḥl* 'flee' (?) IX. 24/7, v. p. 251, note 18.

ꜣr ḥḏw n 'slay' 24/4, v. p. 251, note 10.

ꜣr ḥṯ 'sail' v. **ḥṯ**, *ꜣr smṯ* 'be like' IX. 13/10; *ꜣr sḫy* 'control,' 'have power over,' v. **sḫy**.

ꜣr nᵓm-y nfr 'heal upon me'(?) of a wound IX. 3/3, v. p. 223, note 3; *e.ꜣr ꜣr nfr-w* (= εὐχάριστος?) XV. A/1, B/1.

'make *x* into (*n*)' *ꜣr-y ṯ-ṯ n ḫm-ṯ* X/1, in marriage formula (3) on p. 268; *ꜣr-f ne-f ḫrṯ-w n wᶜb* IX. 7/11; *ṯe-f ꜣr-w sṯ n ꜥpḥ-w* 7/7; *ꜣr-w Pr-ᶜo n rm ᶜo* 10/16.

so also (?) *ꜣr n p ṯ rs n wpy* IX. 6/1; *ꜣr-f n wpy* 10/2, v. p. 226, note 10.

'act as,' 'form' *e ṯe-f ẓy ꜥmnṯ ꜣr n-y ẓy bk.ṯ* XI/3; *pe-f ꜥnḫ nṯ ꜣr n-f yḫṯ* XLIV. B/5.

so of quantity, number, &c., 'amount to' *ꜣr mḥ-ntr x* IX. 7/12, XLIV. B/8; *ꜣr sṯ 9½ yḫ* XV. A/3; *e-w ꜣr ḫṯ.ṯ 2.ṯ* XLV. A/9.

so also in *ꜣr ḳḳ* 'work,' 'occupation' VI (Pl. 17), v. p. 230, note 4; *ꜣr nḏ* 'capture' IX. 16/13, v. p. 242, note 14; *ꜣr ḫn-ntr* 'be prophet,' 1/3; *ꜣr wᶜḥ* 'be priest,' v. **wᶜb**; *ꜣr nmḥ* 'be tenant' (?), v. **nmḥ**; *ꜣr sḫ pr-ᶜnḫ* 14/21; *ꜣr ḫpry n rm* 'be a marvel of a man' IX. 6/4.

(2) As an auxiliary with infinitive verb:—

Stm-f: *ꜣr-f* ⟨*sṭm*⟩ only with quadriliteral verbs and others of which stm-f is obsolete or not used; *ꜣr-w ḳḳy ṭḥ* IX. 21/3.

ḥ ꜣr-f ⟨*sṭm*⟩ neg. consuet. v. **ḥ**; *wne ḥ ꜣr rm ꜣr* IX. 6/13.

Emphatic stm-f: *e.ꜣr-y* ⟨*sṭm*⟩ **aq-cωτaa** (past) IX. 1/14, 2/13, 20, 3/3, 7, 4/6, 7, 8, v. p. 226, note 20.

fut. (?) IX. 4/8, 19, v. p. 224, note 12.

ḫn e.ꜣr-f ⟨*sṭm*⟩ *ꜣn* (neg. past) IX. 12/12, 13/11–12, v. p. 235, note 2.

e e.ꜣr-w ꜣr (circumst. past) **εaγ-** IX. 10/11.

e.ꜣr-s perhaps for 1st pres., Boh. **ac-** IX. 17/14, v. p. 243, note 17, and cf. p. 226, note 20.

e.ꜣr-f a ⟨*sṭm*⟩ emphatic fut. IX. 6/5, 6, v. p. 226, note 19; *nṯ e.ꜣr N.a ꜣr-f* (= ὃν δεῖ ὁμόσαι) XXXVI/1.

[*e.ꜣr-k* is written for **εκ-** in documents from the Ptolemaic period onward, and 2 fem. sing. *e.ꜣr-ṯ* = **ερε-** is found in XLV. A/11. v. **e**.]

Rel. stm-f (past):—

note esp. ⟨*sṭm*⟩ *e.ꜣr N.* after prepositions: with *z* I, II (Pl. 1, 9), with *ꜣr* IX. 1/3.

Participle, v. p. 203, note 27, and cf. ppr. n., *Ḥr-e.ꜣr-ᶜw, T-šr-ṯ-n-ṯ-e.ꜣr-nᶜ, ꜥS-, ꜥḤ-, Pṯḥ-, Ṯḫwṯ-e.ꜣr-ṯy-s.*

(fut.) *e.ꜣr ṯy nᶜ-f* I (Pl. 1), VIII/5; also probably *ny wᶜb·w n e.ꜣr z n-k* IX. 18/7.

(past) *mṯ nḥ e.ꜣr ḫp* IX. 2/1; *ny wᶜb·w e.ꜣr ḫwy* 5/3; *e.ꜣr ꜣr nfr-w* (= εὐχάριστος?) XV. A/1, B/1.

note esp. emph. periphr., narrative past, *N. p-e.ꜣr* ⟨*sṭm*⟩ (for *pe e.ꜣr*) IX. 2/5, 15, 3/5, v. p. 221, note 15, p. 222, note 10.

Qualitative (not found).

Infinitive (passim):—

note esp. emph. periphr., v. p. 219, note 12.

impf. ⟨*sṭm*⟩ *p nṯ wnee-f ꜣr-f* IX. 21/6.

fut. ⟨*sṭm*⟩ *p nṯ e-f a ꜣr-f* IX. 1/5–6, 4/11.

Vetitive: **m-ꜣr** q.v.

Dar. 𓂋𓏲𓏲 La. Ptol. 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XX/4 𓂋𓏲𓏲 XXXVI/16 [𓂋𓏲𓏲]

ꜣr subst. com. 'companion,' 'rival' pl. **ερηγ**.

ꜣr n z opponent in trial IX. 15/18, v. p. 240, note 10, *n ꜣr-w n pš* 'co-heirs' XX/4; *mn rm ꜥš m-s pe-f ꜣr nᵓm-w* XXXVI/16 (*nᵓm-w* depends on *ꜥš*, q. v.); *ne-w ꜣr·w* XXXIII/3. Also in ppr. n. *P-a·ṯe-ꜣR-ḫms-nfr.*

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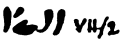
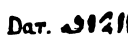
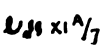
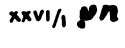
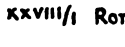
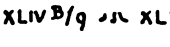
Dar.

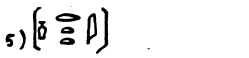
ʾrb verb 'include' ωρϩ.
ʾrḃ-w n šˁ·w n ḫ·w (?) *a t my* IX. 16/10.

Psam.

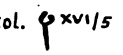
ʾrp subst. masc. 'wine' ирп.
ʾrp ḥq ḫbs I (Pl. 3).

Ahm. VII/2 Dar.  2/6 Ea. Ptol.  XI A/7 B/4 XII B/5 La. Ptol.  XV A/5 XXVI/1  XXVIII/1 Rom.  XLIV B/9 XLV A/18 

erme prep. 'with,' 'and' ⲁⲙⲛ-: ⲛⲉⲙ-, ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲁ=: ⲛⲉⲙⲁ=.
be 'with' *ḫp-y erme-k ˁn* VII/2; *e-t n ḫn erme-w . . . e-t n ḥl erme-w* marriage form (14) on p. 269.
Sḫk erme-ỉn, a benediction (?), IX. 17/7.
in legal usages, of contest, &c. *s qnḃ* (&c.) *erme-k* VIII/10, X/4, sale form (14) on p. 256; *s te-f mṯ erme-k* IX. 6/6, v. p. 227, note 2; *m-š a p ˁy n wpy erme py rm* IX. 15/17.
'and,' joining persons, IX. 2/6, 3/9; and things, 7/14 et passim.

Psam.  (v. Pl. 5)

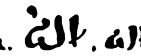
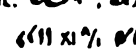
ʾrt subst. fem. 'milk' ερωτε. *ḫbs sm ʾrt* I (Pl. 3).

La. Ptol. XVI/5 XX/4  XXI/10 XXX/8 Ptol. XLI/3, 4

ʾrṯb subst. masc. ἀρτάβη, ερτοϩ, ρταϩ.
Dar. (?), v. p. 242, note 12.
later, only in *ʾrṯb sw*, for which *sw* alone is often written: v. p. 268, note 1.
ʾrṯb sw 10 XVI/5; *ʾrṯb sw 187½* XLI/4, &c., in later marriage contracts, loans, &c.
ỉn (?) *ʾrṯb sw 5 a st 1 yḫ* XL/7.

Dar.

ʾhm subst. 'groaning' ⲁϩⲟⲩⲛ. *ʾhm n-ỉ ỉ mw n n ʾpỉ·w* IX. 24/5.

Psam. (v. Pl. 3) Ahm.  VIII/5, 6 Dar. 8/5 Ea. Ptol. X/3
 XI A/1  C/1 La. Ptol. in name XXIX/3

ʾḥ subst. com. 'ox,' 'cow' εϩε.
ỉf n ʾḥ I (Pl. 3); *ty ʾḥ šry sḫ bk* VIII/2; *ʾḥ a te-s mrt* VIII/6; *p ʾmn n ʾḥ ʾpỉ* IX. 8/5; *ʾḥ·t ˁo ˁw* X/3; *ʾḥ·t ˁo ˁw nḃ* XI/1.
See also title *mr-ʾḥ* and ppr. nn. *P-mr-ʾḥ*, *P-šr(-t?)-ʾḥ*, and place-name *T-ḥ·t-n-t-ʾḥ·t*, p. 424.

Dar.

ʾḥ interrog. pron. 'what?' ⲁⲩ.
begins pronom. sentence *ʾḥ p ṯy* . . . IX. 5/7; *ʾḥ n nt* . . . 9/9. So also 12/10, 13/16, 20/3.
at end after prepos. *e-ṯbe* IX. 9/15; *a* 24/12.

Psam. (v. Pl. 1) Ahm. VI 7/7

ʾḥ·t 'horizon,' v. ppr. n. *P-s-n-mṯk-m-ʾḥ·t*, div. n. *Ḥr-m-ʾḥ·t*.

ʾḫ 'inundation,' 'verdure.' only in names of months as written, v. Months, p. 418.

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Psam. (v. Pl. 2)

ḫy subst. pl. 'things' -νχις. *ne-w ḫy-w* (of priests) I (Pl. 2).

Dar.

ḫ-mn subst. (? proper or divine n.) (cf. *ḫmny* festival in Berl. 3115, p. 4 a/12, 17?). *tḫb-f a ḫ-mn* IX. 18/5, v. p. 102, note 4, p. 244, note 8.

Dar. 8/8 Ea.Ptol. E/2 A/4 etc.

s adj. 'belonging to' properly *-s*, written *e-s* (?) pl. *-st* XI/4. Eg. *n-sw* pl. *n-st*. v. **ns**.
Only used before *p*, v. p. 230, note 1.
s P-a-ṯe-S IX. 8/8; *s p pr n Pr-ʿo* 10/4; *s Pr-o* 16/15; *s p mr* . . . 19/1.
n qs(-w) nt e-st (p) ḫr-ḫb N. XI/4; var. *t. qs-t* . . . *nt e-s* (?) *(p) ḫr-ḫb N.* XI. E/2, v. p. 258, note 11.

Dar.

s adj. 'old' ac.
wʿ mkt s IX. 2/14. v. also uncertain IV/3.

Ptol. XLI/4 La. Ptol.

sw subst. masc. 'exchange,' 'price,' 'payment' acoy, v. p. 279, note 2.
p sw e-f r n-k sw ʿ-y XLI/4; *t sw e-f* (?) *ḥ rṯ* XXI/27.

Ptol. XLI/6

sḫ verb 'reap' ωcs.
inf. *mte-k sk sḫ ḫn-w* XLI/6; *n yḥ nt e-k sḫ-w ḫr-rnp* XLI/8, 13.

Dar. 4/13 25/6

sq verb 'delay' ωcκ.
stm-f: *sq-tn e-w hb m-s-tn* IX. 4/13; *sq-w* (?) 25/6 (v. p. 253, note 12).

Dar. 1/9 3/20

q verb 'fail,' 'perish' in τ-ακο.
stm-f (indic. past.) *q ḫt-y* IX. 2/20. (dep. on *ṯy*) 'destroy,' 'spoil' *p ṯm* IX. 1/8, 11, 13; *Te-w-sy* 1/16, 2/1; *mṯ* 10/8, 15; *ṯe-w q ḳe ḥṯ 20 n wpy ʾny* 20/14.
qualitative 3 fem. *te-w mṯ q-t* IX. 3/12.

Ahm. V/4 VII/4 (v. Pl. 18) Dar. 13/16

t subst. 'back,' only in compound with suffix and prep. *ḫr* ϩιωω= : ϩιωτ=.
n ḫbs nt ḫr -(n) V/4, VI (Pl. 18), VII/4.
(inscription) *ḫr -s* IX. 13/16, 18. So also (?) *e-n rḫ grʿ-f ḫr -s s* 18/19, v. p. 245, note 3.

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Ahm. VIII/10 Dar. 24/12 Ea. Ptol. X/4 XI/7 XI E/3 La. Ptol. XV/7 XVII/6 XXVIII/9 Rom XLIV B/16 XLV A/2

ʾt prep. 'without' ατ-.
ʾt sp nb sale form (6) on p. 256, marriage form (12) on p. 269.
ʾt sḫ nb cession form (12) on p. 257.
ʾt s ʾt stḥ XXI/16.
with infin. *ʾt s* VIII/10, X/4; sale form (14) on p. 256, marriage form (19) on p. 269; *ʾt mne* X/4, XIV/4. XXI/23, XLIV. A/15, B/16, XLV. A/22; *ʾt sms* IX. 24/12.

e·ṭb. v. ṭb.

Dar. 11/13

ʾṭp verb 'load,' 'embark' (?) ωτπ.
stm-f intrans. *ʾṭp P. a pe-f ṭgs* IX. 11/13.

Psam

ʾṭn subst. 'wakîl,' 'agent'; in hieratic in IX. 22/14, v. p. 108, note 12, *o* (on p. 109).
te P ʾṭn I (Pl. 2), v. p. 202, note 11.

Dar. 12/20 18/2 La. Ptol. XVIII/3

ʾṭn subst. masc. 'ground,' 'mainland' ειτη.
sṭr n-f a p ʾṭn IX. 12/20, 13/9.
t sḫ p eṭn IX. 17/17, 18/2 (opposed to 'island'), v. p. 244, note 3.
mḥ ʾṭn, measure 1 × 100 cubits, v. **mḥ** 'cubit.'

ʿ·ṭ (Eg.) in **ʿ-sb**, q.v. and perhaps in title *mr ʿ·ṭ* (?).

Dar. 6/10 fem. 7/4 3/4 Ea. Ptol. X/3 La. Ptol. XVI/7 XXVIII/5 fem. XV/1 Rom. XLIV B/7 XLV B/9.

ʿO adj. 'great' o fem. *ʿo·ṭ* ω pl. *ʿy·w* ⲁⲟⲓ.
Of things, 'large' *ỉs ʿo . . . ỉs ḥm* XVI/7.
'great' *rpy-ʿy·w* v. **rpy**; *ʿy ʿo* IX. 6/10, pl. 7/4, 13/10.
yʿḥ ʿo·ṭ IX. 1/19; *sḫy ʿo·ṭ* 7/4; *wʿ·ṭ nḫy ʿo·ṭ* 14/4.
Of persons, &c., 'important' *pe nb ʿo* IX. 5/20, 6/5; *p nṭr ʿo* 12/8, XLIV. B/7, XLV. B/9; *nṭr·w ʿy·w* IX. 12/7; *ỉy rm ʿo·ṭ* 12/13; *n rm ʿy·w* 13/20; *ne-⟨f⟩ rm ʿy·w* 3/4, 4/12, 7/1.
'wealthy' *rm ʿo ar-k* IX. 15/18; *ʾr-w Pr-ʿo n rm ʿo* 10/16.
in age *P-ỉr-ʾS p ʿo* XXXIII/2; *E-f-ʿnḫ p ʿo* XLV. A/16; *Gl-hb ṭ ʿo·ṭ* = Καλιβις πρεσβυτερα XV/1; *p wʿb ʿo* IX. 6/20; *Pr-ʿo Psmṭk p ʿo* 5/14; *ne-ỉn yṭ·w ʿy·w* 6/14; *n sn·w ʿy·w n n wʿb·w* 11/1; *ỉr ʿo* X/3, marriage form (6) on p. 268.
v. titles *Pr-ʿo, ʿo-n-mr, ʿo-n-wʿb*, p. 225, note 15, div. nn. *ʿO-pḥ·ṭ, Rm-ʿo*, ppr. nn. *Ḥr-ʿo-pḥ·ṭ, Pa-ṭ-s-ʿo·ṭ.*

ʿO subst. 'greatness'? in Dar.; takes suffix, v. p. 231, note 7, 232, note 9, and cf. **ʿw**.
ʿo p nk 'excess' IX. 9/11, 20/20; *ʿo-f n ḫp* 'his balance (?) of existence' 10/18.
pe-w wš ʿo s (hardly *ʿo-s* as verb 'it is great') IX. 16/19. v. p. 243, note 3.

Ea. Ptol. X/3 XI E/1 B/1 La. Ptol. fem. XXXVII/2

ʿO subst. 'ass' εω, ειω, ειϩ- : ιω, fem. *ʿo·ṭ*, v. p. 271, note 2.
ʾḥ·ṭ ʿo ʿw X/3, XI/1.
wʿ·ṭ ʿo·ṭ a ḥṭ 300 XXXVII/2.

Ea. Ptol.

ʿʿn (better *ʿn*) subst. masc. 'ape' εϩ.
ḫr-ḫb n p ʿʿn XI/1, 4.
v. also ppr. n. *P-ʿn*.

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Dat. Ea. Ptol. Ptol.

ʿ(y) subst. 'hand' Eg. : in prepositional phrases meaning 'at charge of,' 'the concern of,' &c.

nt e-s a ḥp a ʿy-y X/4, v. p. 255, note 4.

ʾr n-k ʾsw ʿy-y XLI/4.

ʿy·w n wrše·w (poetical), IX. 24/17, v. p. 252, note 17.

v. compound prep. r-ʿ, ppr. nn. *Pe-f-tw-ʿw-* (and p. 206, note 49), *P-s-n-mṯk-ʿ-Nyt.*

Dat. 2/4 Ea. Ptol. XI ½, with art. often . Boh. ΠΕ-HI XII C/3.

La. Ptol. XVII/3 XXVIII/8 XLIV B/4 XLV A/9

ʿy subst. masc. 'place,' 'house' Eg. (but v. pr, and p. 228, note 6). HI.

'place' describing city, &c. *Te-w-gy wʿ ʿy e-f rḫ* IX. 17/10, similarly 12/7, 13/1, 16/11.

describing temple IX. 8/13; *ʿy ʿo* 6/10, pl. *ʿy·w ʿy·w* 7/3–4, 13/10.

more vaguely IX. 2/4, 6/9, 19/12.

'house' generally specified as belonging to a person IX. 3/2, 5/7, 9/20, 19/10, XI/2, marriage forms (7), (9), (17) on p. 269: but also absolutely IX. 4/5, &c., and *sṯbḫ nb n ʿy* XI/2.

ʿy n wpy 'judicial court' IX. 15/9–11, 15–19, sale form (14) on p. 256, marriage form (17) on p. 269.

ʿy n sḫ 'secretarial office' IX. 4/9, 8/14–15, 19/14, v. p. 69, note 5.

ʿy n ḥmt 'lock-up,' 'prison' (?), 'strong-room' (?) IX. 2/8, 24/16.

ʿy n wḫ (*yt*?) *nb* case of some kind, in dowries, v. wḫ.

Dat. 2/20 20/9

ʿy verb 'be great,' 'be old' Eg. (?). AIAI, T-AEIO.

'be great' stm-f dep. on *ỉy* : *my ʿy t mṯ* IX. 20/9.

'be old' qual. *te-y ʿy·k n ms* IX. 5/20, 10/13, 17: similarly 3 sing. (ʿy) 2/20, 6/11; 3 pl. (ʿy) 11/15.

Dat. 24/9 Ea. Ptol. X/3 XI A/1 B/1

ʿw subst. 'animal' 'small (?) cattle.'

ʾḫ·t ʿo ʿw X/3; *ʾḫ·t ʿo ʿw nb* XI/1.

ḫt-k st n ʿw (?) *nb* IX. 24/9 (or 'office' *ʾew*, v. p. 252, note 4).

Ahm. VIII 2/3 Ea. Ptol. XIV ⅔ La. Ptol. XV B/2

ʿw subst. masc. 'stretch' (?), 'size,' v. p. 265, note 10.

pe-w ʿw n ḫy XV. A/1, B/2.

v. ppr. nn. *Pa-ʿw, Ḥr-e-ʾr-ʿw.*

Dat.

ʿwy verb 'rob' (?) Eg. .

ỉn-p-w ʿwy ḫ·t-w IX. 24/10, v. p. 252, note 8.

Dat.

ʿb subst. [fem.?], 'offering' Eg. .

wḫ-w ʿb mnḫ m-bḫ ʾMn IX. 7/10.

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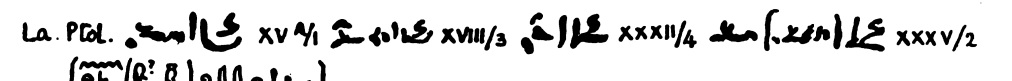
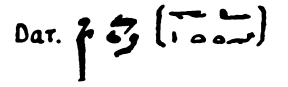
La. Ptol.  XV A/1 XVIII/3 XXII/4 XXXV/2

ʿby-(n)-ʾS subst. fem. 'chapel of Isis' (= Ισειον), v. p. 265, note 4, and p. 321.
ʾn wwy n t ʿby-ʾS XV/1, id. *t ʿb-t n ʾS* XVIII/3.
t ʿby (n ʿby-w?) n ʾS XXXV/2.
q!-f ʿb-n-ʾS XXXII/4.

Dar. 

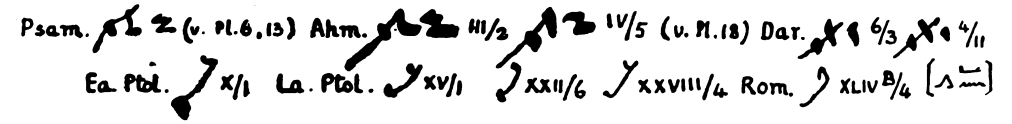
ʿft subst. fem. 'treasure chest.'
mn ḥ! n t ʿft n ḥ-ntr IX. 1/5, p. 219, note 11.

La. Ptol. XXVIII/3

ʿm 'herdsman,' v. Titles, p. 426.

Dar.

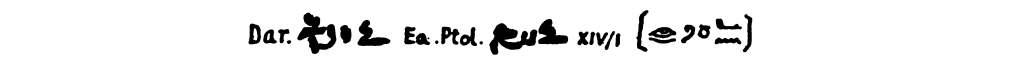
ʿm verb 'devour' (?), 'perceive' (?) τ-εμμο or τ-αμο.
bn-p-k ty ʿm-w n pe-w ss n ms (?) IX. 24/10, v. p. 252, note 6.

Psam.  (v. Pl. 6, 13) Ahm. HI/2 IV/5 (v. Pl. 18) Dar. 6/3 4/11
Ea. Ptol. X/1 La. Ptol. XV/1 XXII/6 XXVIII/4 Rom. XLIV B/4

ʿn verb. trans. 'return' αν-.
(1) Conjugated, only with obj. *smy*:—stm-f past *ʿn-⟨f⟩ smy* IX. 7/20, 13/1, 15/13.
inf. *e-w ʿn n-f smy* IX. 6/8; *e⟨-y⟩ a ʿn n-f smy* 1/17.
[also possibly in imperative with *mtr*, v. ʾn(y).]
(2) Infinitive forming compound substantive:—
with *wšb*, *p ʿn wšb* IX. 25/6, p. 253, note 11; *e ʿn* (or *bn?*) *wšb a ḥ-t-s* IX. 14/21, v. p. 237, note 7.
(3) Adverb. 'again' on I (Pl. 6), II (Pl. 13), IV/5, V/6, VII/2, IX. 4/8, 11, 10/9, esp. in equations.
ḥ! x a sllr 5x a ḥ! x ʿn et sim. XV/1, marriage contracts, &c.
'also' *p t rs ḥn n-k e-f ḥn n-y ʿn* IX. 6/3, cf. 10/3.
ʿn sp-sn 'ever again,' after neg. fut. III/2, V/3, VI (Pl. 18), VII/3, IX. 4/16, 14/7; after *tm* IX. 4/14, v. p. 210, note 2.

ʿn as syllabic in title *ʿ-n-mr*.

ʿn 'ape,' v. ʿʿn.

Dar.  Ea. Ptol. XIV/1

ʿn verb 'be beautiful.' stm-f *e-f ty ʿn ʾwn* IX. 25/2. In ppr. n. *Ta-p-ʿne-* . . .

La. Ptol. XV A/2 B/3 XXIX/6

ʿo-n-mw subst. fem. 'channel' (?), v. p. 266, note 1, p. 286, note 4.
t ʿo-n-mw XV. A/2, B/3, XXIX/6.

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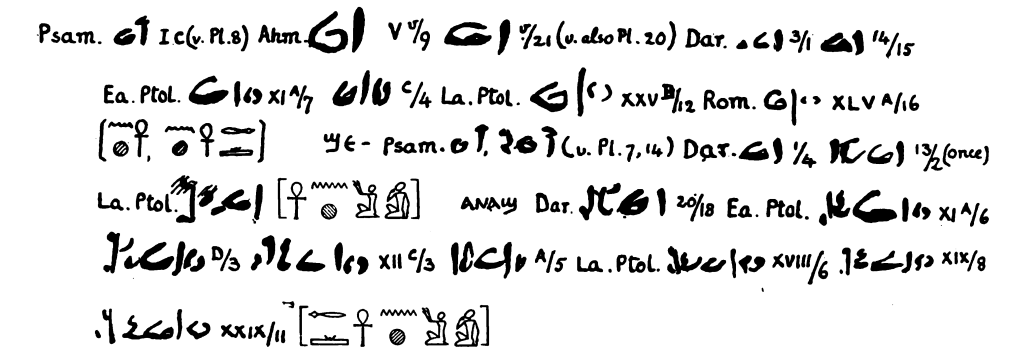


ꜥnḫ verb 'live' ωπϩ.

stm-f: subj. τ-απϩο *ṯy ꜥnḫ-f* IX. 13/9; *ꜣMn a ṯy ꜥnḫ-k* 12/13–14. opt. *ꜣy ꜥnḫ-w* IX. 13/5, v. p. 236, note 1.

qualitative οπϩ *e-y ꜥnḫ·k* IX. 13/13; *e-n ꜥnḫ·ṯ* 13/19, cf. *e-y ꜥnḫ* XI/7; *e-f ꜥnḫ* IX. 3/1, 14/15.

(participle in *Pr-ꜥo ꜥnḫ z·ṯ*, v. z·t.)

infinitive as subst. *e pe-ṯ ꜥnḫ nfr* IX. 9/15.

hence ꜥnḫ interj. 'by' in oath, originally stm-f (?), ϣε-, (1) formal, *ꜥnḫ ꜣMn ꜥnḫ Pr-ꜥo* I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 14); *Pr-ꜥo* IX. 20/1; (2) exclamatory, v. p. 66, note 11, *ꜥnḫ ꜣMn* IX. 1/4, 12/5, 13/2, 14/6; *Wsr* IX. 20/6, 15, 19; *p-Rꜥ* IX. 2/2, 4/6, 13, 15, 11/3, 20/20; *Ptḥ* IX. 4/7; *ꜥnḫ ḥr-k* (king) IX. 10/2; *ꜥnḫ ḥr n Pr-ꜥo* 17/13, v. p. 65, note 7; *ꜥnḫ ꜣMn-Rꜥ-stn-ntr·w* 6/21.

hence ꜥnḫ subst. masc. 'oath' αναϣ *ꜣr n-y p ꜥnḫ m-bḥ Ḥr-š-f* IX. 20/18; *p ꜥnḫ p ṯy ꜥḥ rṯ* in sale form (14) on p. 256; *ṯy ꜥnḫ m-s-ṯ* in marriage form (17) on p. 269; *ḫ p ꜥnḫ* XXXVI/1, cf. 12.

v. s·ꜥnḫ. See also ppr. nn. *E-f-ꜥnḫ*, *ꜥNḫ-*, *Ns-nb-ꜥnḫ*, *Z- . . . -e-f-ꜥnḫ*.

ꜥnḫ subst. masc. 'sacred bouquet' (?), v. p. 96, note 2, p. 233, note 17.

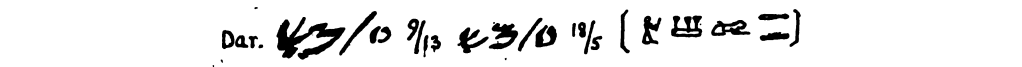
p ꜥnḫ n ꜣMn IX. 3/16, 14/19; *n ꜥnḫ·w n n ntr·w n Km* IX. 14/18.

ꜥr for ꜥrš 'service,' q. v.

ꜥl verb 'ascend' αλε, τ-αλο, generally of embarking on ship or going up on land from shore.

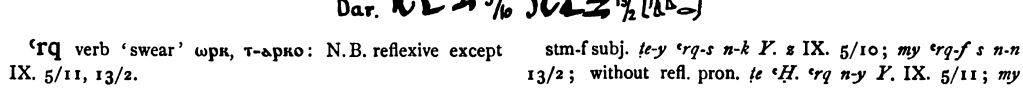
stm-f, past IX. 9/6, 10/19; *ꜥl-w* 24/3 (meaning doubtful). subj. IX. 9/20, 16/10.

infin. *e-ꜣr-y ꜥl a wꜥ ỉgs* IX. 3/3.



ꜥrš subst. 'service,' 'cult' (of deity). Cf. above, p. 319.

only with verb *ꜣr* IX. 9/13, 19, 14/7, 18/5: written *ꜥr(š)* 15/20.

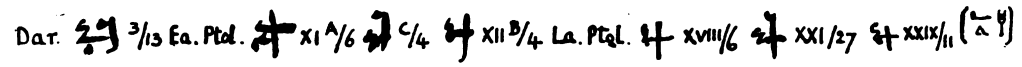


ꜥrq verb 'swear' ωρκ, τ-αρκο: N.B. reflexive except IX. 5/11, 13/2.

stm-f past *ꜥrq-f s z* IX. 12/18.

final *eꜣw-y ꜥrq(-y) ỉ(-y) n-w nꜣm-f a ỉm* IX. 12/16.

stm-f subj. *ỉe-y ꜥrq-s n-k Y. z* IX. 5/10; *my ꜥrq-f s n-n* 13/2; without refl. pron. *ỉe ꜥḤ. ꜥrq n-y Y.* IX. 5/11; *my ꜥrq-w n-n nꜣm-f* 13/2.



ꜥḥ verb intr. 'stand,' 'stay' αϱε: ορι, τ-αϱο.

stm-f past. indic. IX. 2/4, 6/19, 16/17.

after *ṯy* IX. 3/6.

infin. *e(-y) ꜥḥ* IX. 3/13; *e(-y) a ꜥḥ* 10/8.

'stay,' with *n* 'in' IX. 2/4, 10/8; with ethical *n* 'dwell' *ꜥḥ n-f N. n T.* 14/10.

'stand' *e ꜣr ḥr* IX. 3/6, 13, 6/19.

ꜥḥ erme 'converse with' (?) IX. 11/20, 16/17, v. p. 234, note 8.

ꜥḥ rṯ:—*ṯ ꜣsw* (?) *e-f ꜥḥ rṯ* XXI/27; *p ṯy ꜥḥ rṯ* var. *p ꜥḥ rṯ* (= ἐπίδειξις) in sale form (14) on p. 256, v. p. 121, note 6.

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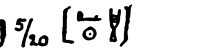
Dar. 5/13 5/20

ʿḥ subst. masc. 'duration' ⲁϩⲉ : ⲁϩⲓ.
ʾy ʾr-f p ʿḥ n p-Rʿ IX. 3/11, 5/20.
ʾy ṭe ʾMn qy pe-f ʿḥ IX. [1/1] 5/13.



Dar.

ʿḫe subst. masc. 'furnace' ⲁϣ.
my ṭe-w st a wʿ ʿḫe IX. 13/11.

Ea. Ptol. X/1 XII 11/13

ʿḫy verb 'be green' (?) in ppr. n. *Zwf-ʿḫy*.

Dar.

ʿ·sb subst. (fem.) 'school' ⲁⲛⲥⲏⲃⲉ. Cf. Spieg., *Corresp.*, Leid. 370 verso 5.
in title *wʿ sẖ n ʿ-sb* IX. 8/3.

Dar. 1/10 19/15 La. Ptol. XXXIII/6 XXXVI/16

ʿš verb 'call,' &c., ⲱϣ.
stm-f past indic. IX. 1/10, &c.; dep. on *ṭy* 3/12, 5/2.
imper. *ʿš s* (i. e. *p zmʿ*) IX. 4/9.
infin. *e-f ʿš* IX. 2/15.
'read' with direct obj. *p zmʿ*, *n šʿ·w* IX. 2/2, 4/9, 19/14.
'utter' *ʿš skp* IX. 2/2, 15.
'announce' *ʿš z* IX. 3/12.
'command' *ʿš a N. z* IX. 5/5, 8/17, 19/16, 18.
ṭy ʿš-w a 'summon' IX. 1/10, 5/2.
mn pe·ʿš-s ar-k nʾm-f XXXVI/6.
ʿš m-s⟨-f⟩ n⟨mṭ⟩ XXXIII/6, XXXVI/16.
ʿš-sḥne subst. masc. 'title (?),' 'occupation, 'calling IX. 20/8, v. p. 246, note 5.

Dar. 6/17

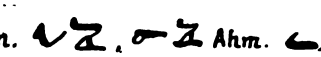
ʿš adj. 'numerous.'
rm ʿš IX. 19/18; *ss ʿš* 5/8–9.

ʿš verb 'be numerous' ⲁϣⲁⲓ, ⲟϣ, ⲧ-ⲁϣⲟ.
stm-f past *n šmm·w ʿš-w n ʾr btw* IX. 24/3.
qualitative *e-f ʿš* IX. 6/14, 17.

n-ʿš verb 'be numerous' ⲛ-ⲁϣⲉ-.
n-ʿš n mṭ-ntr IX. 12/8, 24/6.
šgnn e n-ʿš-w IX. 17/19.

Psam.

ʿq subst. masc. 'bread' ⲟⲉⲓⲕ.
nḥ ʿq ef I (Pl. 3).



Psam. Ahm. Dar. 15/20

ʿq verb 'enter.'
stm-f past IX. 25/4; dep. on *ṭy* 14/22, 15/19, 20/12.
infin. *e-w ʿq* IX. 15/20; *e-w (a?) ʿq* I (Pl. 6), II (Pl. 13), V/6.
ʿq-w a ne-w pr·w IX. 25/4; *n wʿb·w . . . e-w ʿq* 15/20. In all other instances *ʿq a ḥt*, in Dar. generally *ʿq n (?) ḥt* 'enter the mind,' 'satisfy,' 'please,' v. ḥt.

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Rom. XLIV. XLV

ʿṭ subst. masc. 'bank,' 'side,' v. p. 299, note 6.

ḥr p ʿṭ mḥt t ḥny·t XLIV. B/7, XLV. A/10, B/9.

Psam. (v. Pl. 7,15) Dar.

ʿz subst. (masc.?) 'injustice,' 'falsehood' ⲟϫⲓ.
z ʿz a mṭ nb I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 15).

ʿz subst. fem. 'injustice,' 'falsehood.'
e t ʿz n qn-w IX. 25/2.

-y pron. suff. 1st sing. with substantives, pronouns, stm-f infinitive and prepositions 'I,' 'me,' 'my' -ⲓ, -ⲧ.

not written in early demotic (or obscurely as a spot, for), but by exception in Dar. as always in the combination *z-y*, v. **z**, also once in *m-s-y* 1/18 and *rmy-y* 4/11. From Ptolemaic times onwards regularly written.

N.B. the substantives taking suffixes in Demotic are rather more numerous than in Coptic: note the traditional *ʾMn ḥnʿ psṭ-ntr·w-f*.

(y) as obj. pron. 'me' in Dar., Eg. ; not written, IX. 2/5, 3/1, perhaps *w* in 21/2: usually *t(-y)*, in later texts *t-y*. v. **t-**, p. 401.

Dar. 1/19

yʿb subst. fem. 'fatigue' (?); cf. ⲉⲓⲁⲁⲏⲉ always with verb *šp*.
šp yʿb IX. 4/19, 9/12, 10/13–14.

šp(-y) yʿb ʿo·t IX. 1/19, v. p. 221, note 8.

Psam. Ea. Ptol. XI A/3 B/2 La. Ptol. XVII/3 XXIX/6 Rom. XLIV B/5 XLV A/17 B/15

ybt 'east' subst. masc. ⲉⲓⲉⲏⲧ.
with suff. (Psam.) in boundaries, v. ʾmnt; *ʾr n-f ybt* XLIV. B/5; with art. v. **p** (p. 347).

v. also ppr. name *P-Wr-ybt*.
adj. *t ʾwe·t ybt* XVII/3; *t ʾwe·t mḥt ybt* XXIII/3.

yp 'work.' v. **wpy**.

Dar. 18/22 XXXII/6

yr subst. m. 'river' ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ.
p yr IX. 18/21, 22.

p yr ʿo (the Nile?) XXXII/6 ⲉⲓⲁⲣⲟ.
mʾe n ḥr-ʾb-yr IX. 17/12.

Dar. 25/8

yr subst. fem. 'eye' ⲉⲓⲉⲣ-, ⲉⲓⲁⲧ=.
n-bʾn (?) *yr·t-w* IX. 24/6; *t nt yr·t-f n-s* 25/8.
in ppr. n. *Pa-yr*. v. *yr-bʾn* in ppr. n. *St-yr-bʾn*.

La. Ptol. XX/5

yl subst. fem. 'mirror' ⲉⲓⲁⲗ.
wʿ·t yl XX/5; *t yl* XXXVI/8, 10.

Dar. 7/10. Ea. Ptol. X/3 XI A/1 B/1 C/1 D/1 La. Ptol. XV A/1 XIX/4 Ptol. XLI/3,7

yḥ subst. masc. 'land' ⲉⲓⲟⲟϩⲉ.
p yḥ N. XV/2; *pr* ⟨*wrḥ*⟩ *yḥ s-ʿnḫ* X/3, XI/1.
yḥ nt ʾr bṭ (?) XV. A/1, B/2 = σιτοφορος; *yḥ qy* XIX/4, XXIV/7; *p yḥ w* (?) IX. 17/2.

st x yḥ. v. **st**.
in title *mr-yḥ*.
perhaps fem. in place-name *T-yḥ* (?)-*bʾn·t*, v. **ʾy**.

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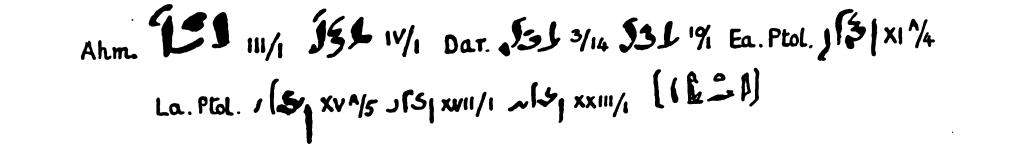


yt subst. 'father' ειωτ.

pe-f yt, &c. IX. 3/14, &c.; figurative *pe-n yt pe* 10/18.

of death *i e-ʾr ne-f yt-w* IX. 10/1, 14/15, 18/11, v. p. 85, note 1; in 21/5 without *ne-f*.

n ntr-w mr yt-w XV. A/5, &c.; *p mr yt-f* (?) XVI/3; *t mr yt-s* XVI/2.

in titles *yt-ntr*, *s-wz ʾb n yt*, pp. 426, 429.

·W pron. suff. 3rd pl. with substantives, pronouns, stm-f, infinitive (except *ṯy*) and prepositions, 'they,' 'their' -ογ; used as indefinite pronoun for the passive.

·W ending of plural -ογ in most nouns.

·W ending of imperat. pl. (?) *tms-w* IX. 11/5, p. 233, note 7.

·W ending of qualitative 3rd sing. and pl. in many verbs -ογ; and in other persons after early Ptolemies.

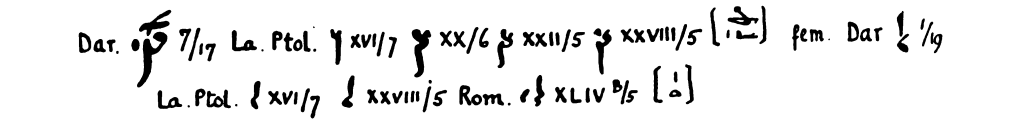
v. **mte**, **gb**, **pr**, **ḫy**, **fy**, **swt**, **wy**, **ʾw**.

W written for obj. pron. 1st sing. (?). v. (y).

W (?) kind of land, v. uncertain IX. 17/2.

we. v. ppr. n. *Pa-Ḥr-we*.

we preposition. v. **wbe**.



wʿ, fem. **wʿ·t** 'one' ογα : ογαι.

as numeral (see also numeral *1*).

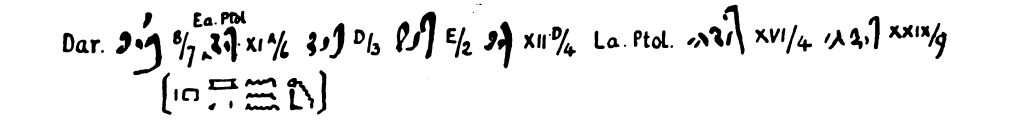
e-s s wʿ r XLIV/2, v. r.

wʿ n n ʿy-w ʿy-w IX. 7/3, 11.

p wʿ . . . p ke ⟨*twt*⟩ IX. 7/18, 18–19.

wʿ sp-sn (?) IX. 25/4.

as indef. article, e.g. *wʿ·t ḫt* IX. 1/19; *wʿ rm* 2/4, &c., the gender usually preserved, but cf. p. 273, note 7.



wʿb verb intrans. 'be pure' ογωπ, ογααϩ, ϯ-ϩϩο; also refl. 'purify oneself.'

stm-f past indic. IX. 10/20 dep. on *ṯy* 8/7, &c.

qualitative *e-f wʿb* IX. 11/2, XXI/16; *e-w wʿb-w* IX. 16/15, and in **p nt wʿb** below.

uses: (1) reflexive 'purify oneself,' of ablution, for meals, and so 'be entertained' IX. 8/7, 10/20, 11/2, v. p. 82, note 11, p. 229, note 17.

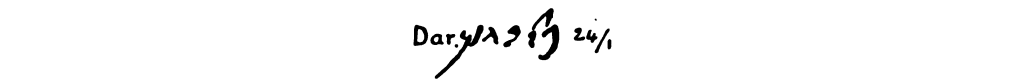
so also *e-f wʿb* (qualitative) 11/2; *e-w wʿb-w* 16/15.

(2) *pr e-f wʿb* 'clean corn' XXI/16.

(3) *ṯy wʿb-f n* 'to clear it from' (legally) in sale formula (11) on p. 256, cf. ib., note 8.

v. also titles *wʿb*, *ʿo-n-wʿb*, *nb-wʿb*, pp. 425–427.

p nt wʿb 'sanctuary' πετογααϩ, v. p. 233, note 10; IX. 11/8, 18/16, with det. 11/16, 13/15, with det. 14/3.



wʿb-f subst. masc. 'place of ablution' (?) or 'of feeding' (?) of sacred animal or deity.

p wʿb-f IX. 13/17, 24/1.

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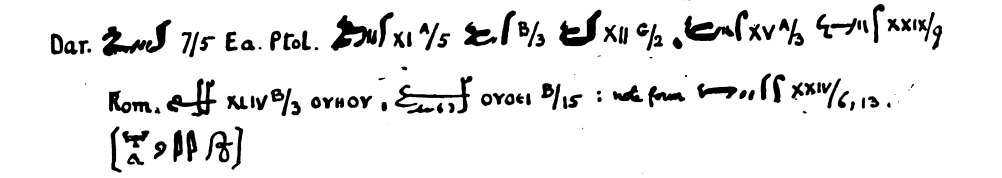
La. Ptol.

Dar. 7/5 Ea. Ptol. XI A/5 B/3 XII C/2 XV A/3 XXIX/9

Rom. XLIV B/3 ⲟⲩⲏⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓ B/15 : note form XXIV/6, 13.



wy verb intrans. 'depart,' 'be far' ⲟⲩⲉ: ⲟⲩⲉⲓ qual. ⲟⲩⲏⲟⲩ, caus. ⲧ-ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲟ ('wean,' 'repay,' &c., see (2) below).

stm-f dep. on *ṯy* &c. always *wy*.

qualitative 1st sing. *ṭe-y wy·k* XIII/1, XV. B/2; *te-y wy·t* XIV/1, v. p. 210, note 9; 1st pl. *ṭe-n wy·t* XXXIII/4: later form for these **ww**, *wwe* XXIV/6, XLIV. B/2; *wy* XLV. B/6.

infin. *wy*, but *wwe* XXIV/13, *wʿy* XLIV. B/15, are probably infin., see below.

(1) *a wy* = 'aside,' 'apart' ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲉ IX. 20/6.

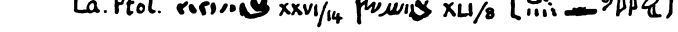
(2) in legal sense, of cession, withdrawal from, remission of taxes from, &c., with *a* 'from' of persons and things.

ṯy wy-w a n wʿb·w IX. 20/12, 19; *a ḥr-tn* 20/12, in sale formula 10 on p. 256, &c.

wy-w a n rpy·w IX. 6/17, cf. 7/5.

wy-w a n bṭ IX. 18/3, cf. 17/20, but in Ptolemaic cession formula (3) on p. 257 the thing to which claim is relinquished has *n*, *te-y wy·k a ḥr-t n* ⟨*p ʿy*⟩, so also XLIV. B/3, cf. XXXVI.

hence phrases *p sẖ wy*, *p sẖ wʿy* 'the cession' XV. A/3, B/4, XLIV. B/15. **p wwe** 'the cession' XXIV/13, possibly a noun formed from the qualitative.



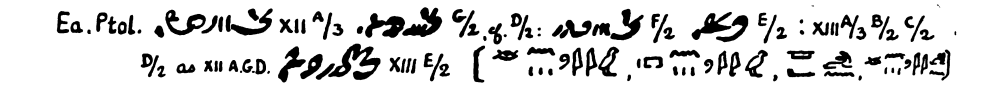
La. Ptol. XXVI/14 XLI/8

wyʿ subst. 'agriculture' ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲉ.

sṭbḥ nb wyʿ XXVI/14, cf. ib. 15, XLI/2, 8, v. p. 284, note 1.

Ea. Ptol. XII A/3 C/2, cf. D/2: F/2 E/2 : XIII A/3 B/2 C/2

D/2 as XII A.G.D. XIII E/2



wyn subst. masc. 'opening,' 'light' ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ, in XII/ⲉ written *wn*; v. p. 261, note 1 and compare ⲟⲉⲓⲕ 'bread,' originally 'income in kind,' and ⲁⲉⲓⲕ 'dedicatio templi,' both from *ʿq* ⲱⲕ 'enter,' ϣⲟⲉⲓϣ from *ḫḫ* ϣⲱϣ, ⲟⲉⲓϣ from *ʿš* ⲱϣ: so also ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ from *nk*, ⲗⲟⲓϭⲉ (fem.) from *lk*, &c., and perhaps ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ from *rs*, &c.

e p wyn n šš̱ṭ ʾwṭ-w XII/3, XIII/3.

ww. v. wy.

La. Ptol. XV A/1 XVIII/3

wwy in title *ʾn-wwy*, v. p. 265, note 3, and p. 425.

Dar. 19/9 La. Ptol.

wbe or **we** (?) prepos. 'about,' concerning' ⲟⲩⲃⲉ, ⲟⲩⲉ, v. Andersson, *Sphinx*, XI. 143.

(1) older form *a wbe*, *sẖ ʾY. nt a wbe-y* IX. 19/9, v. p. 245, note 9.

(2) later *wbe*, *wbe p s* XXV/13, v. p. 282, note 8.

Dar. 7/7 12/14 Ptol. XLI/8

wpy, (yp) subst. fem. 'work,' 'business' ⲉⲓⲟⲡⲉ.

wpy ʾny IX. 20/14; *yp nb wyʿ* XLI/2, cf. ib. 8.

ṯy wpy IX. 12/14.

ʾr wpy IX. 10/14, 15; *n rm nt ʾr wpy* 7/7, v. p. 228, note 1.

ʾr p t rs n wp et sim. IX. 6/1, 10/2, 10, 17, v. p. 226, note 10.

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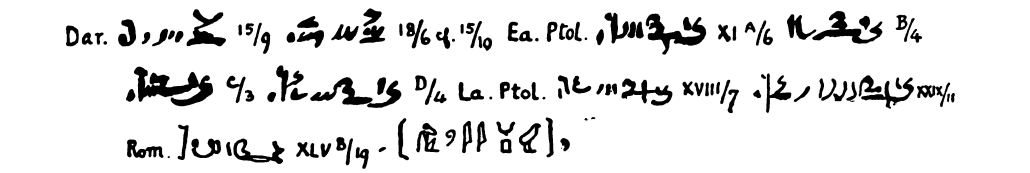
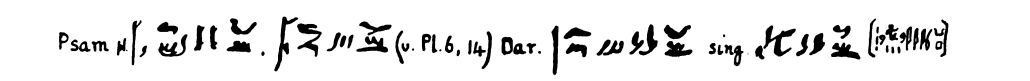
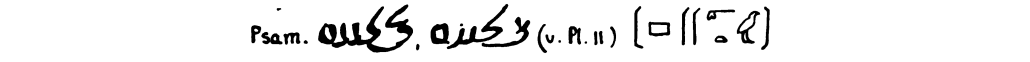


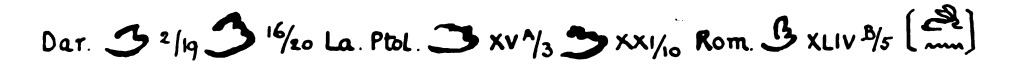
wpy, wpyt subst. 'judgement.'
qnḥy nḥ ḥp nḥ wpy nḥ XLV. B/19.
p ʿy n wpy IX. 15/9–11, 15–19, 18/6, sale form (14) on p. 256, marriage form (17) on p. 269; written *wpyt* by Peteharsemteu in XXVIII–XXX.



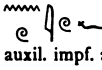
(wp), wpt subst. masc. 'judge' pl. Psam. *wpy·w*, Dar. *wpỉy·w* as later (Berl. Pap. 3113).
wᶜ wpt IX. 18/6; *n s* (?) *n wp(ỉ)y·w* I (Pl. 6), II (Pl. 14), IX. 15/9.

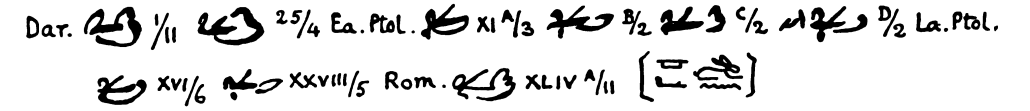


wmt subst. fem. 'tower' (?) ογοαατε.
ʾmnt-s ỉ wmt ʾbỉ-ỉ-ʾḫ (*K-ḥ-k*) II (Pl. 11).



wn, wne verb 'to be.'
(a) **wn** impersonal, 'there is,' 'there are' ογπ- (old infinitive?) IX. 1/7, 2/19, &c.; perhaps *e wn* should be read rather than *e(-y) ʾr* in VIII/8, 9.
wn mỉe-(f) IX. 5/17, 20, XXI/10; *wn mỉe P.* IX. 10/3, XV. A/3.
v. ppr. nn. *Wn-*, *Pa-wn* (the latter infinitive).

(b) **wne** verb 'be' επε-, πε-.
stm-f, past indic. *wne P.*, *wne e-f.* (This is probably the origin of the form πε-, πεq-: but already in Late Eg.  was written instead of).
as auxil. impf. *wne p ỉ rs ḫn n P.* IX. 5/14; *wne e-n a ḥḥ* 15/14; *wne e-w sṭm* for *wne e-w* (*a*) *sṭm* in IX, p. 235, note 3.
e wne e(-y) (*a?*) *mw* V/2, v. p. 211, note 8.
P. wne šr n wᶜb . . . pe IX. 5/15, v. p. 226, note 1; *wne wn* 5/17, 7/9; *wne mn* 2/20.
wne ḫr sṭm(-y) IX. 7/1, cf. 1/2, and p. 219, note 2; *wne b ʾr* 6/20.
stm-f relative form, *a·wne*; auxil. impf. *ny wᶜb·w a·wne e(-y) smy n-k ar-w* IX. 5/1, v. p. 225, note 6.
ỉ s a·wne e-n nᵓm-s IX. 2/8; *p ss . . . a·wne ỉy ỉ nᵓm-f* 4/3.
e·wne e-f z nᵓm-s XXXVI/13.
participle, past *a·wne*, with article or copula *p-e·wne* written *pe wne.*
p-e·wne mᶜ·w IX. 2/2, cf. 5/12–13, 18.
n ʾm-wnṯ·w a·wne ḫr r-n IX. 2/10, 11, cf. 19/13, XXXVI/21.
p gy a·wne ḥp IX. 10/7.



wn verb 'open' ογωπ.
infin. *wn* (?) IX. 1/11; *bn-p-w wn n ỉe-k ʾmḥ* 25/4; *e-ỉ wn r ʾr-f* XLIV. A/11, B/11.
qualitative *e ỉe šsỉ wn* (*a*) *pr-ʾmnt* XI/3, where C retains the fem. form *wn·ỉ.*
as subst. 'list' *p wn n ne-ỉ nk·w n s-ḫm·ỉ* marriage form (7) on p. 269.
used for **wyn** 'light,' q. v.
cf. title *wn*, p. 426.

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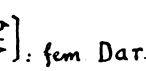
Dar. 3/1

wne subst. fem. 'hour,' time' ογηογ.
'r w'·t wne e-f 'nḫ IX. 3/1; *t wne n pḥ-k n ty š'* 19/11.
cf. *'m-wn·t*.

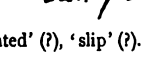
Dar.

wnṭe subst. masc. 'fat polled ox.'
pe-f wnṭe ḫw IX. 25/8.

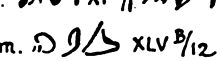
Ea. Ptol. X/4 X½ La. Ptol. XVI/5 XXVII ½ Rom. XLIV B/7 XLV A/11

: fem Dar.  Ea. Ptol. XI B/witness La. Ptol.

wr adj. 'great' ογнр fem. *wry*. (The det. shown above in the Late Ptol. examples is perhaps at that time attached to the word only when it represents a divinity.)
in *'Mn-ḫry-s-wry* IX. 7/8.
in ppr. nn. *'S-wre·t* (fem.) s.v. *Ns-wre·t, Wsr-wr, P-Wr-ybt, P-wr-ỉyw, P-šr-P-wr, T-šr·t-P-wr, Z-wr* (fem.); and geogr. n. *Me-wr*, cf. *Wṯ-wr*.

Dar. 

wrp verb 'be blunted' (?), 'slip' (?). [Cf. ογωρπ mittere.] *a ne ḫ'y a wrp* IX. 18/17.

Ea. Ptol. XI A/1 B/1 C/1 D/1 La. Ptol XVIII/4
Rom. XLV B/12 

wrḥ subst. masc. 'waste-land' ογρεϩ.
pr wrḥ yḥ XI/1; *p wrḥ n šwy* XVIII/4, 5: also XXIII/4, XXXII/5, 6, XLV. A/13, B/12.

Dar. 4/18

wr[s ?] 'head-rest,' 'prop' (?) ογρας.
in name *'Ḥ-ms-ḫr-n-wrs*, v. p. 225, note 1.

Dar.

wls verb 'overturn' ογωλς.
e-w a wls-f a ḫr-n IX. 2/15, 17.

Dar. 24/15, var. with 24/16

wrš verb intr. 'spend day.' *ṯe-k wrš-w* IX. 24/15, 16.

Dar.

wrš subst. 'watcher,' 'guard,' 'patrol.' *ṯe-k sṯr-w n-w ỉy·w n wrše·w* IX. 24/17.
v. ppr. nn. *Wrš, Wrš-* with similar spelling.

Dar. ,

wh, in *n-wh, n-why* 'fail,' 'err,' v. p. 251, note 15. *n-wh ḫl-w* IX. 24/6; *n-why-w* 24/7.

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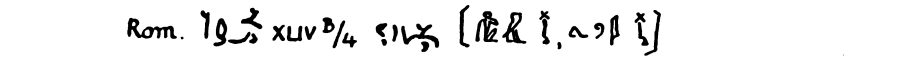
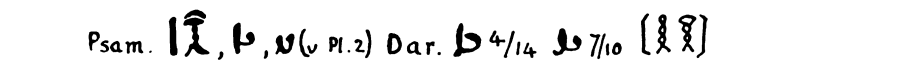
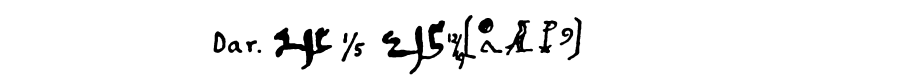


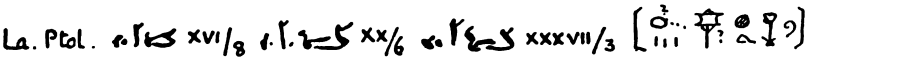
whm verb 'repeat' ογωϩⲙ.
pseudo-part. (?) *e-f whm n? ḫ-t 2-t* XLIV. B/4, XLV. B/7 = διστεγος, v. p. 299, note 4.



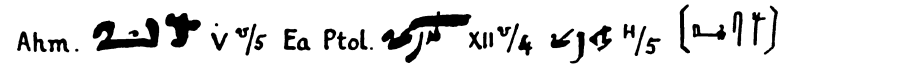
wḥ verb 'add,' &c. ογω.
(1) 'add' *n nt e-w* (*a*) *wḥ ar-w* I (Pl. 2): also IX. 7/10, 10/11, 12/14.
(2) 'offer' *ṯe-f wḥ-w ʿb mnḫ m-bḥ ʾMn* IX. 7/10.
(3) 'halt,' 'stay' *e-ʾr-k wḥ a Te-w-sy* IX. 8/12.
(4) 'engage' (?), *a wḥ-⟨k⟩ n ḥtp* IX. 3/9, 4/14, v. p. 223, note 12.
(5) 'apply' in *wḥ*(?)-*ḫtm* IX. 16/14.
in ppr. n. *Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ*.



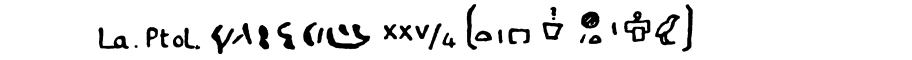
wḫ verb 'seek,' 'wish' ογωϫ, v. p. 219, note 12.
wḫ [*ḫt ?*] *a ms* IX. 1/5.
direct obj. *e-k wḫ-f* IX. 10/15; *ṯe-f wḫ-w p ḫl 2* 14/3.
indir. obj. *e-k wḫ n n rm Te-w-sy* IX. 12/15; *wḫ nʾm-n* 12/19.
wḫ subst. 'letter,' 'dispatch': written as the last.
p sḫ n ḫr wḫ-w IX. 8/17; *ʾr wḫ*(*-w*) *a n rpy-w* IX. 8/17, 18.



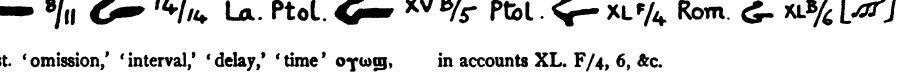
wḫ, wḫ yt (?) 'wish(?)-case,' 'purse' (?), 'amulet' (?).
wʿ ʿy wḫ (*yt?*) *nb* in dowries on pp. 270–1, XVI, XX, XXXVII.



wsy 'be strong.' in ppr. nn. *Wsy-ʾMn, Pa-Wsy, Ḥr-Ḫb-wsy-gm* (?).



wsḫ·t subst. fem. 'hall,' v. p. 154, note 3. *ḫms ḫn t wsḫ·t* XXV/4.



wš subst. 'omission,' 'interval,' 'delay,' 'time' ογω, ογοειⲙ.
ʾr wš 'omit' or 'delay,' 'hesitate' *m-ʾr ʾr wš n s* IX. 14/14.
ⲛ-ογειⲙ-ⲛ *nt* (*n*) *wš* (*n*) *pš* XV. A/3; *e-f n wš* (*n*) *pš* XLIV. A/6, B/6.
in accounts XL. F/4, 6, &c.
n py wš IX. 15/16, v. p. 240, note 7; *pe-s wš* 8/11, v. p. 230, note 6; *pe-w wš ʿo s* 16/19, 'their delay (?) (of their promises) is long,' v. p. 243, note 3.

wšb verb 'answer,' 'plea' ογωϣϧ.
e bn (?) *wšb a ḫ-t-s* IX. 14/21, v. p. 237, note 7.
ʿn-wšb 'avenger,' 'vengeance' IX. 25/6, v. p. 253, note 11.

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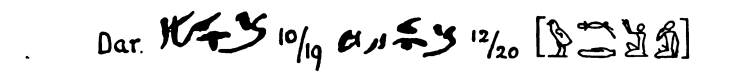


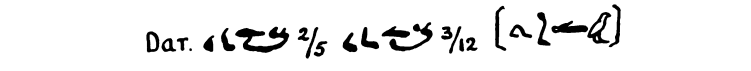
Dar. 10/19 12/20

wšṭ verb 'pray,' 'salute' ⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ.
(1) 'pray' *wšṭ-f m-bḥ ʾMn* IX. 10/19.
(2) 'salute' (to a superior), used absolutely *wšṭ-f* IX. 12/10 on arriving, 12/20 on departure.

Rom. XLV A/9

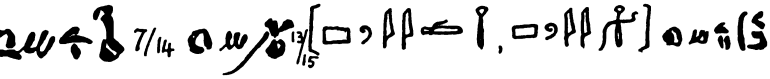
wgp verb 'destroy,' 'overthrow' ⲟⲩⲱϭⲡ : ⲟⲩⲱϫⲡ, v. p. 302, note 1.
py ke ʿy nt wgp a ḫ-t-f XLV. A/9, [B/8].

wt subst. fem. 'seed' of conception. in ppr. nn. *St-w-wt, St-w-t-wt.*



Dar. 2/5 3/12

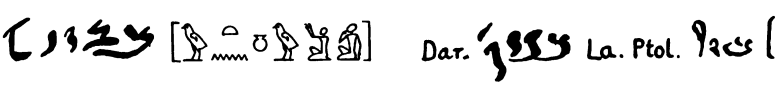
wṭ verb 'send away,' 'dismiss' ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉ (?).
dep. on *ṭy* and *my* IX. 3/12, 4/15, 10/13.
stm-f past ind. *wṭ-f* (*y*) IX. 2/5; *wṭ-w* (*y*) 4/18; cf. 8/19.



Dar. 7/14 13/15 sic 13/20

wṭy subst. fem. 'stela,' 'tablet,' 'inscription' ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲧ.
wʿ-t wṭy n ʾny n Yb IX. 7/14: also 7/17, 13/15, 17, 19, 18/15, 16, 19, 24/1.

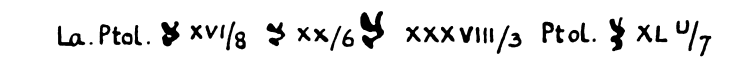
wṭ-wr 'sea,' v. geogr. n. and p. 301, note 2 (*c*).



Dar. Dar. La. Ptol.

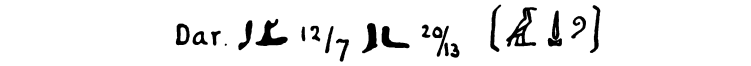
wṭn subst. 'libation' ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲉⲛ.
ṭe-f ʾr-w kll ṭe-f ʾr-w wṭn m-bḥ ʾMn IX. 10/19–20.
cf. for the verb 'sacrifice' Spieg., *Corresp.*, p. 251 (B. N. 197, l. 11).

wṭḥ subst. 'refining' (?), cf. ⲟⲩⲱⲧϩ.
ḥṭ 200 n wṭḥ IX. 7/7, v. p. 80, note 8, p. 228, note 2.
ḥṭ wṭḥ (?) *ṭbn 15 n n tʾ-w n n pr-ḥṭ-w n Ptḥ n wṭḥ* XVII/5.



La. Ptol. XVI/8 XX/6 XXXVIII/3 Ptol. XL U/7

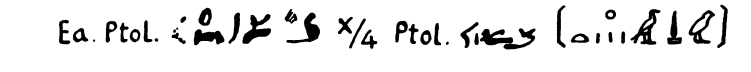
wṭḥ (?) the same as the last in abbreviation (?), v. p. 136, note 2, p. 166, note 1, p. 270, note 4.
ḥṭ wṭḥ used in dowries XVI, XX, XXII, on pp. 270–1, in valuing objects made of silver, in place of *ḥṭ* alone: *ḥṭ wṭḥ* (?) *ṭbn 1* XVI/7, &c.; *qṭ 1* XX/6, &c.
ḥmt wṭḥ (?) *14* XL. U/8; *ḥmt wṭḥ qṭ 24* XXXVIII/3, var. of *ḥmt 24*.



Dar. 12/7 20/13

wz verb 'prosper' ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ, ⲧ-ⲟⲩϫⲟ, ⲟⲩⲟϫ.
stm-f, optative, or asseveration in oath *wz pe-k tw* IX. 1/4, 12/7; *wz p tw n p ʿo-n-mr* 12/5; *n pe-f* . . . 20/13, v. p. 65, note 7.
qualitative in ppr. n. *Ḥr-wz.* v. also **s·wz.**

Ea. Ptol. X/4 Ptol.



wz·t subst. fem. 'arrears,' v. p. 255, note 3.
ṭ ḥṭ-t a (var. *n*?) *t wz-t n pe-t* . . . X/4, XLII/3 in old marriage form.

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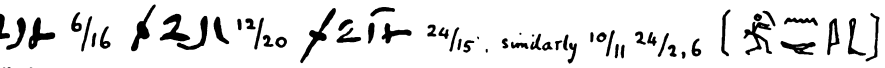
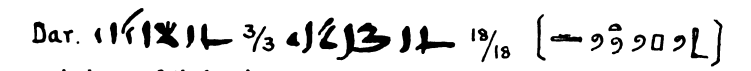
b neg. part. 'not' ⲁⲗⲉ- followed by stm-f :—
(1) *b rḫ-f* (ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲁⲕ) of neg. pres. of *rḫ* 'know.'
e b rḫ(-y) IX. 3/2, 4/8, 14; *b rḫ-(y) s* 5/8; *'n b rḫ-n s* 13/9, v. p. 236, note 4.
later written *b 'rrḫ-f*: only in ppr. n. *T-b-'rrḫ-s*.
(2) *b 'r-f*, auxiliary only :—
(a) as neg. consuet. *e b 'r-w 'y* IX. 3/7, 4/7, 15/9; *wne b 'r rm 'r w'b* IX. 6/13, 20: similarly IX. 7/3, 4.
(b) as neg. final *e-'r-y ỉm ỉy . . . z b 'r Ḥ. ỉy*, &c. IX. 21/1, v. p. 246, note 15.



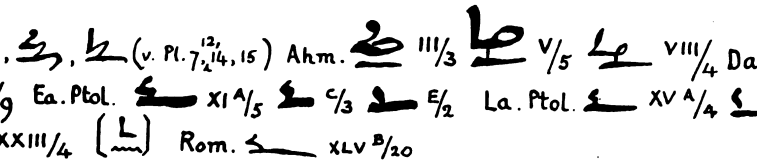
b'n adj. 'evil' ⲃⲱⲱⲛ.
py ḥ' b'n IX. 6/16, 7/3; *rm b'n* 11/20; *n rm b'n-w* 24/2.
mỉ b'n-ỉ 12/18, 19, 20; cf. *yr-b'n* in ppr. n. *Šl-yr-b'n*.
Nominal verb 'be evil' *n-b'n yr-ỉ-w* IX. 24/6.
Verb 'be evil,' 'be wroth' (?).
infinitive: *e bn-p-f b'n* (?) IX. 10/11 (cf. Boh. ⲉⲗⲗ-ⲃⲟⲛ?) v. p. 232, note 3.
ỉe-k šỉr-w n-w n ne-w b'n-w IX. 24/15.

by 'soul' *ⲃⲁⲓ. v. ppr. nn. *Ḥr-by*, *P-by-'w*, *T-by-'y-ỉ*.

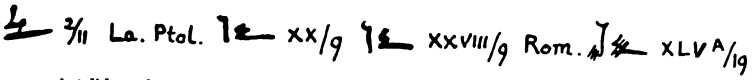
by-w collective noun, orig. plural (?) of the last, 'wrath,' 'will' (of God), v. p. 252, note 18.
pe-k by-w p nỉ n'm-w IX. 24/17.
by-w 'r-w IX. 25/5, v. p. 251, note 6.



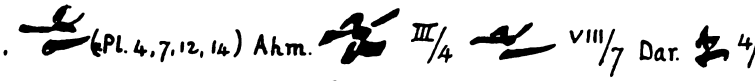
b-p-te neg. conj. plusq. perf. 'had not' ⲁⲗⲡⲁⲧⲉ-.
followed by subject and inf. IX. 8/11, 12/6–7, and preceded by circumstantial *e* IX. 3/3, 5/16, 7/3, 9/7, 18/18.



bn negative particle 'not' ⲛ̄-.
(1) *bn . . . 'n* (*bne-f* = ⲛ̄ⲉ-, *bnetn* = ⲛ̄ⲛ̄-), v. *'n*.
without *'n* (?): *e bn* (?) *wšb a ḫ-ỉ-s* IX. 14/21, v. p. 237, note 7.
(2) *'n bn*, *'ne bn*, v. *'n*, ⲉⲛⲉ.
(3) *bn e-f* ⲛⲛⲉⲉ- fut. neg. IX. 3/1, 4/15.
bn e-f rḫ I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 14, 15), III/2, VI (Pl. 18), IX. 2/19, marriage form (17) on p. 269.
bn e rḫ N (v. p. 203, note 21), I (Pl. 4), II (Pl. 12), VIII/4, sale form (9) on p. 256, XLV. B/20, v. p. 203, note 21.



bn-p neg. conj. 'did not' ⲁⲗⲡⲉ-.
false for ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ- in XLV. A/19, v. p. 302, note 10.
IX. 2/11, 20, &c. &c. *bn-p-ỉ 'n-ỉ-w* marriage form.



bl subst. masc. 'outside' ⲃⲟⲗ.
(*n*) *pe-⟨k⟩ bl* 'without thee,' 'except thee' I (Pl. 4), II (Pl. 12), III/4 (with *n*), VIII/4, v. p. 203. note 23.
p bl n 'outside,' except' I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 14), VIII/7

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cession form (11) on p. 257. *p bl py ḫt* marriage form (10) on p. 269; *p bl p ḥp* XLIV. B/16.

with suff. 'except' (n)ⲁⲗⲗⲁ= often written *bln-*: 1 s. *bln-y* IX. 2/20; 2. *ble-k* 14/21, *bl-k* XVII/4, XLV. A/20, B/20; 2 f. *bln-t* XI/5, XII/4, *bl-t* XII/4 (in varr.), XV. A/4, XVIII/5, &c.; 3 f. *bln-s* IX. 20/10, 11; 2 pl. *bl-tn, bl-n-tn.* varr. in II (Pl. 12, p. 208); 3 pl. *blnn-w*, IX. 1/7, v. p. 219, note 19.

a bl adv. 'out' IX. 4/10, 12/20, 14/2, 15/9; *a bl n* 'out of' 4/9; *a bl ḫn* 'out of' 11/7.

n bl adv. 'abroad' marriage form (14) on p. 269.

ʾr bl IX. 24/7, v. p. 251, note 18.

La. Ptol. XV A/1

bl adj. 'blind' ϩⲉⲗⲗⲉ. in ppr. n. *T-bl-t.*

Dar.

br-r (?) 'blind man' (?), v. p. 225, note 10. *W. wˁ br-r* (?) IX. 5/5.

Ahm.

bḥs subst. fem. 'heifer' ϩⲁϧⲥⲉ. VIII/8, 9.

bḫn subst. fem. 'fortress,' 'tower.' in place-n. *Bḫn.*

Dar. 7/16

bsn subst. 'graver,' 'engraver's tool.' *n gy·w n ṯ-bsn* IX. 7/15–16, v. p. 81, note 13.

La. Ptol. XXII/5

bs subst. masc. name of metal object in dowries, p. 270. *wˁ bs* XXII/5, XXVII/6, XXX/7.

Ahm. III/4 V/2 (v. Pl. 17) Dar. 8/9 24/15

Ea. Ptol. X/3 XI B/1

bk subst. 'servant' ϩⲱⲕ, fem. ϩⲟⲕⲓ. *pe-k bk* III–VI; *n bk·w Pr-ˁo* IX. 10/14; *sˁnḫ bk bk·t ḫt* X/3, XI/1; *smˁ bk* III/4 'contract of servitude'; *ʾr n-k bk* VI (Pl. 17); v. Titles, p. 426. v. also ppr. nn. *Bk-n-rn-f, Gm-n-f-Ḥr-bk.*

bk 'work,' 'service.' *ne-w bk·w* IX. 24/15; *pe ʾr bk* 8/9 ⲡϩⲱⲕ.

Ea. Ptol. XI A/3 B/2 C/2 D/2 E/2

bk adj. 'serving,' 'supporting.' *zy·t bk·t* 'supporting wall' XI/3, v. p. 258, note 9.

Dar. 11/9 13/20

bk subst. m. 'platform,' v. p. 233, note 12. *p bk n ʾny* IX. 11/9, 13/17, 20, 18/15, without det. 22/8.

Dar.

bke verb trans. 'burden,' 'tax.' *bke-w py ṯm n škr e-f ˁš bn-p-w rḫ mḫ p šgr a·bke-w st nʾm-f* IX. 6/16–17, v. p. 227, note 12.

Ahm.

bk adj. or partic. 'gravid' M. ϩⲟⲕⲓ. *ʾḥ ṯšry* (*n*?) *sk bk* VIII/3, but cf. p. 59, note 3.

bk 'hawk,' 'falcon' ϩⲏϭ, in ppr. nn. *Pa-bk, Ḥr-p-bk.*

bk (?) 'document' (?), v. uncertain XXV/7, XXXVI. v/1, p. 413.

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Dar.

bq verb trans. *b-p-ṯe n nḥṯ·w bq-w* IX. 24/13

Dar.

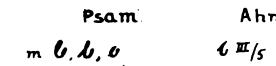
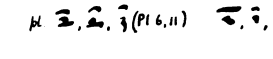
bṭ subst. masc. (?) ὀλυρα ϩωτε, v. p. 78, note 11, p. 226, note 11 = fem. *bd·t* in Eg.
pe-f ḥṯ pe-f bṭ IX. 6/1, 2, 8/15; *ḥṯ bṭ* 10/11. also IX. 11/2, 5.
. . . *bṭ 300* IX. 16/18; *bṭ 20* 17/14; *bṭ 33* 17/18.

Dar.

bṭy subst. fem. 'abomination' ϩοτε. *ʾr·w ṯe-k bṭy* IX. 25/3.

Dar. 24/4 25/9

bṭwe adj. (?) and subst. 'evil.' *ʾr bṭw* IX. 24/4, v. p. 251, note 10. *ḫny·w bṭwy·w* IX. 25/9.

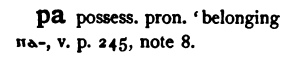
	Psam.	Ahm.	Dar.	Ea Ptol.	La. Ptol.	Rom.
m		III/5 IV/4 V/5	1/5 1/7	x/1,3 XI A/1 B/1 D/1		XLV A/1
f		(Pl. 17)	1/5	x/4 XI A/2 C/1		XLIV B/7
pl.	 (Pl. 6, 11)	(Pl. 18)	1/6 1/7	x/3 XI A/4 B/3		XLIV B/13 B/5

p art. 'the,' fem. **t**, pl. **n**, n-, τ-, π-.
p is written **pr** before geogr. words beginning with vowel or semi-vowel from Ptolemaic onwards.
p ʾmnt IX. 11/10, XIC.
pr-ʾmnt XI. A/2, 3, BDE XII. A/2, B–G XIV/1.
Pr-ʾY-lq XXIII/1.
In Roman period *pr-rs*, *pr-mḥt*, *pr-ʾmnt*, *pr-ybt* XLIV. B/9.
but *p rs*, *p mḥt*, *p ʾmnt*, *p ybt* XLV. A/12–13, B/11.
note the expressions:—*p-ḥrw* 'to-day,' p. 219, note 16, and v. **hw**; *n t rnp* 'this year,' IX. 16/20.

N.B. The use of the def. art. is almost as extensive as in Coptic: a few more substantives do not take it; but in some cases it appears to have been pronounced without being written, v. p. 202, note 17. For employment with titles, see p. 258, note 11.

p-, t-, n- falsely with relative for copula πε, τε, νε, v. **pe**.

p nt wʿb, p nt (?) tg, v. **wʿb, mtg (?)**.

	Psam.	Dar.	Ea Ptol.	La Ptol.	Rom.
m.		19/8 20/1	XII H/2 H/16	XV B v/4 v/12 v/16 XXIX v/2	XLV B/2
f.		9/14 25/8	x/1 XII A/1 C/1	XVIII/3 XXVIII/3	XLIV B/2 XLV A/4
pl.		 (Pl. 4)		XXIX/4	

pa possess. pron. 'belonging to,' f. **ta**, pl. **na**, na-, τa-, πa-, v. p. 245, note 8.
pa 'son of' *P-a-ṯe-Mn pa* (?) *P-a-ṯe-ʾs* XLI verso A/2, v. p. 201, note 5, p. 297, note 5, cf. ppr. n. *Ḥr-pa-ʾS* 'belonging to,' in ppr. nn. *Pa-*; 'ruler of' in title *pa-Ḥnés*, cf. *pa-Qm* 'king (?) of Egypt,' *Pa-t-w* 'king (?) of the two lands' in names.

ta 'daughter of' IX. 9/14, X/1, XII/1 et passim; 'belonging to' *t p ta p mʿ·t* IX. 25/8.
na 'belonging to,' written like *ne-w*: *na mr-* . . . I (Pl. 2), v. p. 202, note 13; *na Bṯ* . . . *na Ḫn-Mn* IX. 24/3; 'sons of' *na Ns-wr·t* XXIX/4 (for *na ʾS-wre·t*); cf. place-name *Na-pa-Qm-ḫwy*, with slightly different form.

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	Psam.	Ahm.	Dar.	Ea. Ptol.	La. Ptol.	Rom.
m.	(Pl. 4)	(Pl. 17) III/4 V/2 VIII/4 (v. also Pl. 17)	1/3 6/4 9/15	X/3 XI A/2 X/2 XI A/4	XVII/4	
	(Pl. 8)	V/1	9/2 9/17 10/18	XI A/3	XVII/5	
	(Pl. 12 D.J.)		3/7	XI A/6 but C/4		
f.	(Pl. 1, 2)	VIII/3	15/17	XI A/3	XV B/5	XLIV A/3 XLIV B/3
		VIII/8, 9 VIII/6, 8, 9.	2/5	XI A/3 etc.	XVII/5 XV/3	XLIV B/5
	(Pl. 11-13)		3/12			
pl.		V/3 (v. also Pl. 18)	4/3	XI A/4		
			3/4 8/7 7/1 6/14	XI A/4	XVII/3	
	(Pl. 2)		2/12 24/2 etc. 11/7 etc.	XI A/6 but C/4	XVIII/4	XLIV B/10

pe- possessive article, f. **te-**, pl. **ne-**, πε=, τε=, πε=.
pe, *pe-k*, *pe-t*, *pe-f*, *pe-s*, *pe-n*, *pe-tn*, *pe-w*.
f. *te*, &c., pl. *ne*, &c.

absolute *pe-k* IX. 24/2, 8, 9 πωκ.
with expressions of time et sim., followed by numerals *pe ʾbṭ* 7 IX. 4/11 (cf. *pe-w sp mḥ* 5 3/7), v. p. 223, note 6.

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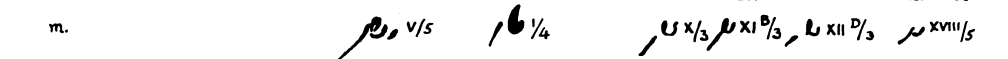
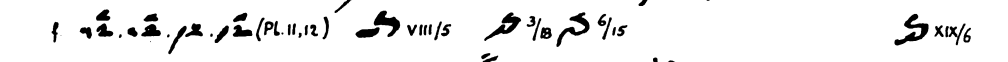
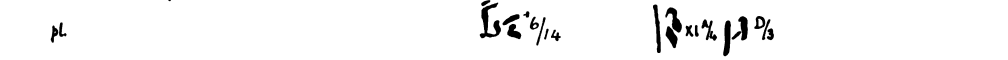
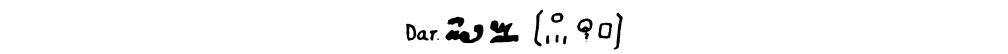
Psam. Ahm. Dar. Ea. Ptol. La. Ptol

m. 

f 

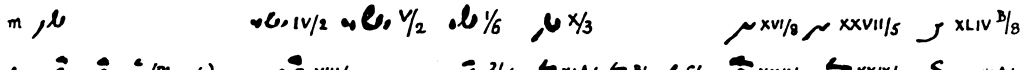
pl. 

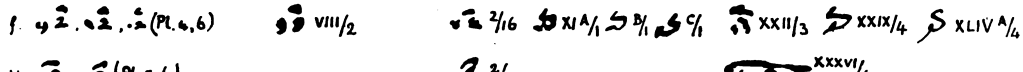
pe copula, f. **te**, pl. **ne**, ⲡⲉ, ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲉ.
fem. IX. 3/18, 17/3, &c., pl. 10/21, &c.
with rel. *p-nt* ⲡⲉⲧ-, v. p. 219, note 12, contrast *py nt* below.
with rel. stm-f, *pe-wne-f* (for *pe a·wne-f*) IX. 6/14–15, 15/20, &c.
with past participle *p-e·ʾr ṯm* for *pe e·ʾr ṯm*: *N. p-e·r ṯm*, v. p. 221, note 15, p. 222, note 10.

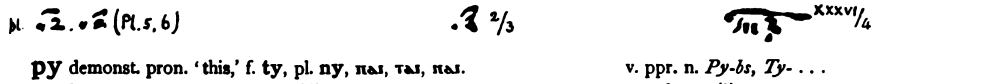
Dar. 

pʾ subst. fem. 'sacrificial cake' *t pʾ ta p mᶜ·t* IX. 25/8.

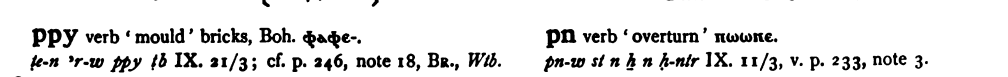
Psams Ahm. Dar. Ea. Ptol. La. Ptol. Rom.

m 

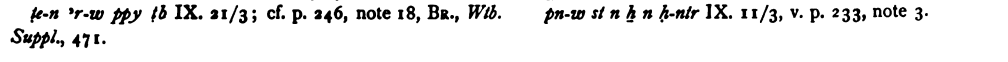
f 

pl. 

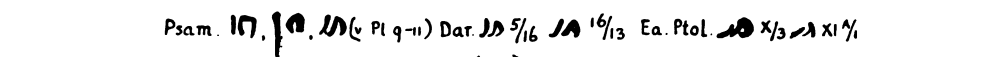
py demonst. pron. 'this,' f. **ty**, pl. **ny**, ⲡⲁⲓ, ⲧⲁⲓ, ⲛⲁⲓ.
ʾn ḥtb rm n mtre py nt e-ṯn aʾr-f IX. 2/16.
v. ppr. n. *Py-ḥs*, *Ty-* . . .
see also *ny* (?), p. 420.

Dar. 

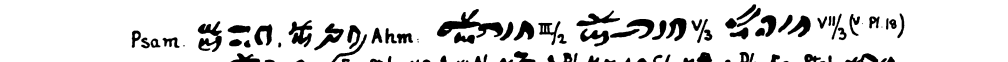
ppy verb 'mould' bricks, Boh. ϥⲁϥⲉ-.
ṯe-n ʾr-w ppy ṯb IX. 21/3; cf. p. 246, note 18, Br., *Wtb. Suppl.*, 471.

Dar. 

pn verb 'overturn' ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉ.
pn-w sṯ n ḫ n ḫ-nṯr IX. 11/3, v. p. 233, note 3.

Psam. 

pr subst. masc. 'house' ⲡ-, ⲡⲓ (?).
(1) = ⲡ- in *pr-ʾMn-Ṯhn·ṯ* I (Pl. 3), II (Pl. 9, 10, 11).
pr-Mw·ṯ II (Pl. 11) *pr-Wsr* IX. 18/21.
(2) = ⲡⲓ (?) 'house,' v. p. 228, note 6, and cf. ᶜy.
p pr Prᶜo ᶜw.s. IX. 5/16, 11/18, 15/14, 16/14, 16 (*n Pr-ᶜo*) 10/4, 15/8, v. p. 226, note 3.
pe-f pr IX. 18/14, 19/7, 10, 20/2; *pe-n pr* 21/4; *ne-w pr·w* 24/8, 25/4.
wᶜ pr IX. 7/12; *py pr* 9/16; *n pr·w* 16/13.
later only in legal lists: *n pr yḫ* X/3; *n pr wrḫ yḫ* XI/1 (the *n* written over *pr* except in XI. D, E); *ḫiḫle nb n pr* XI/2.
v. title *Pr-ᶜo* and below **pr-ᶜnḫ**, **pr-ḥṭ**, and place-nn. *Pr-*.
For use in writing def. article, v. p.

Psam. 

pr subst. masc. (?) 'corn,' 'seed' ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲧⲉ (?).
ḥṯ nb pr nb I (Pl. 5), II (Pl. 13), III/2, V/3, 6, VI (Pl. 18), VII/3; cf. XXI/12, 27, XXXI/6.
pr e-f wᶜb ʾṯ . . . *ʾṯ sṯḫ* XXI/16.
ḫbs pr nb ʾḫ·ṯ XI/1.

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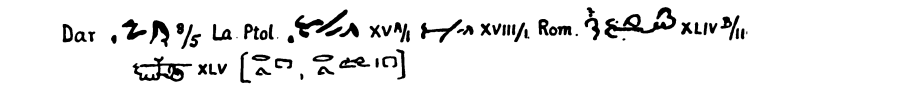


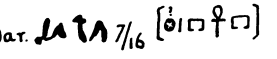
pr verb intr. 'come out,' 'shine' περι, qual. περιωογ, O. C. **nope**.

'come out' *mte-t pr ar-f* XLIV. B/11; *p myt pr* XLIV. B/11, XLV. A/14.

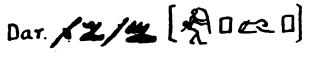
of rent *p ʾmn n ʿḥ ʿpḥ nt pr n p tȝ* IX. 8/5.

pseudo-part. 'shining forth' ἐπιφανής: *p ntr nt pr·w* XVI/4; *t ntr·t nt pr·w* XVI/4, v. p. 271, note 9; *n ntr·w nt pr·w* XV/1, &c.; *n ntr·w nt pr* XXV. 1/3, v. p. 282, note 2.

pr subst. 'winter' πρω. only in names of months as written, v. Months, p. 418.

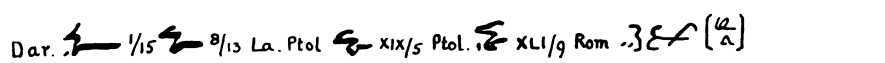


pr-ʿnḫ 'House of Life,' school of scribes; v. p. 81, note 13.
in title *n sḫ·w pr-ʿnḫ n sḫ·w qȝy* IX. 7/16, 13/19; cf. 14/21.

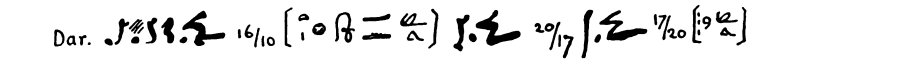


prp verb 'despise' (?).
a ỉy prp-w te mṯ IX. 20/5, v. p. 246, note 2.

pr-ḥṯ subst. masc. 'treasury,' 'store-chamber,' v. p. 207, note 4, p. 229, note 16.
n pr-ḥṯ·w n pr-ʾMn II (Pl. 11); *wʿ pr-ḥṯ ḫr ḫn n p bk n ʾny* IX. 11/9, cf. 14/3; *n pʾ·w n pr-ḥṯ·w n Pṯḥ* XVII/5.
in title *mr pr-ḥṯ*, p. 427.

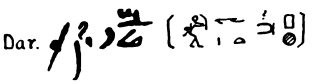


pḥ verb trans. 'reach' πωϩ.
stm-f past ind. IX. 1/15; dep. on *ỉy* (ωπο) 3/5.
infin. *nt pḥ-k* IX. 9/11.
constr. with *a* for person and place: but sometimes person in acc.
a ỉy pḥ-f ar-k IX. 9/11, but *nt pḥ-k* ib. and *t wne n pḥ-k* 19/11; *nt pḥ a ḫr-y* XLI/9, but *e-w pḥ-t* (?) 'fall to me' XLV. B/6, v. p. 302, note 12.
'reach,' 'arrive at' IX passim.
'attain,' 'seize' *ḫnty a pḥ* (?) *nʾm-f* IX. 24/10.
'belong to' (?) of persons, perhaps qualitative *pḥ a ḥ-ntr* IX. 7/8, 8/13, v. p. 228, note 4; *rm nb nt pḥ a Te-w-zy* 13/3.
'fall to,' 'come to,' of payments, &c. IX. 9/11, XIX/5, XLI/9, XLV. B/6.
'succeed,' 'be fitting,' v. p. 231, note 4; *st* (fem. sing. with infinitive) *pḥ n ỉy ʾr-n . . .* IX. 9/7; *ʾn e-s pḥ a ỉy* 12/17; *bn st pḥ ʾn n ỉe-s* 17/13–14; cf. perhaps ϣ-ϣε : ϲ-ϣε (ⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲁⲁ or ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲁⲁ), but this should read *pḥ*, not *š*.
'amount to' *pḥ-w pʾ ȝ-ỉ a wʿ s* IX. 4/1.
'be finished' (?) *ỉe-w pḥ ỉe-f ḫ ḫry* IX. 21/4.

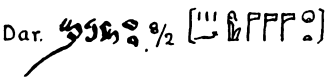


pḥ·w subst. masc. 'end' ⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ.
p pḥ·w e-ʾr ḫp ỉm rḫ, &c. IX. 17/20, sim. 20/17.
with geogr. det. *mnn-f a pe-s pḥ·w* IX. 16/10.

pḥ·t 'strength,' v. divine n. *ʿO-pḥt.*



pḫ subst. [masc.] 'snare' ⲡⲁϣ.
ỉe-k wrš-w n ne-w pḫ·w IX. 24/16.



psṯ(-ntr·w ?) 'divine Ennead,' 'cotemplar deities.' The reading *psṯ* for the first part is certain, see e.g. Gardiner in *Abydos*, III. p. 45.
ʾMn (Te-w-zy) ḫnʿ psṯ(-ntr·w ?)-f IX. 8/2, 3, 9/13, 19, 14/9.

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Dar. 15/6 La. Ptol XV A/3 Ptol. XLI/7 Rom. XLIV 3/6

pš verb trans. 'divide' ⲡⲱϣ.
stm-f past ind. IX. 4/1, 15/6: relat. *a-pš* 15/20.
infin. IX. 11/6.
of inheritance *n 're-w n pš* XX/4.
(*n*) *wš pš* XV. A/3, XLIV. B/6 (ⲛⲟⲩⲉϣⲛ-).

pš(·t) subst. fem. 'half' ⲡⲁϣⲉ.
t t'·t pš·t n yḥ XV. A/1, B/2, participle (?).
'rṭb sw 10 te-w pš sw 5 XVI/5; *te-w pš pr* XLI/7.

Dar.

pky subst. 'mourning,' 'rent raiment' (?), v. p. 233, note 15.
'r-f te-f šnṭ n pky IX. 11/11; *e-f n pe-f pky* 11/13.

Dar. 7/17 11/8

pṭ subst. 'foot,' 'knee' (?) ⲡⲁⲧ.
e-w hbq a pṭ-w IX. 7/17.

pṭ verb. intr. 'run,' 'hasten,' 'flee' ⲡⲱⲧ.
stm-f past indic. in all cases IX. 11/8, 13, 16, 15/8, 16/14.

·f pron. suff. 3rd sing. m. with substantives, pronouns, stm-f infinitives, and prepositions 'he,' 'his' -ϥ.
for occasional use as neuter v. **ḫp** 'become.'

La. Ptol.

fe subst. masc. 'hair' (?) ϥⲱ : ϥⲱⲓ, v. p. 268, note 3.
e[-y] ṯy n-t p fe py ḥṭ 100 XXVII/5: i. e. the exact amount to a hair's breadth (?).

Dar. 3/1 La. Ptol. XVI/2 XXIII/1

fy verb trans. 'carry' ϥⲉⲓ.
stm-f past ind.: dep. on *ṯy* (passive sense) IX. 10/20, 14/1, 16/13, v. p. 232, note 10.
pseudo-part. ϥⲏⲩ *e-w ḫy·w e-w fy·w e-w swt·w* XXI/17.
participle in titles *t fy qn nᶜše* XVI/2, &c.; *t fy ṭn' nb* ib.
'carry' IX. 2/19, with *ṯy* 3/1: with reflexive ethical dative *fy-w n-w n'm-n* 'they carried us off' IX. 2/13–14.

fet 'serpent' (?) in ppr. n. *Ta-fet.*

---

m· preposition 'in' (*μ-*) preserved in pronunciation in ppr. nn. *'Y-m-ḥtp, P-s-n-mṯk-m-'ḫ·t, Mnt-m-ḥ, Nyt-m-ḥ* qq.v.; also in compound prep. *m-bḥ*, adv. *m-šs, a mḫṯe*; and in writing in prep. *m-s* = ⲛⲥⲁ-.

Psam. (v. Pl. 8)

m prep. (?).
at beginning of witness-copies *m sḫ N.* I, II (Pl. 8).

Dar.

me subst. (infin. ?) 'renewal,' spelt as if **my** 'island.'
in adverbial phrase *n me* 'anew' IX. 24/8, v. p. 251, note 19.

Dar. 13/17

me subst. fem. 'path.'
t me n š IX. 13/17; tropaic *qᶜ t me* 13/10.

me 'die.' v. **mw.**

me (prop. **'me**) 'cat' ⲉⲙⲟⲩ. in ppr. n. *P-'me.*

m' (?), v. ppr. n. *Pa-p-m'.*

m', m'e 'island.' v. **my.**

Dar 16/12

m' verb 'see' in ppr. n. *M'-n-n-Wḥ-'b-Rᶜ.*

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Dar. 3/5

m-ʾr vetitive particle (ⲙⲡⲱⲣ) ⲙⲡⲣ̄-.
followed by infinitives IX. 4/15, 19, 20/19, 24/6; *m-ʾr ṯy* 3/5, 10/8; *m ʾr ʾr* 14/4, v. also uncertain 24/3: in deferential periphrasis to superior *m-ʾr ṯy ʾr-s p ʿo-n-mr* 12/4.

Dár 1/10 25/5

mᶜ subst. fem. (and adj. ?) 'truth,' 'true' ⲙⲁⲉ : ⲙⲁⲏ.
mṯ mᶜ IX. 1/10; *mᶜ* (var. *mᶜ-ỉ*) *n eʾr ʾMn* 25/1, 5; *rm mᶜ* 25/2.
cf. *mᶜ-ḫrw* in ppr. n. *Ḥr-mᶜ-ḫrw* and div. n. *Mᶜ*.

mʾt 'like.' v. **mt**.

Dar. 2/2 18/8

verb 'be true' (ϯ-)ⲙⲁⲁⲉⲓⲟ.
stm-f with *ṯy*, *mṯe*[*-w*] *ṯy mᶜ-f ar-k* IX. 18/8.
qual. (?) 'correct,' 'justified' (?) *mnṯe-k p-e-wne mᶜ-w s* IX. 2/2, v. p. 221, note 10.

Dar.

mᶜt subst. masc. 'just man' (?), 'justice' (?), cf. OC. ⲙⲁⲏⲧ.
ỉa p mᶜ-ỉ IX. 25/8.

Ea Ptol. XI A/6 B/3 C/4 XII B/4 La. Ptol. XV A/4 XVIII/ XIX/8 XXIX/10

mᶜk verb 'protect,' 'indemnify,' Eg. 'protect,' v. p. 121, note 4, p. 256, note 11. Cf. *ṯe n wpṯy-w mᶜk aḫr-n n ỉ ᵖ-ỉ* 'the judges have given indemnity against our claims in the matter of the share,' Berl. 3113/6.

inf. or qual. *sḫ nb nṯ e-y mᶜk* (var. *e-n mᶜk* XIX, XXIII/5) *nʾm-w n rn-w . . . p nṯ e-y mᶜk nʾm-f n rn-w* (var. *mṯe-k p nṯ mᶜk nʾm-w n rn-y*) sale form (13) on p. 256.

Dar 16/6 18/2 La. Ptol. XV B/3 Rom. XLIV B/6 XLV A/10

my, mʾe, mʾ subst. fem. 'island' ⲙⲟⲩϵ.
wᶜ-ỉ mʾe n ḫr-ʾb-yr IX. 17/12. Cf. 16/6, 13, 18.
ỉ mʾe n Tᵉ-w-ẓy IX. 16/9, 11, 17/20, 18/2.

ỉ my (*n*) *Ḥiḫr* XV. A/2, B/3; *ỉ my P-ỉb* XXIX/6.
ỉ my n Sbk nb Pa-y XLIV. B/6, XLV. A/10, B/9.

Dar. 1/9 La. Ptol. XXV/13

my imperat. 'give,' 'cause' ⲙⲟⲓ, ⲙⲁ-. v. **ṯe** 'give.'
only of causative: *my ṯe-f* (*s*) IX. 1/19, 4/2; *my ʾr-w* (*s*) IX. 5/20, 8/16, XXV/18; other instances IX. 3/9, 12, 13, 19, &c.

my encl. part. with imperative, v. p. 220, note 4; written as the last.
e-s my p sry IX. 10/3; *e*[*-s*] *my n-y p gy* 1/10; *e-ẓy my n-y p gy* 6/12; *e-ẓy my* '*ᶜnḫ P-Rᵉ*' 11/3; *m-ỉ my n-k* 4/2.

La. Ptol. XV A/2 Rom. XLIV B/11 XLV A/14

myt subst. masc. 'path' ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ, v. p. 266, note 2. *p myt Pr-ᶜo* XV. A/2, B/3. *p myt pr* XLIV. B/11, XLV. A/14.

La. Ptol.

mw subst. masc. 'water' ⲙⲟⲟϒ. *p mw n ḥ-sp-ỉ 9-ỉ* XXXIV/2.

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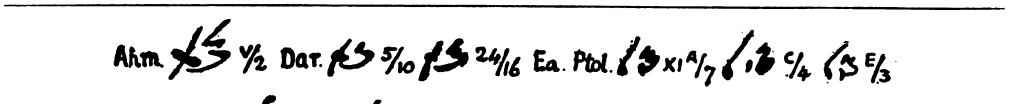
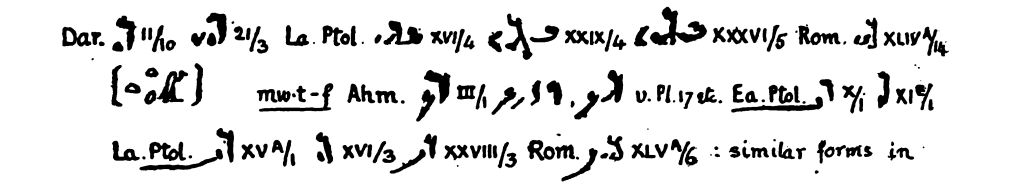
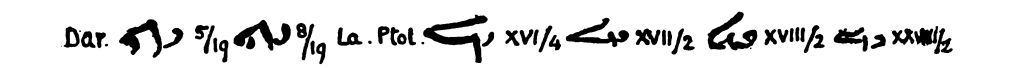


mw, mwt, mt (better **me, mt**) verb 'die' ⲙⲟⲩ. stm-f in O.C. ⲙⲁⲁⲩ, qual. **mw·t** ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ.
stm-f dep. on *ỉy*: *ỉe-y mỉ-f* IX. 12/4.
infin. *e-ʾr-f mw m-ḥ-ʾ-ỉ-f* IX. 11/21; cf. V/2, IX. 1/15, 5/10.
ṗ mw IX. 24/16, also in ppr. n. *Sy-p-mw*.
qual. *mw·ỉ* (better *me·ỉ*): *sỉ mw·ỉ* IX. 2/13; *e-y mw·ỉ* XI/7.

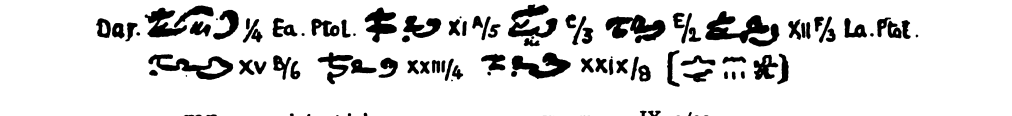

Dar. 11/10 21/3 La. Ptol. XVI/4 XXIX/4 XXXVI/5 Rom. XLIV A/4
mw·t-f Ahm. v. Pl. 17 etc. Ea. Ptol. X/1 XI C/1
La. Ptol. XV A/1 XVI/3 XXVIII/3 Rom. XLV A/6 : similar forms in
mw·t-s, mw·t-w and in titles mr mw·t etc. : in XXV is mw·t·w in title

mw·t subst. fem. 'mother' ⲙⲁⲁⲩ.
ỉ mw·ỉ absol. XVI/4, XXXVI/5; *n p ḫl 2* IX. 11/10; *n n ʾpỉ·w* 24/5.
ỉe mw·ỉ IX. 21/3; *ỉe-w mw·ỉ* XXIX/4.
with suffixes *mw·ỉ-f*, *mw·ỉ-s*, *mw·ỉ-w* (XIX/4, XXIV/5), only in filiations, passim.
cf. *n nỉr·w mr-mw·ỉ·w* (*-w*?) XVI/1; *p mr-mw·ỉ* XVI/3; *p nỉr mr mw·ỉ* XVII et seqq.

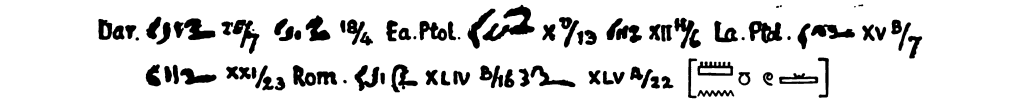


m-bḥ prep. 'before' ⲙⲙⲁⲣ-.
of kings and gods (corresponding to *eʾr-ḫr* of less exalted persons) *m-bḥ Pr-ʿo* IX. 5/19, 20, 6/2, 7, 8/19, 10/21, &c. (after *ỉ*, *ʾr-w mỉ nfr·ỉ*, *wḏ-w*, &c.); *m-bḥ ʾMn* 9/7, 10/19, 20; in title *ỉy ỉn ʾ nb m-bḥ ʾRsyn* XVI/2, 4, XXVIII/2.
otherwise only poetical *m-bḥ-w* IX. 25/5.

mn subst. 'fountain' (?) ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ.
ḥỉṗ n n mm·w IX. 24/6.



mn neg. verb 'not is' ⲙⲛ-.
IX. 1/4, 5, 8, &c.
wne mn . . . IX. 2/20.
mn mỉe-y in sale form (8) on p. 256.



mn verb intrans. 'remain' ⲙⲟⲩⲛ.
stm-f past ind. (?) *mn ỉ m . . m-ḥ-ʾ-ỉ-f* IX. 25/7.
infin. *ʾỉ mn* XIV/4, XV. B/7, XXI/23, 31, XLIV. A/15, B/16, XLV. A/22.
v. ppr. nn. *P-s-n-mḫ-mn-n-P*, *Ḥp-mn*, *Ṯḥwṯ-mn* (qual. ⲙⲛⲏ), and **s·mn**.

mn (?) pascere(?) ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ in title *rm e-f mn*(?), and cf. *ʾmn*.

mn. v. *ʾḫ-mn*.

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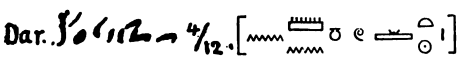
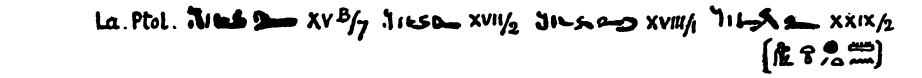
Dar.  4/12.

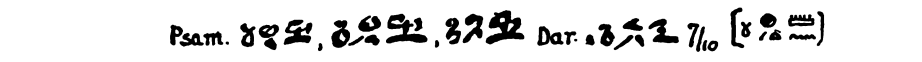
n-mne adv. 'daily' ⲛⲙⲛⲉ.
IX. 4/12, 5/9, 24/14, 16.

Dar.

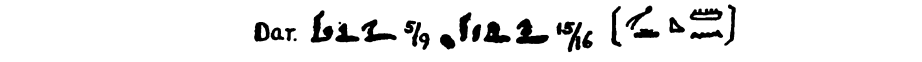
mnn verb 'moor' ⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ.
stm-f, past ind. *mnn-f a pe-s ḥ·w* IX. 16/9.

La. Ptol. 

mnḫ adj. 'beneficent' [menkhe Μενχης].
n nir·w mnḫ·w XV. A/3, B/4, XVI/1, &c.; *p nir mnḫ* XVIII/1; *Pihwmys p mnḫ* XVI/3; *Brnyge t mnḫ·t* XVI/2, &c.
v. ppr. nn. *P-šr-mnḫ, T-šr·t-mnḫ.*

Psam. 

mnḫ subst. fem. 'byssus.'
mnḫ s-nir, &c. I (Pl. 3), v. p. 91, note 11; *wḥ-w 'b mnḫ* *m-bḥ 'Mn* IX. 7/10; *ṯe-w n-w mnḫ* (of embalming) IX. 14/4, v. p. 236, note 14; *p ḫp n t mnḫ n 'Mn* IX. 14/14.

Dar. 

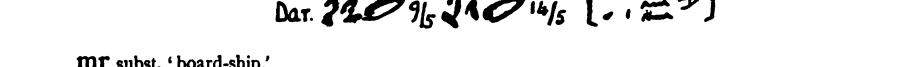
mnq verb trans. 'finish' ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ.
stm-f, past ind. *mnq-f n mṯ* IX. 19/4.
infin. *mnq mṯ* IX. 5/9, 15/16: of spending, *mnq ḥṯ* 15/17.

mnt- pronominal. v. **mt-**.

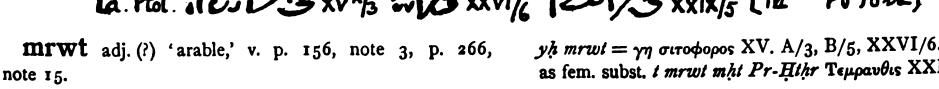
Dar.

mr verb III inf. trans. 'love,' 'desire' ⲙⲉ : ⲙⲉⲓ, ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ=, ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ=.
stm-f, present (?) indic., v. p. 231, note 12, p. 253, note 5; *mr(-y) ṯ-k a ny w'b·w* IX. 20/6; in indef. rel. sentence *w'·ṯ p ḫn-nṯr e mr(-e) s* 9/16.
infin. *pe-k mr a·wnee-k n'm-f a Te-w-ẓy* IX. 12/6; *p nṯ mr n ṯy 'r-w* 16/4; *e'r-k* (ⲉⲕ-) *mr·ṯ-f n 'y* 8/2; *mṯ e·'r-in* *mr·ṯ-s* 13/5, v. p. 229, note 13; cf. *e'r-ṯ mr š n-ṯ* marriage form (16) on p. 269.
partic. ⲙⲁⲓ- *n nir·w mr yṯ-w* XVI/1, 10, &c., v. p. 271, note 8; *n nṯr·w mr mw·tw*, v. p. 271, note 10; *'Rsyne ṯ mr sn·ṯ* XXIX/3.
v. also ppr. n. *Mr-'b-Pṯḥ* and title *sy-mr-f.*

mr 'superintendent' ⲗⲉ-. in Titles, p. 427: also ppr. n. *P-mr-'ḥ.*

Dar. 

mr subst. 'board-ship.'
a mr 'on board,' after verbs of motion, v. p. 231, note 2, with *'n* IX. 9/5; *fy* intrans. 14/1; *š* 14/5.
also in title *'o-n-mr*, v. p. 225, note 15.

La. Ptol. 

mrwt adj. (?) 'arable,' v. p. 156, note 3, p. 266, note 15.
yḳ mrwṯ = γη σιτοφορος XV. A/3, B/5, XXVI/6.
as fem. subst. *ṯ mrwṯ mḥṯ Pr-Ḥtḥr* Τεμραυθις XXIX/5.

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La. Ptol. XVI/7 XXII/5

mrḫ subst. fem., v. p. 270, note 1.

in dowries *wꜥ·t mrḫ* XVI/7, XX/5, XXII/5.

Ahm.

mrt subst. fem. 'kind,' 'value,' 'age' (?) or the like. Cf. **mrwt**.

ʾḥ (var. *ms-ḥwt, bḥs, k*) *a te-⟨s⟩ mrt* VIII/6, 8, 9, v. p. 217, note 3.

La. Ptol. XVII/4

mhw subst. [fem.] 'family.'

p rm n mhw 'cousin' XVII/4.

Dar. Ea. Ptol. XI A/5 B/3 C/3 D/3 La. Ptol. XV A/3 XXIX/8
Ptol XLI/5 Rom. XLIV B/13 XLV A/6

mḥ verb trans. 'fill,' 'complete' ⲙⲟⲩϩ.

stm-f past ind. *mḥ-s* IX. 16/11, 17/13.

infin. with suff. *e-y a mḥ-w* IX. 17/19.

qual. *e-f mḥ* sale form (6), &c., see below.

(1) 'fill' *pe ꜥy e-f mḥ n sy sb* XVII/3.

(2) 'complete' *a mḥ* 'total of'; *a mḥ ne-t nk·w* marriage form (11) on p. 269, *a mḥ n ḫe·w* XLIV. B/13, XLV. A/17.

(3) 'amount to' IX. 13/8 (twice), 16/7, 11, 17/13, XIII/5, XV. A/3, XX/7.

(4) 'satisfy,' 'pay in full' *mte-n mḥ Pr-ꜥo* XXXIV/8; *mḥ-k t-y* XLV. A/6; *mḥ-k t-n* XXIII/3; *mḥ(-y) t-k nʾm-w* XXXI/8, v. p. 152, note 5; *e-y tm mḥ-k nʾm-w* XLI/5. Cf. XLI/10. *mḥ p šgr* IX. 6/17; *te-y mḥ krkr 200* XXXI/6; *mḥ-w n ne-w pr* XLI/2; qual. *e-f mḥ* sale form (6) on p. 256, marriage form (12) on p. 269.

Dar. mḥ-5 5/18 Rom. XLV A/15

mḥ ordinal prefix with numerals ⲙⲉϩ-.

pe-w sp mḥ-5 IX. 3/7; *p ꜥy mḥ-2* XLV. A/15.

mḥ 2 of persons 'assistant,' 'lieutenant' (π)ⲙⲉϩⲥⲛⲁⲩ v. Spieg., *Rec. de Tr.*, 28/196. *p-e·wne n mḥ-2 n P-a·ṭe-ʾS* IX. 5/18.

Dar. 7/12 La. Ptol XVIII/3 Rom. XLIV B/8 XLV A/13

mḥ subst. [masc.] 'cubit' ⲙⲁϩⲉ: in *mḥ-ntr* 'divine cubit,' *mḥ ḫte* 'square cubit,' *mḥ ʾṭn* 'cubit of land' = 1 × 100 cubits.

mḥ ntr 40 ḥr ẖ mḥ ntr 40 IX. 7/12; *mḥ ntr* . . . XLIV. B/8; XLV. A/12, 13, v. p. 81, note 9, p. 228, note 7.

mḥ ʾṭn 1½ a mḥ ḫte 150 XVIII/3–4; sim. XXIII/3, v. p. 146, note 2, p. 275, note 7.

Dar. 2/6 11/18 11/17 XLV A/2 B/2

mḥ verb 'seize,' the object always with prep. *n, nʾm-*.

stm-f past ind. *mḥ-w nʾm-w* IX. 2/6, cf. 19/21; *mḥ-f, m-ṭ (n ṭ) n P.* 12/1, 17, 20/6; after *my* 11/18, 19/11, 12, 17–19.

imperat. **ʾmḥt** ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ: *m-š ʾmḥt n rm nb* IX. 11/17, v. p. 234, note 7.

infin. (ʾ?)-*mḥ*, Fai. ⲁⲙⲁϩⲓ: *e·ʾr* (?) *mḥ* XLV. B/2; *e·ʾr ʾr*(?)-*mḥ* (or *ꜥ-mḥ*?) XLV. A/2.

Psam. v Pl. II Ea. Ptol. XI A/2 B/2 C/2 XII B/2
La. Ptol. XV A/2 XVII/3 XVIII/4 XXIX/6 Rom. XLIV B/7

mḥt subst. masc. 'north' ⲉⲙϩⲓⲧ.

with suff. (Psam.) in boundaries, v. **ʾmnt**: with art l.c. and s.v. **p**, p. 347.

adj. *t ʾwy·t mḥt* (*n*) *Ne* XI/2; *t ʾwe·t mḥt ybt* XXIII/3; *p ꜥṭ mḥt t ḥny·t* XLIV. B/7.

Cf. ppr. n. *Ta-p-r-mḥt*.

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Dar. 4/7

mḥy verb trans. 'beat' ⲙⲁⲣⲉ. stm-f dep. on *ỉy*: *ỉy mḥy-w n e-ỉb-ỉ-k* IX. 4/6, 7. infin. *e-ʾr-y ỉm mḥ[y-ỉ]-k* IX. 1/14.

Dar 4/19 7/15

mḥṭe in *a mḥṭe* adv. 'northward' from Eg. . Cf. ϩⲏⲧ : ϭⲏⲧ. after verbs of motion *n-ʾw*, *ʾn*, *ʾw*, *pỉ* IX. 4/19, 5/6, 7/15, 8/20, 15/8, v. p. 225, note 3.

(perhaps *am-ḥṭe* should be read instead of *a mḥṭe*.) Cf. **ḥṭe**.

Ahm. VIII/8,9 Dar. 3/7 1/13 Ea. Ptol XI A/6 1/4 XII

La Ptol. XV B/4 XIX/11 XXXVI/16

m-s prep. 'after,' 'beside,' Eg. ⲛⲥⲁ-, ⲛⲥⲱ-.

'after' (of time) VIII/8, 9 (?), XXI/22.

of place IX. 11/8 *n nt m-s-f*, v. p. 274, note 6.

'beside' (?) *e wn* (?) *m-s* VIII/8, 9.

'except' after neg. *mn rm m-s* ... IX. 1/9, 16/6; *bn-p* 5/6–7, 6/11; *b ʾr* 6/13: in question expecting negative 13/5.

m-s ḫp 'except that' IX. 6/6, 10, 16/4; *m-s ỉm nḫỉ(-y)* 'except not,' 'but not' 5/12, v. p. 225, note 13, p. 227, note 1.

'(look) after' *ṯe-f rm m-s-y* IX. 1/18.

'(send) for' *ḥḍ m-s* IX. 3/7, 4/7; *ỉy š-f m-s* 4/11, 11/1; *ʿš m-s* 'call for' (?) XXXIII/6, XXXVI/16.

in legal usage *e'r-k m-s-f n ỉy ʾr-f* ... XVII/5; *e'r-k m-s-y n p ḥp* cession form (11) on p. 257, v. ib. note 1. Cf. *e-y m-s-f n p ḥp* XVII/5; *ỉy ʿnḫ m-s* et sim., sale form (14) on p. 256, marriage form (17) on p. 269.

compare *n-s* s.v. **s**, p. 383.

Ahm. V/3 VIII/3 VI B/3 (v. also Pl. 18) Dar. 1/20. once 11/16

La. Ptol. XVI/5 XXI/9

ms verb trans. 'bear' ⲙⲁⲓⲥⲉ.

rel. stm-f past, *n ḫrỉ-w a-ms-ỉ n-y* XVI/6.

infin. *e-f* (*a*) *ms-(ỉ)-w* III/3, V/3, VI (Pl. 18), VII/4, VIII/3, 7, v. p. 210, note 4, p. 214, note 2, p. 285, note 4.

e'r-ỉ a ms-ỉ-w n-y XVI/6.

ss n ms IX. 24/10, v. p. 252, note 7 (or 'interest'?).

e-f ʿy n ms IX. 2/20, 6/11, 10/13, 11/15–16; *n-sḫk-k n ms* 6/12.

participle (?) *Blḥn ms n Kmy* XVI/5; *Wynn n ms n Kmy* XXI/6, 9.

qual. *ne ḫrỉ-w nt ms* V/3, VI (Pl. 18), VII/4.

v. also ppr. nn. *ʿḤ-ms*, *Wsr-ms*.

Dar. 1/5

ms subst. [fem.] 'interest' ⲙⲏⲥⲉ.

wḫ ḫt a ms IX. 1/5.

(*ne-w ss n ms* 'birth'? IX. 24/10.)

Ahm. VIII/3

ms subst. 'young' of animal ⲙⲁⲥ (so to be read rather than *šr* = ϣⲏⲣⲉ, which seems to be used in Coptic of animals only in pl.:—Apa Biktor, *M. A. F.* 8/171; in Boh., Deut. 22/6).

ms nḏ nt e-s a ms(-ỉ)-w VIII/3, 7.

v. also **ḥmt**, **šr** for similar signs.

Ahm. VIII/8

ms subst. masc. 'bull-calf' ⲙⲁⲥⲉ. *ms* VIII/8 twice.

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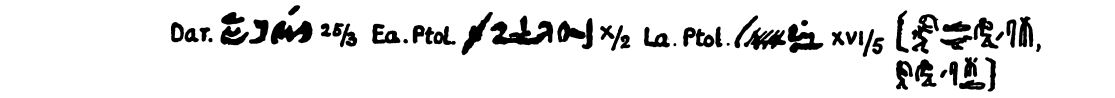


Dar. 25/3 Ea. Ptol. X/2 La. Ptol. XVI/5

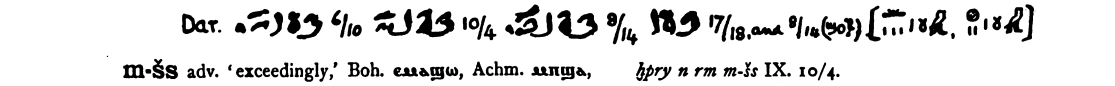
msṭ verb trans. irreg. 'hate' ⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ.
stm-f present, in rel. sentence, cf. p. 231, note 12; *te-k bty nt msṭe-k s* IX. 25/3.
infin. *mte-y msṭt-t* X/2, marriage form (5) on p. 268 (existing only in XVI/5).

m-š 'go!' v. š.

mšʿ 'host' ⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ, in title *mr mšʿ*, p. 427.

Dar.

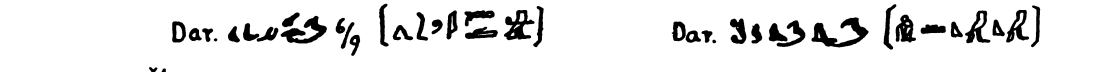
mšʿ verb intr. 'go,' 'walk' ⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ, v. p. 253, note 1. *e·ʾr-w mšʿ* IX. 25/2.



Dar. 6/10 10/4 8/14 17/18, and 8/14 (ϣⲟ?)

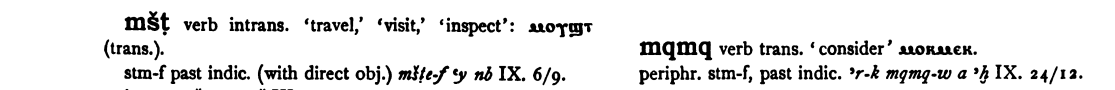
m-šs adv. 'exceedingly,' Boh. ⲉⲙⲁϣⲱ, Achm. ⲙⲡϣⲁ, v. p. 226, note 14.
ʿy ʿo m-šs IX. 6/10, 17/18, cf. 12/7.
nfr p t rs m-šs IX. 6/1, 8/14, in the latter perhaps *m-šs sp-sn*.
ḫpry n rm m-šs IX. 10/4.
absolutely *z-f m-šs* IX. 8/14 (without det.) = ϣⲟ (?), v. p. 230, note 9.

Dar. 6/9



mšṭ verb intrans. 'travel,' 'visit,' 'inspect': ⲙⲟⲩϣⲧ (trans.).
stm-f past indic. (with direct obj.) *mšṭe-f ʿy nb* IX. 6/9.
imper. *mšṭe n p tš* IX. 10/8.
infin. *e-f msṭe* IX. 6/7, 7/13, 8/4, 20; *te-k mšṭe* (ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩϣⲧ) IX. 6/5; *nte-f p e·(ʾr ?)mšṭe* 5/18.

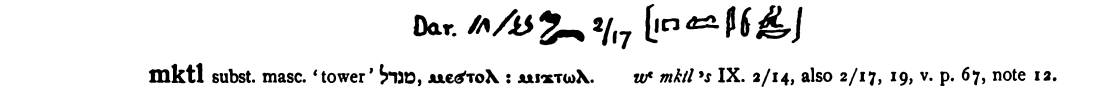
Dar.



mqmq verb trans. 'consider' ⲙⲟⲕⲙⲉⲕ.
periphr. stm-f, past indic. *ʾr-k mqmq-w a ʾḫ* IX. 24/12.

mql (?) v. uncertain XXI/26, p. 412.

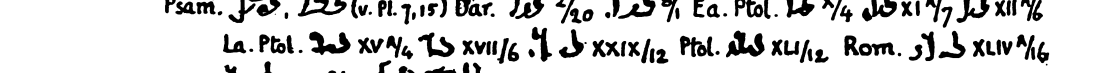
Dar. 2/17



mktl subst. masc. 'tower' מגדל, ⲙⲉϭⲧⲟⲗ : ⲙⲓϫⲧⲱⲗ. *wʿ mktl ʾs* IX. 2/14, also 2/17, 19, v. p. 67, note 12.

mt 'die.' v. mw.

Psam. (v. Pl. 7, 15) Dar. 2/20 8/1 Ea. Ptol. X/4 XI A/7 XII A/6 La. Ptol. XV A/4 XVII/6 XXIX/12 Ptol. XLI/12 Rom. XLIV A/16 XLV B/19



mṭ verb 'speak,' 'talk' ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ.
infin. always with *erme* of person spoken to, IX. 21/8: note phrase *m-ʾr mṭ erme ḥt-k* 'be not anxious' IX. 4/15, 20/19.
the subject of the conversation indicated by *e-ṭbe* IX. 20/7, XXXVI/4.

mṭ subst. fem. ('word') 'thing,' 'purpose,' &c. ⲙⲛⲧ- : ⲙⲉⲧ-.
'thing' *mṭ nb* I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 15), &c.
mṭ nʾm-w I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 15); *mṭ n p t* IX. 2/20–3/1, 3/2; *mṭ nb n p t* sale form (8) on p. 256; *mṭ e š-s* IX. 13/3–4; *mṭ eʾr-tn mr·t-s* 13/5; *m-ʾr ṭy ʾq mṭ* 10/8; *tm ṭy ʾr-w n-w mṭ* 12/16, 13/3, 5; *bnetn* (ⲛⲛ-) *ʿš m-s-k n mṭ ʾn* XXXIII/6.
mṭ nfr·t IX. 5/20, 7/16, 8/1, 15, 10/13, 16, 13/11, 19/5, 20/20; *mṭ bʾn·t* 12/18–20, 16/4; *mṭ ṭhr·t* 12/10; *mṭ ḫm·t* 24/15; *mṭ ḫsf·t* 15/8.
mṭ mʿ IX. 1/10; *mṭ ntr* 12/8; *mṭ rm-nm* (?) XI/2.
'business,' 'purpose' *e-f mnq n te-f mṭ* IX. 2/5, so also 5/9; *te-f mṭ* et sim. 3/12, 6/6, 14/14; *t mṭ Pr-ʿo* (*n n yḥ*) XLI/12, v. p. 167, note 1.

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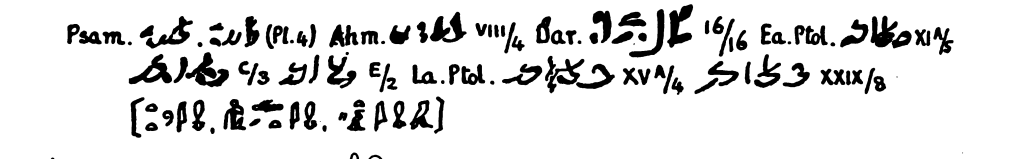
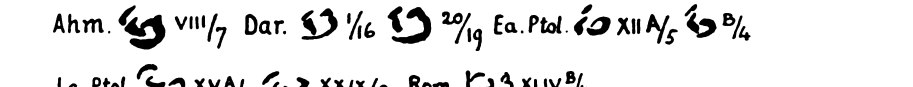


mt adv. (?) 'likewise,' prep. 'like.' Cf. .

adv. (?) *'nk ḫ·y mt* I (Pl. 4), VIII/4, v. p. 217, note 1, or *mt(-y ?)*.

'nk mte sale form (9) on p. 256.

prep. *e-w stm n-f mṯ mt-f* IX. 16/16; *'n-n mte-n* [XIX/7], XXIII/4, v. p. 276, note 6.



mte pref. of verbs, conjunctive, &c., ⲛⲧⲉ-, ⲛⲉⲕ- : ⲛⲧⲉⲕ-; the 3rd pl. is *mte-w* ⲛⲧⲟⲩ-, not ⲛⲥⲉ-.

of purpose or consequence *ṯ ḫt ar-w . . . mte-y ṯy st n-k* VIII/7; *e-f rḫ smy . . . mte-f ṯy* IX. 19/3.

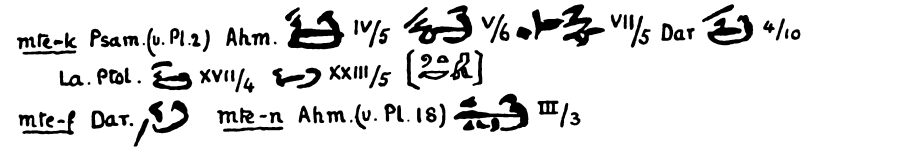
co-ordinating, &c.: fut. *e-y a rḫ šn·t-f mte-f s n-y* IX. 1/7, cf. 18/8.

impf. *wnee-s (ḥr) pe yt . . . mte-w ṯy n-f* IX. 3/15.

condit. *'nne Ḥl-Ḫns nḫl-n . . . mte-f ṯy* IX. 16/17; *'y pḥ . . . mte-y gm* IX. 1/16.

infin. *p ḥp ṯy šp-w . . . mte-w qᵉ-w* IX. 3/8; *a ṯy . . . mte-f* 18/1–3.

'elliptical' use, v. p. 273, note 12.



mte-, mnte- stem of absolute pronouns: written in general as the last.

sing. (*'nk*), *mte-k, mte-ṯ, mte-f, mte-s*.

pl. (*'n-n*), *mte-tn, mte-w*.

for **'nk**, **'n-n** see s. vv. The writing of *mte-k* is remarkable, and some other special forms are shown here.

mte-k p nṯ IX. 1/12; *mte-ṯ ṯ nṯ* XI/7; *mte-f p nṯ* et sim. IX. 1/10, 6/1; *mte-w n nṯ* 13/6.

mte-k p-e·wne IX. 2/2; *mte-f p-e·wne* 5/18.

mte-k nṯ ṯ ḫt marriage form (18) on p. 269.

mte-k rm IX. 1/14, 18; *mnte-k P-a·ṯe-'S* 4/19.

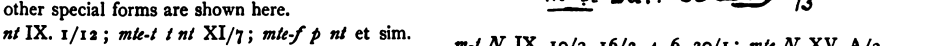
with copula *mte-s te-tn s te* II (Pl. 11).

emphatic *mte-ṯ e'r-ṯ mr* marriage form (16) on p. 269; *mnte-k e-k š* IX. 11/1.

possessive *mte-ṯ pe-w šy 'nk pe-w syḫf* marriage form (15) on p. 269.

so also in *mte-k st* et sim. *e mte-tn te-tn s 'n* II (Pl. 13) it may be personal: the absolute and possessive personal pronouns (see the next) seem to have been confused.

mte-, mnte- preposition 'belonging to' with suffixes ⲛⲧⲁ=: forms as the last, but before a noun spelt **m-ṯ(r)** (Dar.), or **mte** ⲛⲧⲉ-.



m-ṯ N. IX. 10/3, 16/2, 4, 6, 20/1; *mte N.* XV. A/3.

mte-k st I (Pl. 2), VIII/3, &c., probably absolute pronoun used as possessive, see the last.

s nḥ mte-w I (Pl. 2–3); *nṯ nḥ . . . mte-w* ib. (Pl. 3); *4 sn·w mte-y* IX. 2/7; *mṯ mte-y* 5/9; *p šr mte-y* 13/14; *nk m-ṯe P . . . ·y mte-f* 20/1.

wn mte-f IX. 5/17; *mn mte-s* 18/7; *ṯᵉ e·wne mte-f s* 17/5: of debt 'owing to' *wn mte-k . . . ᵉrn-y* XXI/10.

'from' (?) cf. ⲛⲧⲉⲛ-, ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ=: *a ṯ·l-s mte-k* VIII/5, v. p. 217, note 2.

m-te, m-ṭr. v. also n-ṭe, ṭ'.

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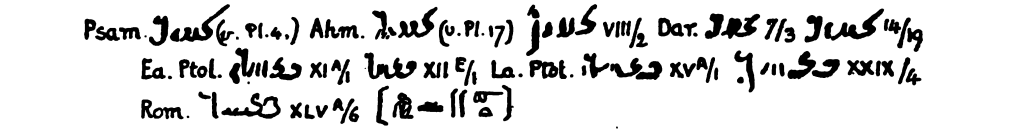


mt, mty subst. fem. 'midst' ⲙⲁⲏⲧⲉ (written like the next, from which it is derived).

n mte 'opposite' (?): *wʿ·t mʾe n ḫr-ʾb-yr n mt n Te-w-sy* IX. 17/12.

n t mty ʾwṯ-n XXXIV/6.

mte, mty, mtr (?) verb intr. 'agree' ⲙⲁⲁⲧⲉ (?), v. p. 227, note 17.

stm-f past ind. *mte-w ṯr-w n s* IX. 7/3; *mte-w n s* 10/6, 14/19.

dep. on *ṯy*: *ṯe-k mty ḫt-y n p ḫṯ* I (Pl. 4), VI (Pl. 17), VIII/2, sale form (3) on p. 256, cf. ib., note 2, XLV. A/6.

a-stm-f rel. past *p ʿy a·mte-w n s* IX. 13/1–2.

qual. (1) 'agreeing' *ḫt-y mty·w nʾm-f* sale form (7) on p. 256; marriage form (13) on p. 269.

(2) 'suitable,' 'fitting' *mnte-k p nt mte·w a ʾ* IX. 14/20.

infin. *ʾnne mte pe* IX. 8/18, v. p. 230, note 11.

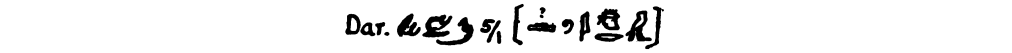
mtet (?) subst. der. from the last (?), probably *m(te)t*.

eʾr-s miet (?) *a Prʿo* IX. 17/14 (but v. p. 243, note 17).

n miel·w (?) *n n rm bʾn·w* IX. 24/2, v. p. 251, note 3.

mtn·t subst. fem. v. p. 131, note 6, 265, note 5, and cf. Eg. *m·dnḥ·t* 'sluice,' 'dam' (?).

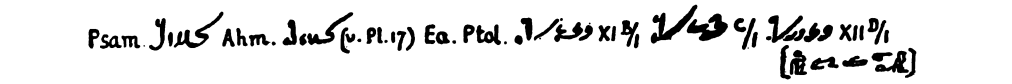
t mtn·t Pa-Ḥr-ʾGȝ (village name) XV/1.



m·ṯr prep. 'at the hand of,' 'by,' ⲛⲧⲉⲛ-, [ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ≠].

after passive *s-f n-y 'm-ṯr nmʾ' s-y n-f 'm-ṯr ny wʿb·w'* IX. 5/1.

v. p. 225, note 5.

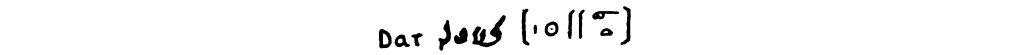


mtr verb 'bear witness,' subst. 'witness' ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉ.

p mtr I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 14); *ne-f mtr·w 16* XII. H/1.

e-f n mtr (var. once *e-f (n) mtr*) . . . *ʾn s* I, II (Pl. 1, 9); *e-f mtr ʾn s* VI (Pl. 17) *e-f mtr* XI, XII, XIII.

ʾ-ʾn mtr sḫ, v. ʾn(y) and p. 204, note 33.



mtre subst. 'midday' ⲙⲉⲉⲣⲉ : ⲙⲉⲣⲓ.

ḥḏ rm n mtre IX. 2/16.

mtg (?) subst. masc. 'plantation' (?), or better read *nt, tg*, cf. ⲧⲱⲥ, v. p. 287, note 6.

p mtg (?)*Ṭḥwt* XXXII/4; *p mtg Ḥtḥr nt ḫr Ṭḥwt* XXXII/7.

mṯk 'mixed drink' (?), v. ppr. n. *P-s-n-mṯk* and p. 201, note 3.

mz a measure, v. uncertain IX. 17/15.

Mz(·ntr) 'divine roll,' v. title *sḫ Mz* (p. 429) and p. 210, note 8.

Mzy 'Mazai-police,' v. title *ḫry-Mzy*, p. 428.

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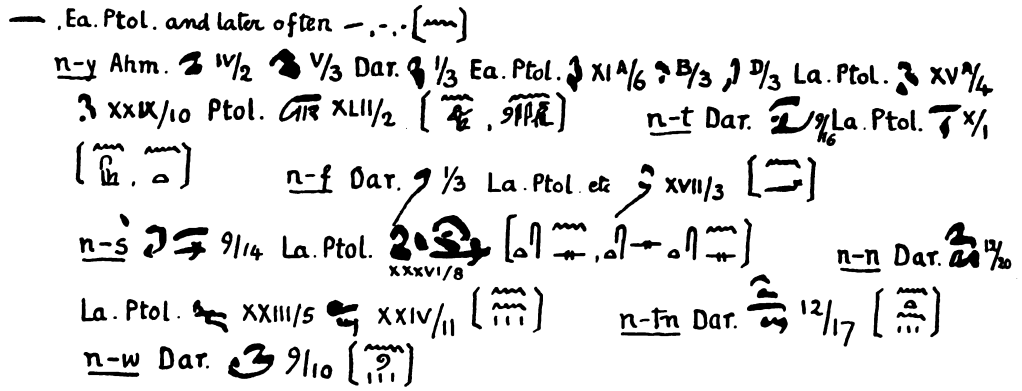
— . Ea. Ptol. and later often —.-.-. [ ]

n-y Ahm. IV/2 V/3 Dar. 1/3 Ea. Ptol. XI A/6 B/3 D/3 La. Ptol. XV A/4 XXIX/10 Ptol. XLII/2 [,] n-t Dar. 9/16 La. Ptol. X/1 [,] n-f Dar. 1/3 La. Ptol. etc XVII/3 [ ]

n-s 9/14 La. Ptol. XXXVI/8 [,] n-n Dar. 12/20 La. Ptol. XXIII/5 XXIV/11 [ ] n-tn Dar. 12/17 [ ]

n-w Dar. 9/10 [ ]



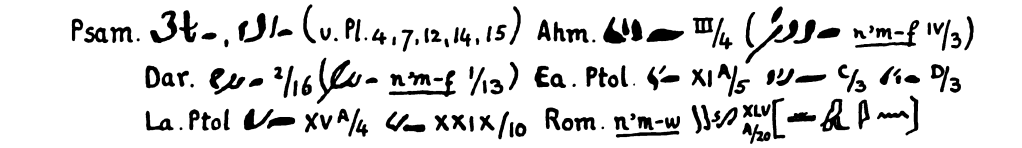
n preposition of dative n-, nꜣ.
after *ṭy, z, ms, ʾr,* &c.
šp n N. 'succeed to N.,' v. **šp**; *sẖ n N. a* 'appoint N. to,' v. **sẖ**.
ethical (reflexive) *ʿḥ n-f, fy n-f, ḥms n-f, sṭr n-f, š n-f.*
in proper name *Mʾ-n-n-Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ.*

n genitive particle n-, written as the last.
loose omission of this and the next shown e.g. by formula in Ahm. VI (Pl. 17):—

A.	*ṭe-k mty ḥt-y*	*pe ḥṭ ʾr*	*n-k bk.*
B, D.	„	*pe ḥṭ n ʾr*	„
C.	„	*n pe ḥṭ ʾr*	„
F.	„	*n pe ḥṭ n ʾr*	„

nt nb nke nb . . . n pr yḥ, &c., X/3.
followed by prepositional phrase instead of subst. *wʿ tgs n ẖr ḫ* IX. 3/3; *p sẖ n ẖr wḫ·w* 8/17; *wʿ ʿy n ḥr-ʾb-yr* 17/12.

Psam. , (v. Pl. 4, 7, 12, 14, 15) Ahm. III/4 (n'm-f IV/3)
Dar. 2/16 (n'm-f 1/13) Ea. Ptol. XI A/5 C/3 D/3
La. Ptol XV A/4 XXIX/10 Rom. n'm-w XLV A/20 [ ]



n preposition 'in,' 'from,' 'of,' &c., written as the last, but sometimes written **ʾn** q.v. **n̄-**: with suff. *nʾm-* ⲙⲙⲟ.
'in' passim where Coptic uses ϧⲉⲛ-.
'with' after *mty* 'be pleased.'
'from' or 'into' (?) after *ʾw* IX. 1/2.
'concerning' after *hb* and *ʾw,* v. p. 222, n. 14, p. 246, note 7.
of predicate 'as' *ʾr-y t-t n ḥm·t* X/1 and marriage form (3) on p. 268; *qʿ-t n ḥm·t* ib. (5), *e-f n mtr* I (Pl. 1), v. p. 205, n. 39; *e-f n mr šn* IX. 1/2; *e-y mte-k n bk* V/6; *e te-f zy n ʾr* XI/3, v. p. 258, note 8; *ṭy n-t ḥṭ 2 . . . n pe-t šp* X/1 cf. marriage form (4) on p. 268; *wʿ ḫ-nḥ . . . n ʾnḥ* IX. 7/12.
of direct obj. *ty mṭ nt e-tn ʾr nʾm-s* IX. 2/16; *ẖṭb nʾm-w* 2/17; *fy-w n-w nʾm-n* 2/14; *z n* 4/1, v. p. 277, note 1; *qʿ nʾm-w* 13/13; *sẖ n* p. 224, note 7; *st n* IX. 17/2.
in expressions *n ṯ n,* &c.

n pl. def. art. n-, v. **p**.

n object. pron. 1 pl. 'us.'
ṭe-w n . . . zṭḥ-w n IX. 2/7.

-n pron. suffix 1 pl. with substantives, pronouns, stm-f infinitives, and prepositions 'we,' 'our,' 'us' -n.

n- of *n-ʾw, n-ʾy·k.* v. **ʾy**.

Dar. 13/18 Ea. Ptol XIV V/2 La. Ptol XVII/3 V/5 XXIX/6 Rom. XLIV B/12

ne verbal prefix to nouns and adjectives. v. **ʿš, wh, bʾn, nfr, (nḫt), sbq, zr,** and p. 224, note 3, p. 273, note 4; it appears sometimes falsely written before *nfr* and *nḫt.*

ne. v. ppr. n. *Pa-ne.* **ne·w** 'city.' v. *Ne* (p. 423) and **ḫ** 'wood.' **n-ʾy·k, n-ʾw.** v **ʾy**.

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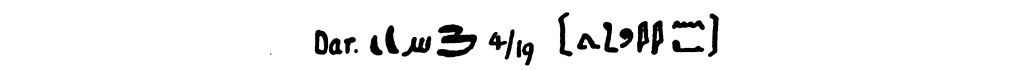
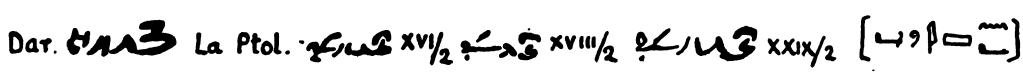
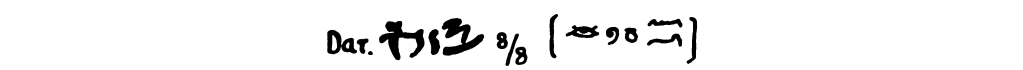
nᶜ verb 'be clean,' 'be free.' v. p. 204, note 28.
stm-f dep. on *ỉy* : *ỉnk eᵓr ỉy nᶜ-f n-k n qnḏ nḏ* I (Pl. 5), VIII/5, 6.
infin. in ppr. n. *Tᵓ-šr-ỉ-ỉ-eᵓr-nᶜ*, here 'pity' (?)=ⲛⲁ : ⲛⲁⲓ.
qual. (?) in variants of above name *Tᵓ-šr-ỉ-nᶜ-ỉ*, *Tᵓ-šr-ỉ-nᶜ*.



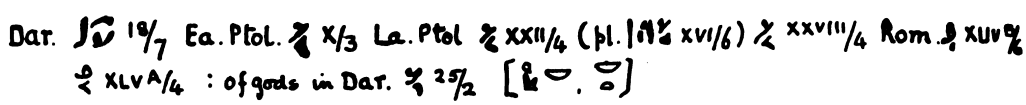
nᶜy verb intr. 'be going' ⲛⲁ : ⲛⲁⲓ.
infin. (?) *nᶜy*, serves as qual. to *še*: often with a future significance 'about to go,' v. p. 225, note 4, *nᶜy a* ⟨*Te-w-sy*⟩ IX. 4/19, 9/9, 14/17, 22, 24/1.



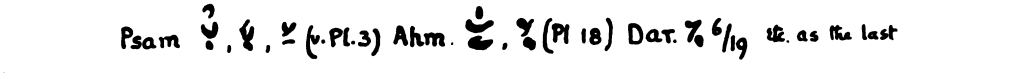
nᶜš 'strong'(?), 'strength,' or 'victor,' 'victory,' v. p. 253, note 4.
gw-w p gḏ eᵓr-ḥr n p nᶜše IX. 25/3.
t fy qne nᶜše n Brnyge XVI/2, &c.



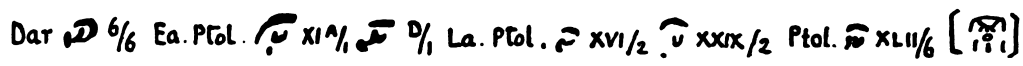
nw verb intr., constr. with *a* 'see' ⲛⲁϥ.
stm-f past indic.: *nw Ḥ. a wᶜ-ỉ ḫl s-ḫm-ỉ* IX. 8/8.
infin. in periphr. IX. 4/8, 13/20, 18/18.



nb subst. comm. 'owner,' 'lord' ⲛⲏⲃ.
pe nḏ ᶜo (the king) IX. 5/19–20, 6/5, 10/3, 17/12.
ḥr nḏ 'as owner,' XLI/9; *mn mte-s nḏ . . . pe-s nḏ* IX. 18/7; *p nḏ n nt nḏ* X/3, marriage form (6) on p. 268.
of a god *p nḏ šᵓy* IX. 25/2: in local titles of gods IX. 8/20, 13/6, scribe's formula of XVI, &c., XLIV. B/6; and of goddesses (Hathor), scribe's formula XV, &c., all these usually without determinative.
in title *nḏ wᶜb* XLV. A/2, 4, B/3; *nḏ eỉḫ ḫt*, &c.
in ppr. nn. *Pa-nḏ-ḫn*, *Nḫt-nḏ-f*, *Ns-nḏ-ᶜnḫ*.



nb adj. 'every,' 'all' ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲁ : ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ.
plural regularly follows sing. with *nḏ*: e.g. *gy nḏ e-w ḫp* IX. 6/19, v. p. 227, note 15.
nt nḏ I (Pl. 3) and throughout to Rom. XLIV. B/5 in legal phraseology.



nb subst. masc. 'gold' ⲛⲟϥ.
nḏ šs-stn IX. 6/6; *ᵓpỉ-w n ḫt nḏ* 7/7; *ḅk-t ḫt nḏ ḫmt ḫḅs* XI/1.
ỉnᵓ nḏ XVI/2, &c.; *ỉy wḫ ḫt* (?) *nḏ* in dowries XVI/7, &c. (pp. 270–1); *glt n nḏ* (determinative?) IX. 14/13, v. p. 237, note 3.
nḏ 20 IX. 7/7; *nḏ ḫm 1½* et sim., XVI/8, &c. (pp. 270–1), XLII/6, 9.

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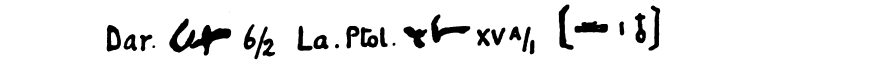
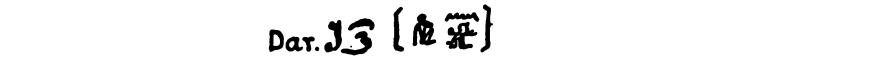
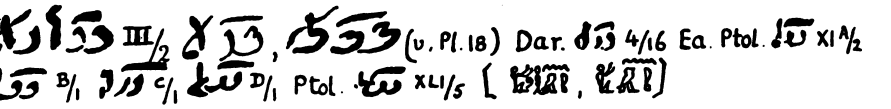


nfr (1) adj. 'good' ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ.
mṯ nfr·t IX. 5/20, &c. v. **mṯ**.
in title (?) *nfr-šty*, place n. *Mn-nfr*; ppr. nn. *Wn-nfr*, *Wrš-nfr*, *Ptḥ-nfr*, *Tše-nfr*, *T-nfr*, *P-nfr-ḥr*, *Pa-nfr-ʾmy*, *ʾR-ḥms-nfr*, div. nn. *Nfr-ḥtp*, *Nfr-tm*.
(2) verb stm-f past ind. *nfr p t rs* IX. 6/1, 8/14; *nfr pe-f ʾp* 10/12, v. p. 224, note 3, p. 226, note 13.
qual. (?) *e pe-ṯ ʿnḫ nfr n ḫw*, &c. IX. 9/15.
(3) subst. *t sḫy ʾr nʾm-y nfr* of healing IX. 3/3; *eˑʾr ʾr nfr·w* XV. A, B/1; *eˑʾr ʾr ne-nfr·w* (?) XVI/4.
verb *ne-nfr*: *mṯ nb nt e ne-nfr-w* IX. 13/18–19.
in ppr. n. *Ne-nfr-*.



nm interrog. pron. 'who?' ⲛⲓⲙ.
nm p nṯ e(-y) a rḫ šn·ṯ-f IX. 1/7.



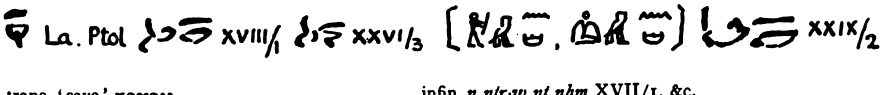
nm adj. 'polite' (?), v. p. 224, note 16.
ʲᶜ nm·ṯ IX. 4/16, 20/8.

nm, nmḥ 'tenant' (?). v. p. 52, note 7.
ʾr nmḥ eʾrn-k III/2, V/2, VI (Pl. 18), VII/3 (*nm* in VI BCE).
qnb nb mṯ rm-nm·w (var. *rm-nm* B, &c.) *nb ḫiḫle nb n pr* XI/2; *pe rm nmḥ* XLI/5, 11, 14.

nhpy verb 'mourn' (for dead) ⲛⲉϩⲡⲉ.
a nḥṯy n Ḥr IX. 19/16.

nhs verb intr. 'wake' ⲛⲉϩⲥⲉ.
stm-f past ind. *nhs n ʾm-wnṯ·w* IX. 2/11.

nḫ subst. 'measuring cord' ⲛⲟⲩϩ.
wᶜ ḫ nḫ (ϣⲉⲛⲛⲟϩ) *n pe-f qṯy n ʿnḫ* IX. 7/12, v. p. 228, note 8, and **ḫ**.
'surveyor' (?) *nḫ 2* IX. 16/10.



nḫ subst. [masc.] 'oil' ⲛⲉϩ.
nḫ ḥn 2 X/2; *mnḫ snṯr nḫ* I (Pl. 3).

nḫm verb trans. 'save' ⲛⲟⲩϩⲙ.
imperat. *nḫm n a ne-w ḫny·w btwy·w* IX. 25/9.
infin. *n nṯr·w nṯ nḫm* XVII/1, &c.
v. ppr. n. *Nḫm-s-* . . .

nḥṯ (?). v. p. 217, note 4: but rather *ṯ ḥṯ*.

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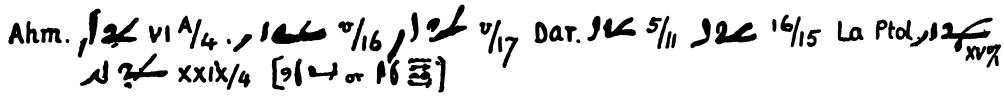
Dar.

nḫy subst. fem. 'lamentation.'

wˁ·t nḫy ˁo·t IX. 14/4, v. p. 236, note 15.

Ahm.  Dar. La Ptol.

nḫt (1) verb trans. 'save,' 'protect.'
stm-f past indic.: *nḫt(·y) st* IX. 16/20; dep. on *ty*: *mte-f ty nḫt-w n* 19/3; final *nḫt(·y) tnw n* 17/1, 4.
infin. *a ḫ nḫt-k n mṯ nḏ* IX. 5/11, 12; also 16/15, 17/3, 6, 25/7.
nḫt-n with suff. 1st pl. IX. 17/3, v. p. 243, note 9.

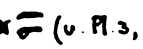
(2) subst. 'strong,' 'great-man' ⲛⲟⲩ (for *ⲛⲟⲩϣ, *ⲛⲟⲩϣⲧ?): ⲛⲩϣⲧ: *p nḫt* IX. 25/7; pl. 24/11 (twice), 13 (twice), 18.
(3) subst. fem. *te-f nḫt* in ppr. nn. *ˁḤ-, Nyt-, Ḥns-, Sm-tw-*.
v. also ppr. nn. *Wsr-nḫt, P-nt-nḫt-ḫwš* (?).
and *Nḫt-ˀMn, Nḫt-Mn, Nḫt-s* (?)-*ˀNp, Nḫt-f, Ne-nḫt-f, Ne-nḫt-s, Nḫt-w-s*.

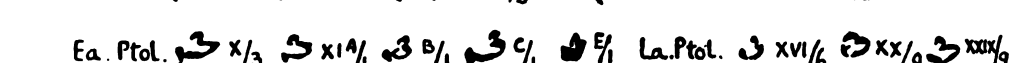
ns- adj. 'belonging to' in ppr. nn. *Ns-* ..., v. also p. 202, note 7, p. 230, note 1, p. 258, note 11, and above **ˀs**.

Dar.

nsn 'curse' (?), 'evil' (?). Cf. Eg. *nˁn* (?).

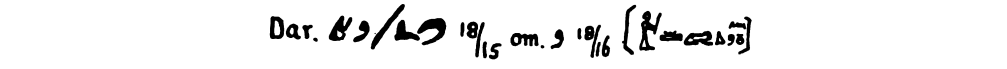
nsn n rm Te-w-ẓy IX. 11/20.

Psam.  (v. Pl. 3, 16) Ahm. (v. Pl. 18) Dar.

Ea. Ptol. 

La. Ptol.

nk subst. 'things,' 'property' ⲛⲕⲁ : ⲉⲛⲭⲁⲓ.
nt nḏ n nk n p t I (Pl. 3), VI (Pl. 18), VII/3; *nt nḏ nk nḏ* X/3, XI/1; marriage form (6) on p. 268.
ne-t nk·w n s-ḫm·t marriage form on p. 268, passim.

Dar. 

nqr verb trans. 'scrape,' Boh. ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉⲣ.
stm-f dep. on *ty* IX. 18/15, 16; rel. *t wˁy a·nqr-w* 22/8, 24/1.
infin. *nqr-s* IX. 18/17 twice.

Psam. etc. Ahm. Dar. Ea. Ptol. etc. sim.

nt rel. part. 'who,' 'which' ⲉⲧ-, ⲛⲧ-.
with def. antecedent passim, as in Coptic except in past tenses when it is replaced by verb in a-stm-f.
ḫnˁ (*n*) *nt*, v. p. 214, note 1.

substantivized *nt nḏ* I (Pl. 3), &c. &c. in legal phraseology; also IX. 7/3, 18/14, 19/7; for compounds with *p nt* v. *wˁb*, *mtg* (?).

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Dar. 8/2

n-ṭ, m-ṭe conj. 'since,' 'when' ntɛ-(pɛ-): followed by stm-f, v. p. 229, n. 12, IX. 8/2, 12/11, 24/1, v. p. 251, note 1, 24/18 (twice), 25/5.

n-ṭe prep. 'from,' 'to' of persons ntɛn-, written as the last, followed by nouns only.

e-n ʿnḫ-t n-ṭe N. IX. 13/19; *ṭe-k st n-ṭe n nḫt-w* 24/18; *ỉṯp . . . n-ṭe n p nḫt* 25/7.

n-ṭe. v. also **mte**, p. 358. v. also **ṭ** 'hand.'

Dar.

nṭm 'sweet' in verb *ne-nṭm.*

n-nṭm r-w ḥn ʾyḫ (?) IX. 24/6–7.

Dar. 24/3 Ea. Ptol. X/1 La. Ptol. XVII/1 XXV B/5 Rom. XLV A/1

fem. Dar. 17/14 La. Ptol. XVI/4

pl. Dar. 12/7 La. Ptol. XV B/1 XVI/1 XVII/1 XXV B/6 XXX/2

ntr 'god' subst. masc. noyte, fem. **ntry-t**, pl. **ntr-w**.
p ntr ʿo IX. 12/8, XLIV. B/6.
ntr ntry-t IX. 17/14; *ntr-w* 3/15, 12/7, &c.
e-ʾr(-y) qᵗ nᵊm-w erme p ntr IX. 13/13.
ntr ar-k IX. 24/3, 7, 18, v. p. 251, note 6.
n mṯ-ntr (pl.) IX. 12/8.

in compounds **mḥ-ntr**, **ḥ-ntr**, **ḥtp-ntr**, **ḥr-ntr** written also in **mz(-ntr** ?), and div. nn. *Nḫt, Spṯ*).
in titles *yt-ntr, ḫn-ntr*; frequent in titles of Ptolemies: with Roman emperors *p ntr p šr p ntr* XLIV/1, XLV/1: *p ʾbṯ p ntr* XLV/I.
in ppr. n. *Ns-p-Ntr*: in div. n. *ʾMn-Rᵉ-sin-ntr-w.*

Dar.

nz 'hunger,' 'poverty' (?), or 'inferiority' (?). Cf. Eg.

n-ṭe ḥn-w a nz IX. 25/1.

Dar. 24/7 16/19 La. Ptol. XXIII/2 Rom. XLIV B/2

r subst. masc. 'mouth' po.
(1) 'mouth' (of speaking) *n r n* IX. 7/1; with suffix *r-w* 16/19, 24/6–7.
(2) 'speech,' 'deposition,' 'opinion.'

z . . . s ꜣ wᵉ r XXIII/2; *e-s z wᵉ r* XLIV/2, XLV/4, v. p. 169, note 4.
n-e-ʾr r-w (or *r-w* ?) *n sḫ* IX. 15/15: with possessive article *sḫ-w ne-w r-w* 15/9.

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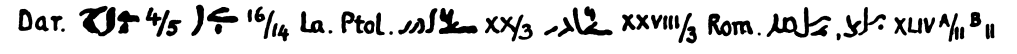
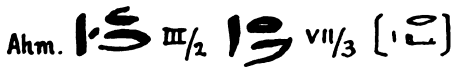
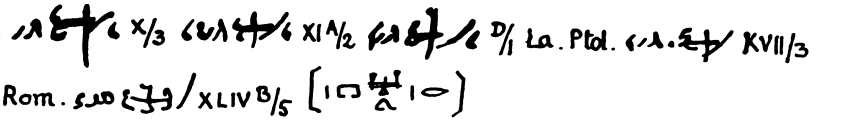


(3) 'gate,' 'entrance.'
wn r ar-f XLIV. A/11, B/11.
in prep. *a r n* ερεn-: *a r n p ᶜy* IX. 4/5; *p pr n Pr-ᶜo* 15/8, 16/14; *ḥ-ntr* 16/14.
n r n: *t qnḫ* IX. 7/19, 11/8, 18/20, 21, v. p. 224, note 9; *ḥ-ntr* 16/14.
ḥr r- with suffix ϩιρω- (?) *n ʾm-wnt·w a·wne ḥr r-n* IX. 2/10, 11–12; *ḥe P. rm ḥr r-w* 11/16, v. p. 222, note 5 (in sense of 'guarding (the door of) prisoners,' hardly for with suffix, for which see ḥr.
r-mḥt in ppr. n. *Ta-p-r-mḥt*, v. p. 149, note 3.

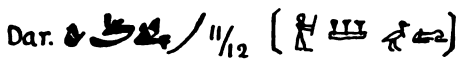
r 'fraction' ρε-, v. $\frac{1}{5}$ in fractions, p. 418.
r- prep. 'to' usually ʾr-, ερο-. v. a.
rᶜ subst. masc. 'sun,' 'day' ρн in *rᶜ-nḥ* (?), v. uncertain, IX. 24/14 (p. 411).



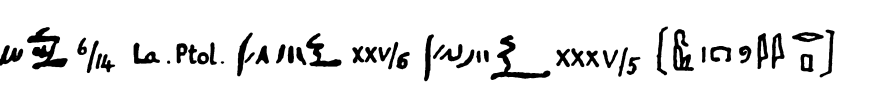
r-ᶜ prep. 'according to,' 'to amount of.' *r-ᶜ ḥṭ nb ḫr nb* III/2, VII/3, v. p. 210, note 3.



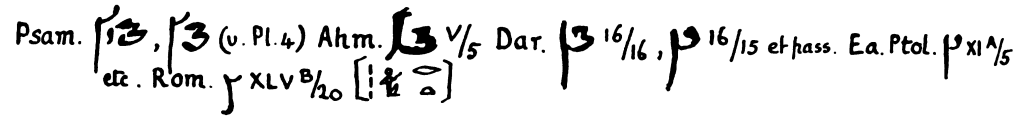
ry·t (r-wʾ·t) subst. fem. 'niche,' 'chamber' ρι, ραγн, v. p. 255, note 1. *nk n ry nb* X/3; *sḥṭ n ry·t nb* XI/2, v. p. 115, note 7. *wᶜ·t ry·t* XVII/3, 4; *wᶜ·t ry·t qṭ ḫn-f* XLIV. B/5.



lbš verb 'armed' לבש (cf. λιϧш in ϭελιϧш). *e-w lbš n ne-w grᶜ·w ne-w ḫn-w* IX. 11/12, v. p. 234, note 1.



rpy subst. masc. 'temple' ερπε : ερϕει. IX. 6/14, XXXV/5; pl. *rṗy·w* IX. 8/16, 17, 18, XXV/6; *rṗy·ʿy·w n Km* IX. 6/16; *rṗy·w ʿy·w n⟨Km⟩* 6/18, 7/6, 11, 14/17.



rm subst. 'man' ρωλλε, ρϫ-: fem. **rm·t** 'wife.'
rm sṯbḥ nb wyᶜ XXVI/14; *sbq n rm* IX. 6/11; *rm nb n p t* passim. v. t 'land.'
p sp rm (?) XXXVI/21; *ḫpry n rm* IX. 6/4, 10/4; *ḫ (n) rm*, v. ḫ; *rm n p t* 21/8; in superlative sense 1/18, 2/19.
Ḥ.p rm n Ḥl-Ḥns IX. 17/8, cf. 20/11, 18; *ne-f ḫrṭ·w ne-f rm* 11/14; *n rm·w ʾWnms* XV. A/2, cf. XVII/2; *pe-k rm* VIII/7.
fem. 'wife,' v. p. 274, note 5; *G. t rm·t P.* XXXVI/20; *te-f rm·t* XVII/5.
n rm nt ʾr wṯy IX. 7/7, v. p. 228, note 1.
peq-: *wᶜb rm e-f pḥ a ḥ-ntr* IX. 8/13; *rm e-f ʾr sḫy* 13/5; *rm e-f mne* (?) XII. H/12, v. p. 262, note 6; *rm e-f ḫp* . . . XVII/2, &c. v. Titles s.v. ḫp.
p rm n mhw XVII/4; *rm n qnqn* IX. 12/9.
rm rs IX. 11/4, 16/19, v. p. 86, note 6; *rm Te-w-sy* 11/20, 12/15, 21; *ne-s rm* (inhabitants) 12/6; *rm P-ʾy-lq* XXIII/2.
rm ᶜo IX. 10/16; *ty rm ᶜo·t* 12/13; *n rm ᶜy·w* 13/20. v. ᶜo. *rm bʾn* 11/20; *wᶜ rm ḫl* 19/13, v. p. 245, note 11; *rm swg* 10/21; *rm nm* XI/2, XLI/5, 11, 14.
also in ppr. nn. *P-rm-p-zwz* and *P-rm-* . . . (?), div. n. *Rm-ᶜo*.

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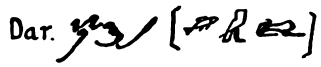
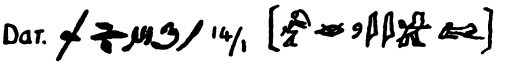
Dar. [hieroglyphs]



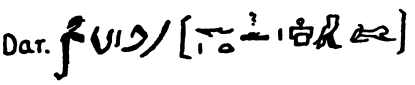
rm 'fish.'
pe-f ʾy ḫnš a rm IX. 25/8.



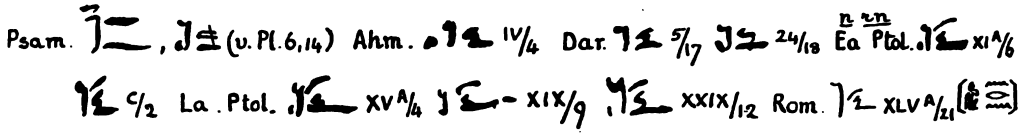
Dar. [hieroglyphs] 14/1 [hieroglyphs]

rmy verb intr. 'weep' ⲣⲓⲙⲉ.
stm-f past indic. *rmy-y eʾr ḥr n S. z* IX. 4/11; so also 9/14, 14/1, 5.

Dar. [hieroglyphs]



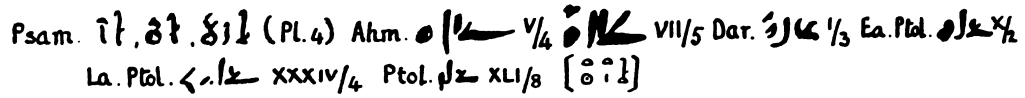
rms subst. masc. 'boat.'
wʿ rms IX. 6/4, v. p. 220, note 11.



Psam. [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] (v. Pl. 6, 14) Ahm. [hieroglyphs] IV/4 Dar. [hieroglyphs] 5/17 [hieroglyphs] 24/18 Ea Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XI A/6 [hieroglyphs] C/2 La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XV A/4 [hieroglyphs] XIX/9 [hieroglyphs] XXIX/12 Rom. [hieroglyphs] XLV A/21 [hieroglyphs]

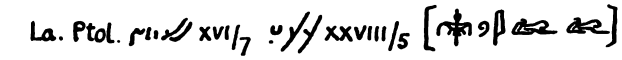
rn subst. 'name' ⲣⲁⲛ, ⲣⲓⲛ⸗, ⲣⲁⲛ⸗, not with def. article.
wʿ sn P. rn-f IX. 5/17; so also 6/1, 8/5, 8.
a sbḥ n rn-k (of God) IX. 24/18.
legal, 'in name of' a person, sale and cession forms (10) on pp. 256, 257; scribe formula XV, &c. XIX/5, XLV. A/21.
legal 'in name of,' 'by virtue of' a thing I, II (Pl. 6, 14), IV/4, IX. 3/15, 6/3, 13/7, 15/20, sale forms (13) (14) on p. 256.
(*p*)-*ʾy n rn*⟨*-f*⟩ 'the said,' 'the above named' XI/4, similarly XXI/23.
v. also ppr. n. *Bk-n-rn-f.*

rn verb trans. 'praise,' v. p. 322.
ṭe(*-y*) *rn-w Ḥr-šf* IX. 12/6.



Psam. [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] (Pl. 4) Ahm. [hieroglyphs] V/4 [hieroglyphs] VII/5 Dar. [hieroglyphs] 1/3 Ea. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] X/2 La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XXXIV/4 Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XLI/8 [hieroglyphs]

rnp subst. fem. 'year' ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ.
a rnp·t 12 a ʾbṭ 146 XXV/12.
a ḥry (*a*) *rnp·t nb* I (Pl. 4), V/4, VI (Pl. 18), VII/5.
ḫr rnp IX. 1/3, 10/11, 16/19, X/2, XLI/8; *ḫr rnp·t n rnp·t* [*3·t*] XXXIV/4.
n t rnp 'this year' IX. 16/20.



La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XVI/7 [hieroglyphs] XXVIII/5 [hieroglyphs]

ll subst. masc. 'bracelet' ⲗⲏⲗ.
wʿ ll in dowries (pp. 269–70) XVI/7, XX/5, XXII/5, XXVIII/5, XXX/7.

Dar [hieroglyphs]

lh subst. masc. 'anxiety,' 'care' ⲗⲉϩ.
tm ṭy wḥ-w ke lh ar-k IX. 12/14, v. p. 235, note 5.

Dar. [hieroglyphs] 3/13 [hieroglyphs] 11/5 [hieroglyphs]

rhy subst. [masc.] 'evening' ⲣⲟⲩϩⲉ.
ḫp rhy IX. 4/9.
n rhy IX. 3/13, 11/5.

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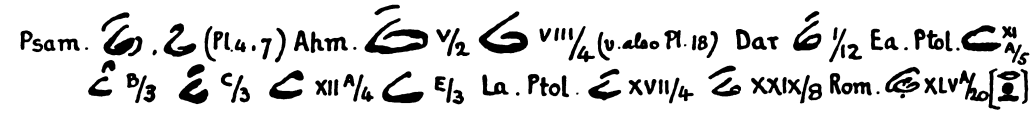


rḫ verb act. irreg. 'know,' 'be able.'

(1) 'know,' 'learn,' 'ascertain,' 'consider judicially.' Cf. **ρωμε**.

stm-f past ind. *rḫ s n wˁb-w s* IX. 15/2, v. p. 238, note 3. dep. on *ṯy*: *ṯe-f rḫ-f s* IX. 11/11. after neg. *b*: **ⲙⲉⲙⲉ-**, **ⲙⲉⲙⲁ-**, negative of present *e b rḫ(-y) mṯ n p ṯ* IX. 3/2; *b rḫ(-y) s* 5/8; *e b rḫ(-y) s* 4/8, 14; *ʾn b rḫ-n s* 13/9, v. p. 236, note 4; cf. ppr. n. *T-b-ʾrrḫ-s*.

imperative *rḫ ṯ nṯ e P. s nʾm-s* IX. 10/16, v. p. 232, note 7.

infin. *a rḫ n mṯ n Ḥmn* IX. 19/2, v. p. 245, note 6; *a rḫ-w n sḫ* 19/4.

ṯe(-y), *ṯe-k rḫ p ḫp e* (hardly qual. trans. as in Eg.), *eʾr-n a rḫ p ḫp e*, v. **ḫp**.

e-w rḫ-s s IX. 16/20.

ḥn-p-y rḫ mṯ n p ṯ IX. 2/20–3/1, 3/2 (of fainting, amazement).

qual. (?) *wˁ ʿy e-f rḫ* IX. 17/10 'a well-known House.'

(2) 'be able' **ⲙ-**, infinitive only: nominal subject always displaced to follow *rḫ* [exc. with *b-p-f*].

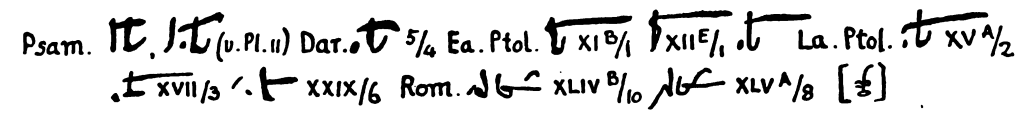
circumst. *e-f rḫ* stm IX. 6/3, v. p. 232, note 5; *ʾn e-f rḫ tm* stm 12/13.

fut. *e-y a rḫ* stm IX. 1/7, &c., with nominal subj. *a rḫ wˁ ss a ḫp* 13/13–14, so also 18/7, v. p. 236, note 6.

neg. fut. *ḥn e-y rḫ* stm I (Pl. 7), &c., and in all legal forms: also IX. 1/12, &c.; with nominal subj. *ḥn e rḫ P.* stm I (Pl. 4), &c., and in all legal forms.

ḥn-p-f rḫ stm IX. 6/17.

ellipsis of following infin. *ḥn e-w rḫ* IX. 14/6, v. p. 236, note 17.



rs subst. 'south' **ⲣⲙⲥ**.

with suff. Psam. in boundaries, v. **ʾmnt**: with article v. ib., and s. v. **p**, p. 347.

a rs 'southward' IX. 4/18, 5/4, 6/7, 8/3, 10/8, 16/9, 20/20.

rm rs IX. 11/4, 16/19, v. p. 86, note 6.

adj. 'southern' *p ṯ rs* IX. 1/2, 5/14; *ṯ rs rs* 5/15, 18, 6/7.

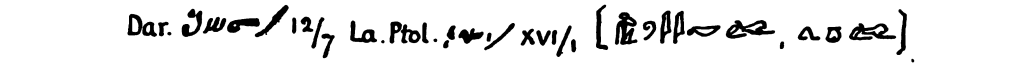
rs verb 'watch' **ⲣⲥⲓⲥ**.

infin. *nṯ rs n p qṭy n* IX. 11/14–15.

as subst. 'a watch' *ṯe-f rs n p qṭy n p ʿy* IX. 11/12, 12/12.

rs subst. fem. 'watch-tower' (?), cf. **ⲉⲣⲥⲱ** 'sheep-fold.'

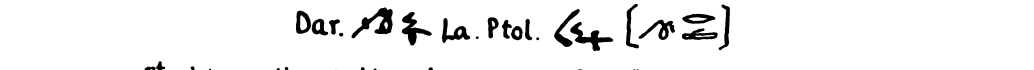
ṯ rs rs (*n Mn-nfr*) IX. 5/15, 18, without det. 𓉐 6/7, v. p. 226, note 9: referring perhaps to the boundary-dyke of Kosheisheh.



lg, lky verb trans. 'make to cease' **ⲗⲟ**, (**ⲧⲁ-**)**ⲗⲥⲟ**.

stm-f past ind. *lky P. Z. e-f n mr-šn* IX. 2/7–8.

infin. *n nir-w nṯ lg-w* (sic) *ḫḥ* XVI/1; reflexive *bne-w lky-w e-w snṯ n-k* IX. 4/15; cf. intrans. 14/6 and *bṯe-f lky* 12/7, v. p. 221, note 18.



rṭ subst. masc. 'inspector,' 'agent.'

n sḫ-w n lš n rṭ-w IX. 7/1; *ṯe-k rṭ* XXI/29.

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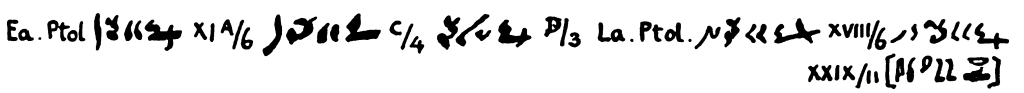
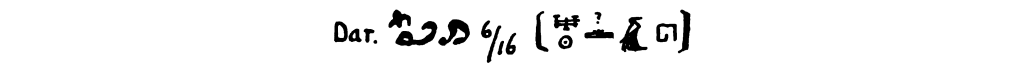
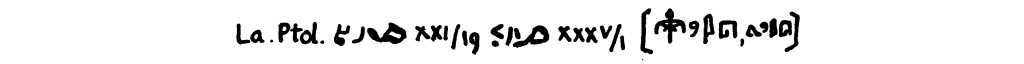


rṭ subst. 'foot' ρατε.
p ʿnḫ p ṯy ʿḥ rṭ (var. *p ʿḥ rṭ*) sale form (14) on p. 256.
ʾl ʾsw e-f (?) *ʿḥ rṭ* XXI/27.
v. ppr. n. *Rṭ-ṗy* (?)- . . .

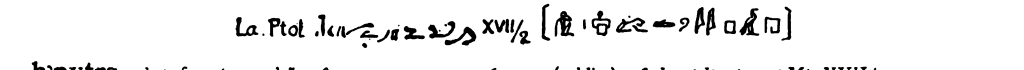
rz, lz, or **r·z:** v. ppr. nn. *Yr-w-rz, Q-lz.*



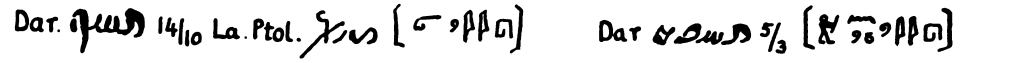
hʾ subst. masc. 'time' ϩε(-ϩωωπ).
ṗy hʾ bʾn IX. 6/16, 7/3, v. p. 227, note 10.



he subst. masc. 'expense,' v. p. 289, note 4.
ʾl he ḥm XXI/19; *p he n qṭ* XXXV/1; *p he n p rṗy* XXXV/5.



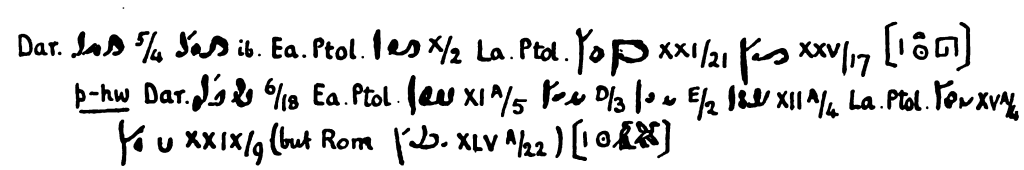
hʾpytrs subst. fem. 'camp,' ὕπαιθρος, v. p. 143, note 6.
(soldier) *e-f sḫ a ṭ hʾpytrs n ʾMṭr* XVII/2.



hy subst. masc. 'husband' ϩαι.
Ḥ. pe-s hy IX. 9/17, 14/10; *N. pe hy* XVII/5.

hyn adj. 'some' ϩοειπε, ϩεπ-.
hyn·w gršt (?) IX. 2/7; *hyn hw·w* 5/3–4; *hyn n ḫl·w* 11/4.

hyn subst. 'neighbour,' 'adjoining plot.'
ne-f hyn·w . . . n hyn·w ṗy ʿy sale and cession forms (3) on pp. 256, 257.



hw subst. masc. 'day' ϩοογ.
p hw 'the day' IX. 9/8; *ṗy hw* 'this day' XXXVI/6; *p ss hw* XXI/21, 24.
ḫp wʿ hw IX. 5/4.
ʾr-y· hw 4 IX. 3/2; *ʾr ʿḤ. hyn hw·w* 5/3–4; *ʾr N. hw 70 n syḫ* 10/10.
ḫr hw IX. 17/18, X/2.
p-hw 'to-day' ποογ, v. p. 219, note 16, p. 302, note 9.
ʾr-n p-hw IX. 9/7; *ʾr p-hw* 'till now' 1/15, 3/18, 6/18, 15/4, 21/5, v. p. 220, note 15 (on p. 221); *n ṯ n p-hw* IX. 1/6, sale (9) and cession (8) (9) forms on pp. 256, 257; *n p-hw* IX. 3/10; *a hn* (?) *a p-hw* 4/4.

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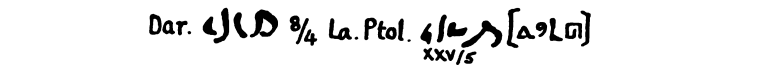
Dar. 12/16

hwš verb. intr. 'be troublesome' ϩⲱⲟⲩϣ.
stm-f past ind. *hwš ny wʿb·w* IX. 12/12.
inf. *wnee-w hwš a ty rm ʿo·t* IX. 12/13; *p hwš e·ʾr-tn* 12/16.

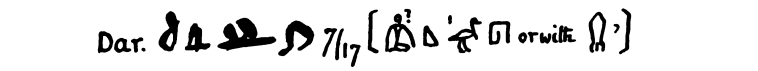
hb 'ibis' ϩⲓⲡ v. ppr. nn. *ʿNḫ-n-hb·w, P-hb, P-hb-ʾNp, P-hb-p-šmʿ* (?), *Gl-hb, Ta-hb.*

Dar. 8/4 La. Ptol. XXV/5



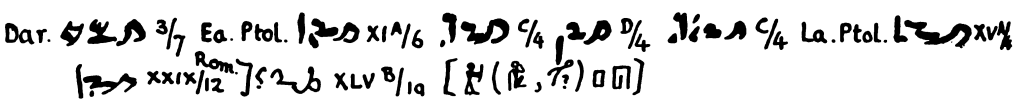
hb verb trans. 'send' (person on mission), cf. ⲣⲉⲙϩⲱⲃ nuncius, verb ϩⲱⲃ, Erman, *Ä.Z.*, 95/50.
stm-f past ind. *hb-f* IX. 11/16; circumst. *e hb s N.* 8/4.
infin. *sp n hb m-s* IX. 3/7, 4/7, cf. 4/13.
qual. *e-f* (var. *nt*) *hb a p ʾmn* IX. 8/6, 9/1.
construction: *hb a M.* (place) *n N.* (person) *n x* (about a matter, with suff. *n-ʾm-*) IX. 2/18, 11/16, v. p. 222, note 14.

Dar. 7/17 or with



hbq verb intr. 'crouch' (?), 'clasp' (?).
twt 2 e w hbq a pṭ-w IX. 7/17, v. p. 82, note 1, p. 229, note 6.

Dar. 3/7 Ea. Ptol. XIA/6 C/4 D/4 C/4 La. Ptol. XVA/4 XXIX/12 Rom. XLV B/19



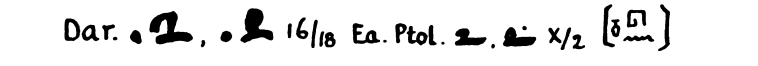
hp subst. masc. 'law,' 'custom,' 'legal right,' legal punishment' ϩⲁⲡ.
'legal right,' &c. *n rn p hp n p sḫ* sale form (14) on p. 256, cf. (13) and cession forms (11, 12) on p. 257.
p hp ne-t nk·w n s-ḫm·t marriage form (17) on p. 269.
qnby nb hp nb XLV. B/19, cf. var. XVIII, on p. 256.
cf. XVII/5, XXXIII/4, XLIV. B/15.
ʾr hp n N. (with suff. *n-f*) 'punish' IX. 3/7, 12, 4/8, 5/2, v. p. 223, note 7.

La. Ptol.

hm subst. [fem.] 'fare' by boat ϩⲉⲙⲉ.
ʾt he hm XXI/19.

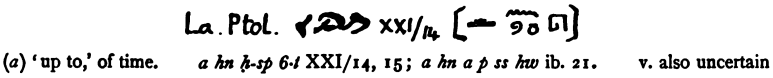
Dar. 24/18

hn verb intr. 'nod,' 'signal,' v. p. 251, note 2.
mte-f hn a p mr ḥs IX. 24/2; another meaning (?), v. p. 252, note 19; *n-ṭe hn-w a nz* 24/18.



Dar. 16/18 Ea. Ptol. X/2

hn subst. masc. 'hin measure' ϩⲓⲛ.
hn ṭgm 200 hn ʾby 50 IX. 16/18; *nḥ hn 2 . . . nḥ hn 24* X/2.

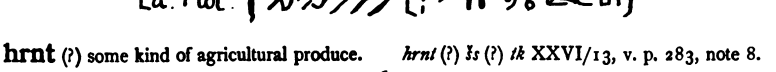


La. Ptol. XXI/14

hn in *a hn* (*a*) 'up to,' of time. *a hn ḥ-sp 6·t* XXI/14, 15; *a hn a p ss hw* ib. 21. v. also uncertain IX. 4/4.

hry 'be pleased' ϩⲉⲣⲓ, v. ppr. nn. *Hry(·w), Hry-ʾNp*, &c.

La. Ptol.



hrnt (?) some kind of agricultural produce. *hrnt* (?) *šs* (?) *tk* XXVI/13, v. p. 283, note 8.

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La. Ptol. XXII/5

hlq subst. fem. 'ring' ϩⲁⲗⲁⲕ : ⲁⲗⲁⲕ, حلق. *wʿ·t hlq* XX/6, XXII/5.

ḥ, ḥ·t subst. fem. 'residence,' 'temple.'
in place-n. *t ḥ·t n t ʾḥ·t* XI/2, XII/2, XIII/1, also *Ḥ-nn-stn*, div. n. *Ḥ·t-Ḥr* and in **ḥ·ntr**, p. 373.

Dar.

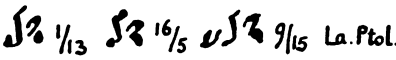
ḥ, ḥ·t· subst. fem. 'tomb.' *qs-w s n te-f ḥ n Pr-Wsr* . . . IX. 10/10.

Dar. 11/16 La. Ptol. XXXII/6

ḥ, ḥ·t· 'front' (ⲧ)ϩⲏ, ϩⲏⲧϩ especially in prepositions with suffix: before subst. in IX generally written **ẖ** q. v.
ϩⲏⲧϩ of place *pt-w* . . . *ḥ·t-w*, *ḥ P.* IX. 11/8, 16; *hb-w n P. ḥ·t(-y)* 20/5, v. p. 246, note 1; *py rm* . . . *nt ḥ·t-k* 'defending (?) thee' 20/11, so also 20/19.
a ḥ·t- ⲉϩⲏⲧϩ of time, *mn pe-s nb a ḥ·t-f* IX. 18/9.
in compound subst. **ḥ·sbe·t** 'gateway' (?) or 'path' (?) and 'year' **ḥ·sp** qq. v.
in ppr. nn. *Pa-ḥ*, *Mnt-m-ḥ*, *Nyt-m-ḥ*. See also adj. **ḥw·t** ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ below.

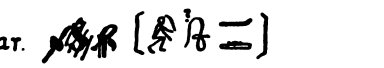
Psam. (Pl. 4) Ahm. VIII/4 Dar. 25/6 La. Ptol. XVI/9 XXII/7 XXVII/8

ḥʿ subst. 'self' ϩⲱⲱϩ.
ʾnk ḥʿ(-y) I (Pl. 4), VIII/4, IX. 1/11; *ʾnk* . . . *ḥʿ-y* 13/3; *e-y ʾr* . . . *ḥʿ(-y)* 20/20 sim. 4/16; *ḥʿ-f* 4/17; *ḥb-w ḥʿ-w* 25/2, 6; *mte-t eʾr-t mr š n-t ḥʿ-t* marriage form (16) on p. 269.



Dar. 1/13 16/5 9/15 La. Ptol. XXI/11 XXVI/16 Ptol. XLI/3

ḥw subst. masc. 'excess' ϩⲟⲩⲟ, also 'profit' ϩⲏⲩ.
p ḥw p nt ḫṭ XLI/3, 11; *e pe-w ḥw ẖn-w* XXI/11, v. p. 150, note 7; *n ḥw* (?) *nt e-f* (?) *ḫṭ-w* XXVI/16.
ʾḫ pe-k ḥw n ṭy IX. 20/3; *mn mnte-k ḥw n ṯ* 4/10; *mn ḥw n š* 15/18.
prep. *n ḥw a* ⲛϩⲟⲩⲉ ⲉ IX. 1/13, 4/17, 9/15, 16/5.

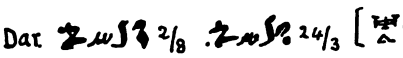


Dar.

ḥw 'corrupt,' 'stinking.'
pe-f wnṭe ḥw IX. 25/8.

Dar. 2/13

ḥwʿ subst. [masc.] 'club,' 'staff.'
ne-w (var. *ne-tn*) *ḥwʿ·w* IX. 2/13, 11/5, 7.



Dar. 2/8 24/3 La. Ptol. XXIII/3

ḥwy verb trans. 'cast' ϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ.
stm-f past indic. IX. 2/14, 5/7, 11/9, 18/21, 22; dep. on *ṭy* 1/13, 2/8.
inf. *e·ʾr ḥwy sṭy a pe-f ʿy* IX. 5/3; *e na ʾBṭ ḥwy gs r-w* 2nd pres. 24/3.
ḥwy-w ḥmt a t s 'put a lock on' IX. 2/8.
in place-n. *Na-Pa-Qm-ḥwy*.

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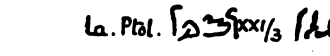
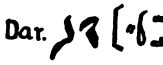
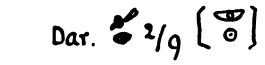
La. Ptol.  XXV/6B

ḥwn adj. 'youthful.' *p nṯr ḥwn* XXI/3, &c., to XXVII. v. ppr. n. *Ḥwn.*

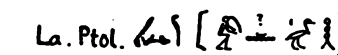
ḥwrᶜ. v. ḥrᶜ.

Dar. 

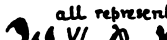
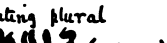
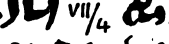
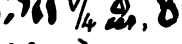
ḥw·t, ḥ·t adj. 'first' ϩⲟⲩⲣⲣ. v. ḥw·t.
t s ḥ·t n ʾMn- IX. 6/15, v. p. 227, note 9.
v. also ordinal numerals.

Dar. 

ḥb subst. masc. 'festival.'
mḫyr ss 13 p ḥb n p šwe IX. 2/9.
cf. ppr. nn. *Ḥr-m-ḫb, Ṯḫwt-m-ḫb*: also cf. *Nḫt-Ḥr-Ḥb* and title *ḥr-ḥb.*

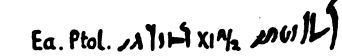
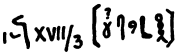
La. Ptol. 

ḥb subst. 'grief' ϩⲙⲏⲉ. *n nṯr·w nt lq ḥb* XVI/1, v. p. 271, note 7.

Ahm. VII/4 V/4,  (v. Pl. 18) Dar.  13/8 Ea. Ptol. X/2
XI^{B}/1  C/1 

all representing plural; plural

ḥbs subst. ϩⲱⲟⲟⲥ, v. p. 214, note 3.
ḥmt ḥbs ʾḥ·t X/3; *ḥmt ḥbs pr nb ʾḥ·t* XI/1.
pe-t ḥbs X/2; *pe-t ʿq* (?) *ḥbs* X/2, 4; *n ḥbs·w nt ḥr ʾ·t-n* V/4, VI (Pl. 18), VII/4; *ṯe n wʿb·w ne-w ḥbs-w n ḫ̲-w* IX. 13/8.

Ea. Ptol.  XI^{A}/2 C/1 La. Ptol.  XVII/3

ḥbs verb trans. 'cover' ϩⲱϧⲥ.
qual. *e-f qṯ ḥbs* XVII/3; *nt qṯ ḥbs* XI/2, XVII/4, v. p. 258, note 7.

ḥbs 'wife,' v. ḥm·t and p. 231, note 1.

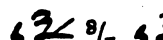
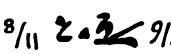
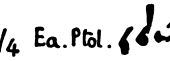
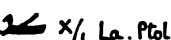
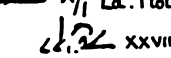
ḥf 'serpent' ϩⲟϥ, v. ppr. n. *P-ḥf.*

Ea. Ptol.

ḥm 'artificer.'
in title *ḥm-ḫ* X/1.

Dar. 11/4

ḥm 'coward,' 'outcast' (?), cf. or 'off-scourings' (?), v. p. 233, note 5.
py ḥm n rm rs IX. 11/4; *ny ḥm n rm bʾn* 11/20.

Dar.  8/7 8/11  9/4 Ea. Ptol.  X/1 La. Ptol.  XVI/5
 XXVIII/1

ḥm·t subst. fem. 'wife' ϩⲓⲙⲉ, hardly *ḥbs*, v. p. 231, notes 1, 14.
te-f ḥm·t erme ne-s ḥrỉ·w s-ḥm·w IX. 8/7; *te-f ḥm ne-f ḥrỉ·w s-ḥm·w* 18/13; *te-f ḥm·t* XVII/1, XXVIII/1, XXIX/1; *ne-f ḥm·w* (ϩⲓⲟⲙⲉ, in all parallels **s-ḥm·w**, q.v.) *ne-f ḥrỉ·w* IX. 9/20.
my ṯe M. ṯe-w n-y N. n ḥm·t IX. 8/11, cf. 9/4; *ʾr-y ṯ-t n ḥm·t* X/1, marriage form (3) on p. 268; *e-y qᶜ-t n ḥm·t* X/2, marriage form (5) on p. 268, cf. (16) ib.

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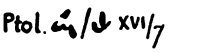
Dar. 6/7 21/4 La. Ptol. XXV/4

ḥms verb intr. 'sit,' 'settle,' 'dwell' ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ : ϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ : ϩⲙⲁⲥⲧ : with ethical refl. dat. IX. 6/7, 9/10, 11.
stm-f past indic. *ḥms n-f P. n Ḥnês* IX. 6/7; *ḥms-n n'm-f* 21/4 (or final?).
imper. *ḥms n-k ṭy* IX. 9/10.
qual *e-f ḥms* IX. 10/18; *e-k ḥms·t n-k ṭy* 9/11, v. p. 231, note 8.
inf. *ḥms ẖn t wsḫ·t* XXV/4.
in div. n. *'R-ḥms-nfr*.

Dar. 2/8 24/16 Ea. Ptol. X/3 XI A/1 C/1 La. Ptol. XVI/7 XXII/5 XXVIII/6

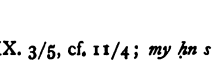


ḥmt subst. 'bronze' ϩⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ : ϩⲟⲙⲧ.
bk·t ḥṭ ḥmt ḥbs X/3; *bk·t ḥṭ nb ḥmt ḥbs* XI/1; *swḥ n ḥmṭ* XXII/5, v. p. 270, note 10.
n ḥmt 24 a qṭ 2 marriage forms (9) (11) on p. 269, var. *n ḥmt wṭḥ* (?) *qṭ* (?) *24* (*a*) *qṭ 2* XXXVIII/3, 4; *ḥmt wṭḥ* (?) *14* XL. U/8.
meaning 'lock' (?) *te-f ḥwy-w ḥmt a t s* IX. 2/8; *'y n ḥmt* 'prison house' (?) 2/8, 24/16.

Dar.

ḥn (*ḥm, ḥnm*?) subst. 'servant.' *e·'r-s qṭy 'wṭ ḥn·w-f* IX. 25/7. in title *ḥn-ntr*.

Dar. 3/5 6/3

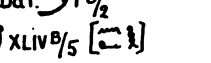


ḥn verb 'command,' 'entrust' ϩⲱⲛ.
stm-f (cf. ϩⲛⲉ-, ϩⲛⲁ-?) past indic. *ḥn-w* IX. 10/6, 11/4; dep. on *ṭy my* 10/3, 5, 12/2.
infin. IX. 3/5 (*e·'r-f ḥn*, v. p. 226, note 20).
qual. IX. 6/3, &c.
'command' *ḥn n rm nb z m-'r* IX. 3/5, cf. 11/4; *my ḥn s N. a ṭy* 12/2.
'entrust' IX. 10/3, 5, 6: qual. *p t rs ḥn n P.* et sim. 5/14, 6/3, 10/1–2; *e 'r-f ḥn n P.* 6/5; *e p 'mn . . . ḥn n-k* 8/12.
v. also **s·ḥn**.

Dar.

ḥnw subst. 'spear' (?) [cf. ϩⲛⲁⲁⲩ]. *e·-w lbš n ne-w gr'·w ne-w ḥnw* IX. 11/12, v. p. 234, note 3.

Psam. (v. Pl. 2 etc.) Ahm. III/3 VII/4 (v. also Pl. 18) Dar. 8/2 Ea. Ptol. X/3 XI/1 C/1 La. Ptol. XV A/4 XXIX/10 Rom. XLIV B/5



ḥn' prep. 'with,' 'and' (cf. Fai. ⲁϩⲁ?).
semi-obsolete except in legal phraseology:—
common throughout the legal documents in enumeration of persons and things, I (Pl. 2), II (Pl. 10), III/3, VI (Pl. 18), &c., X/3, XI/1, &c., sale form (13) on p. 256, marriage form (6) on p. 268, XLIV. B/5.
in IX it occurs only in expression *'Mn* (*Te-w-zy*) *ḥn' psṭ-ntr·w-f* 8/2, 3, 9/13, 19.

Rom. XLIV B/7 XLV A/11

ḥny subst. fem. 'canal' -ϩⲱⲛⲉ. *t ḥny Me-wr* XLIV. B/7, XLV. A/11.

ḥn-ntr. v. Titles, p. 428.

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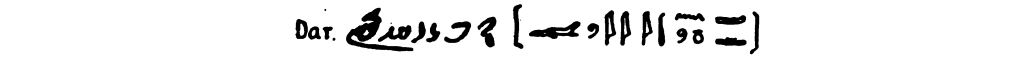
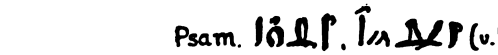
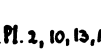
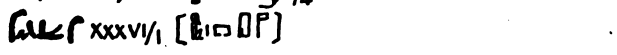
Dar. 

ḥnty subst. 'lizard,' 'crocodile' (?). *p-eˀr-w ḥnty a pḫ* (?) *nˀm-f* IX. 24/10, v. p. 252, note 9.

Psam.  (v. Pl. 2, 10, 13, 14) Dar.  1/4 Ea Ptol. XII 11/2 La. Ptol. XXXII/8  XXXVI/1 []

ḥ-ntr subst. [fem.?] 'temple' (the article never written, v. p. 202, note 17), cf. ϩeneeτe.

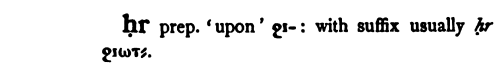
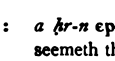
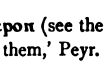
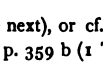
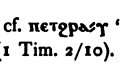
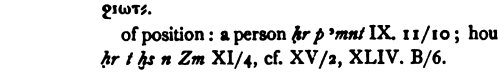
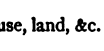
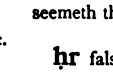
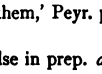
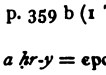
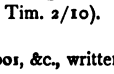
ḥ-ntr e-f (sic) *n gy* IX. 6/10, v. p. 227, note 4.

ḥ-ntr n Te-w-sy IX. 6/9, 10; *ḥ-ntr* [*n*?] *Nb Bḫn* (?) XXXVI/1.

n ḥ-ntr n sḫ n p ṯme I (Pl. 2); *ˀw a ḥ-ntr* IX. 2/12; *a ḥ n ḥ-ntr* 2/20; *n ḥ n ḥ-ntr* 11/3; *a r n ḥ-ntr . . . n r n ḥ-ntr* 16/14.

s n ḥ-ntr II (Pl. 10, 13, 14), IX. 2/7, &c.; *t ˀsf n ḥ-ntr* 1/5; *p sb n ḥ-ntr* 2/14.

sḫ ḥ-ntr IX. 1/9, XII. H/2; *rm nt* (var. *e-f*) *pḫ a ḥ-ntr* 7/8, 8/13.

Ahm.  III/4 V/4  VII/4 (v. also Pl. 18) Dar.  2/10  11/10 Ea. Ptol.  XI A/4  C/3  D/2 La. Ptol.  XV B/2  XXXI/9 Rom  XLIV B/6  XLV B/11 [19]

ḥr prep. 'upon' ϩι-: with suffix usually *ḥr ˀ-* ϩιωωϲ : ϩιωτϲ.

of position: a person *ḥr p ˀmnt* IX. 11/10; house, land, &c. *ḥr t ḫs n Zm* XI/4, cf. XV/2, XLIV. B/6.

pay *ḥr p sḫn* XXXI/9.

write *ḥr t wṯy* IX. 7/16 (corresp. *ḥr ˀ-s*).

spend time, &c. *ḥr n sḫn-w* IX. 5/9, 10.

ḥr ˀ-ˀ- ϩιωτϲ (of clothes) III/4, V/4, VI (Pl. 18), VII/4; *ḥr ˀ-ˀ-s* (of tablet) IX. 18/19 (pregnant), v. p. 245, note 3.

ḥr-ˀb v. below s. v.

ḥr r- IX. 2/10, 11, 11/16, 'guarding' person, v. p. 222, note 5.

ḥr ḥr n 'upon,' v. *ḥr* 'face.'

ḥr ḥ 'by' in measures, v. ḫ.

ḥr ṯb n ϩιτογτ IX. 2/14, v. p. 222, note 9.

ḥr ss (*n*) ϩιϫεn- XVII/3, v. p. 273, note 5.

ḥr same as last, with direct suffix (?) *bn ḥr-n ˀn e wn* 'not our fault (?) if' IX. 1/6, v. p. 219, note 18, but perhaps for *a ḥr-n* epoⲛ (see the next), or cf. ⲛετϩρⲁϩϒ 'that which beseemeth them,' Peyr. p. 359 b (1 Tim. 2/10).

ḥr false in prep. *a ḥr-y* = epoι, &c., written as the last. v. a, and cf. *a* ḥr = ϩρⲁ- below.

ḥr emphasizing particle (cf.), written as the last.

ḥr n wᶜb-w wṯ sṯ p P. IX. 4/10, v. p. 224, note 14; *ḥr n ḫl-w . . . sṯ n ḥ-ntr* 14/2.

ḥr subst. [masc.] 'face' ϩο, ϩρⲁ-, written as the last in the earlier texts.

ᶜnḫ ḥr-k IX. 10/2; *ᶜnḫ ḥr n Pr-ᶜo* 17/13.

cf. ppr. nn. *ᶜḤ-ms-ḥr-n-wrs, A-ḥr, P-nfr-ḥr, Pa-ḥr, Ze-ḥr*, in all of which it is written with det. Q.

in prepp. *a ḥr* 'down upon' ϩρⲁ-, as distinct from *a ḥr* = epoϩ above: *a ḥr-n* IX. 2/15; *a ḥr-w* 2/18, v. p. 222, n. 13. *ḥr ḥr n*: 'upon' *sṯr n-ṯn ḥr ḥr n ny sw* 11/5. eˀr ḥr(n). v. s.v., p. 325.

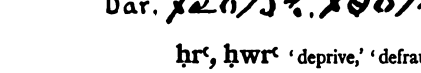
Dar. La. Ptol.

ḥr-ˀb- 'in the midst of,' in compound expression *ḥr-ˀb-yr*, which is used as if it were a substantive: *wᶜ-t mˀe n ḥr-ˀb-yr* IX. 17/12, v. p. 243, note 12.

t ˀwe-t ḥr-ˀb ˀmnt n Pr-Ḥtḥr XVIII/4.

for the reading cf. W. Max Müller, *Ä.Z.*, 25/46.

ḥr subst. [fem.] 'sky.' in divine n. *ˀN-ḥr*.

Dar. 

ḥrᶜ, ḥwrᶜ 'deprive,' 'defraud' ϩογρω. *b ˀr p ḥrᶜ ḫl pe-f ḥwrᶜ* IX. 25/6 (poet.).

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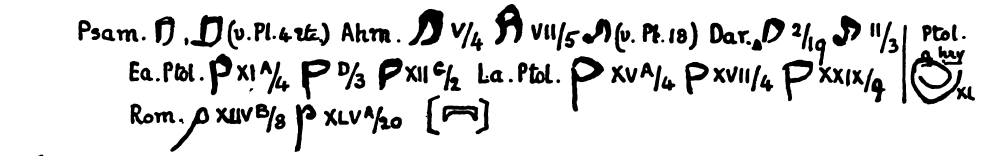


Psam. (v. Pl. 4 etc.) Ahm. V/4 VII/5 (v. Pl. 18) Dar. 2/19 11/3 | Ptol. ḥry XL
Ea. Ptol. XI A/4 D/3 XII C/2 La. Ptol. XV A/4 XVII/4 XXIX/9
Rom. XLIV B/8 XLV A/20

ḥry subst., &c., 'above' ϩⲣⲁⲓ.
adj. (?) in *ḥry-sy-wry*, v. gods.
adv. *ḥry*: *wʿ trt ẖry ḥry* XVII/3, 4, v. p. 273, note 8; *nt ḥry* 'the above-named,' common in legal documents, I (Pl. 4, 5), &c., XLIV. B/8, &c.; *nt sẖ ḥry* X/2, XI/4.
a ḥry of place: *ʿl P. a ḥry* IX. 9/6, 10/19, cf. 16/10, v. p. 231, n. 3; *ʾn-w N. a ḥry* IX. 8/8, in sense of take thing out IX. 11/3, XL recto pass.; *ʾn-w n a ḥry n* 'they took us out of' IX. 2/19.
a ḥry of time: in legal documents, v. p. 203, note 24, *a ḥry rnp nb* I (Pl. 4), VI (Pl. 18); *a ḥry a rnp nb* V/4, VI. F, VII/5; *a ḥry šʿ z·t* VIII/3; *n ṯ (n) p-hw a ḥry* sale, &c. forms (9) on p. 256, (8) (9) on p. 257, XLV. A/19, 20, B/17.

ḥry subst. masc. 'governor' (written as the last).
p ḥry n Km IX. 2/17, v. p. 222, note 12; *e-f n ḥry n Ḥ-nn-stn* IX. 14/3, 4; v. uncertain IX. 8/9; titles *ḥry Mzy*, &c., and ppr. n. *ʿNḫ-pe-f-ḥry* in Ahm.

Dar. 20/9

ḥrḥ verb intr. 'watch over,' 'protect' ϩⲁⲣⲉϩ : ⲁⲣⲉϩ, with periphr. stm-f.
a ṯy ʾr-w ḥrḥ ar-f (person) IX. 12/3; sim. 12/11, 20/9.

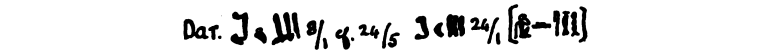
ḥrt v. uncertain IX. 12/7.

Psam. (Pl. 3) Dar. 2/10

ḥq subst. [masc.] 'beer' ϩⲛⲕⲉ : ϩⲉⲙⲕⲓ.
swr ḥq IX. 2/10, 8/8, 9/7, 8; *ʾrp ḥq ẖbs* I (Pl. 3).

Dar.

ḥq verb 'plunder' c. c. *a* (?).
s nb e-f ḥq n-f, ne-w pr·w a-ḥq-w ar-w (?) IX. 24/8 (poet.).

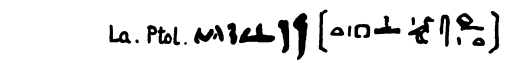


Dar. 8/1 cf. 24/5 24/1

ḥs verb 3 inf. (?) 'praise' (cf. ϩⲱⲥ) (written as the next).
ḥs t-k Ḥr-šf IX. 8/1, v. p. 229, note 7.

ḥs subst. masc. 'song' ϩⲱⲥ.
n ḥs·w IX. 24/1; *ke ḥs* 24/5, 25/6.
in title *mr ḥs* IX. 24/2.

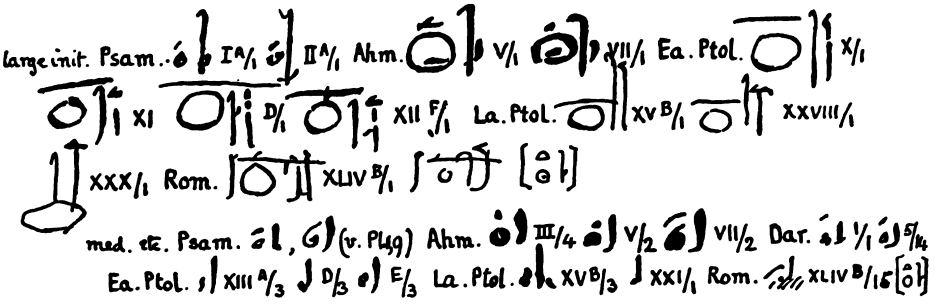
La. Ptol.



ḥ-sbe·t subst. fem. 'front of door,' 'gateway' (?), 'path' (?).
t ḥ-sbe·t nt š a p yr-ʿo XXXII/6.

large init. Psam. I A/1 II A/1 Ahm. V/1 VII/1 Ea. Ptol. X/1
XI D/1 XII F/1 La. Ptol. XV B/1 XXVIII/1
XXX/1 Rom. XLIV B/1

med. etc. Psam. (v. Pl. 9) Ahm. III/4 V/2 VII/2 Dar. 1/1 5/14
Ea. Ptol. XIII A/3 D/3 E/3 La. Ptol. XV B/3 XXI/1 Rom. XLIV B/15



ḥ-sp subst. fem. 'year' in dates, Boh. ⲁⲥⲫ-, v. p. 254, note 1.

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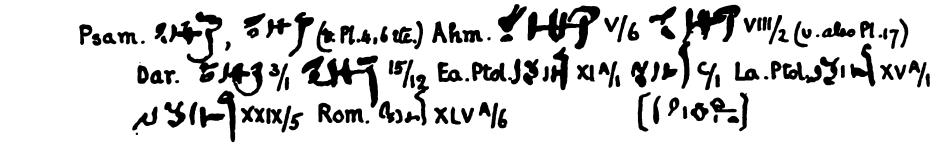
ḥ·t 'first,' v. ḥw·t.

Psam. [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] (v. Pl. 4, 6 etc.) Ahm. [hieroglyphs] V/6 [hieroglyphs] VIII/2 (v. also Pl. 17)
Dar. [hieroglyphs] 3/1 [hieroglyphs] 15/12 Ea. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XI A/1 [hieroglyphs] C/1 La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XV A/1
[hieroglyphs] XXIX/5 Rom. [hieroglyphs] XLV A/6 [hieroglyphs]



ḥt subst. [masc.] 'heart,' takes suff.: not used with def. art. ϩⲏⲧ, ϩⲧⲏ.

ṭe-k mty ḥt(-y) I (Pl. 4), &c., VI (Pl. 17), VIII/2, sale form (3) on p. 256, XLV. A/6.

ḥt-y mt·w sale form (7) on p. 256, marriage form (13) on p. 269.

'q ḥt(-y) IX. 2/20; *ne-wh ḥt-w* 24/6; *a zr ḥt-w* 24/10.

'q a (generally *n* in Dar.) *ḥt(-k)* 'enter thy mind,' or 'satisfy,' 'please' I (Pl. 6), V/6, id. *ḥt-tnw* II (Pl. 13); *ṭe⟨-w⟩ 'q-s a ḥt n N.* followed by infin. 'they suggested to him' or 'persuaded (?) him to do' IX. 15/19 sim. *n* (?) *ḥṭ* 14/22–15/1, 20/12, v. p. 204, note 30, p. 237, note 9.

mṭ erme ḥt-k 'be anxious' IX. 4/15, 20/19.

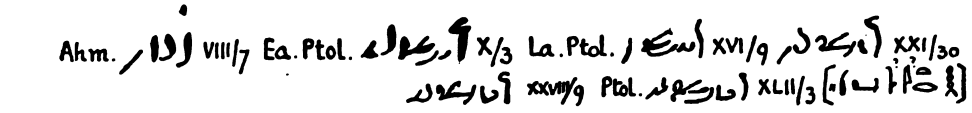
ḫp-s n ḫt-w z IX. 3/1; *'n st n ḥt-k z* 4/6, also 25/1.

st n rm mꜥ n ḥt-w IX. 25/2; *ṭy qbḥ n ḥt-w* 24/5; *ṭe-w p ṭwe n ḥt-w* 25/6 (all poet.).

Dar. [hieroglyphs]

ḥt subst. 'horse,' 'pair,' 'chariot' (?) ϩⲧⲟ.

my ṭe-w n-f wꜥ rms my ṭe-w n-f ḥt IX. 6/4, v. p. 226, note 17.

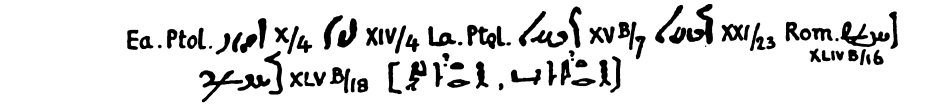


Ahm. [hieroglyphs] VIII/7 Ea. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] X/3 La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XVI/9 [hieroglyphs] XXI/30
[hieroglyphs] XXVIII/9 Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XLII/3 [hieroglyphs]

ḥt, ḥt·t subst. Boh. ϩⲱϯ tributum, v. p. 217, note 4, p. 255, note 2.

only in expression *ṯ ḥt* 'levy': *p nt ṯ ḥt ar-w* VIII/7; *ṯ ḥt·t a t wz·[t]* X/3; *a mṭ nb* XXI/30; *a ḥr-y n'm-w* marriage form (18) on p. 269.

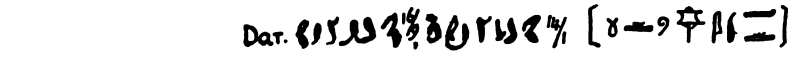
Ea. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] X/4 [hieroglyphs] XIV/4 La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XV B/7 [hieroglyphs] XXI/23 Rom. [hieroglyphs] XLIV B/16
[hieroglyphs] XLV B/18 [hieroglyphs]



ḥt (**ḥtr** ?) in expression *n ḥt* 'necessarily' or 'voluntarily' (?), cf. ϩⲧⲟⲣ necessitas voluntas.

n ḥt 't mne X/4, XIV/4, XV. B/7, XXI/23, 31, XLIV. A/15, B/16, XLV. A/21, B/18.

Dar. [hieroglyphs] 14/1 [hieroglyphs]



ḥt subst. 'sail,' only in *'r ḥt* 'to sail' (up river) ⲣ̄ϩⲱⲧ, v. p. 231, note 13.

'r N. ḥt IX. 9/18, 13/3, 16/9; *'r-f ḥt* 11/2; *e-y a 'r ḥt a š a Ne* 14/1; *'r ḥt a Ne* 9/18, 11/2; *a Ḥr-ṭy* 13/3; *a rs* 16/9.

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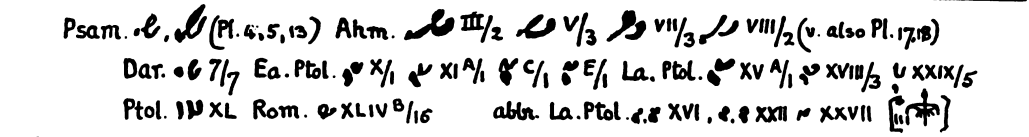


ḥṭ subst. masc. 'silver,' 'value or price in silver,' 'silver money,' 'silver piece' ϩατ.

bk bk·t ḥṭ ⟨nb⟩ ḥmt X/3, XI/1; *ỉpt·w n ḥṭ nb* IX. 7/7; *ḥṭ bṭ* 10/11; *pe-f ḥṭ pe-f bṭ* 6/1, 2, 8/15; *ḥṭ pr nt nb* XXI/27; *ḥṭ nb pr nb* I (Pl. 5), II (Pl. 13), III/2, V/3, 5, VI (Pl. 18), VII/3.

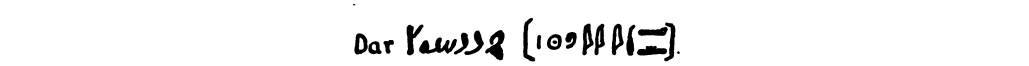
'(price in) silver' *p ḥṭ n ṯy ỉ· 3·t* I (Pl. 4), cf. VI (Pl. 17), VIII/2, sale form (3) on p. 256; *p ḥṭ n swn* XI/1.

e ṯb ḥṭ XV. A/2, B/3, XLIV. B/14; *sḫ e-ṯb ḥṭ* cession form (11) on p. 257, XLIV. B/15, 16.

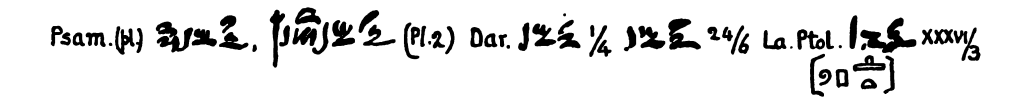
ḥṭ qỉ 5 IX. 5/6.

ḥṭ 10 et sim. IX. 15/16, 19, 20/14; *ḥṭ 2 a stỉr 10* X/1, &c.

ḥṭ 200 n wṯḥ IX. 7/7; *ḥṭ wṯḥ* (?) XVI/7. v. **wṯḥ**.



ḥty subst. fem. 'instant,' 'moment' ϩοτε. *n ṯy ḥṯy* IX. 12/12.



ḥtp verb intr. 'rest,' 'be reconciled' ϩωτπ.

stm-f dep. on *ṯy*: *a ṯy ḥtp-w n-y* 'be reconciled' IX. 5/13.

inf. *a ḥtp n n mm·w* 'rest' IX. 24/6 (poet.).

qual. *'nḫ ⟨'Mn⟩ nt ḥtp ṯy* IX. 1/4, XXXVI/3.

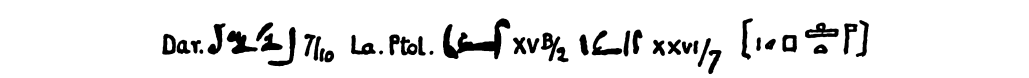
also in names *'Y-m-ḥtp*: *'Mn-, Sbk-ḥtp*; *Ḥtp-Sbk*, div. n. *Nfr-ḥtp*.

ḥtp subst. 'stipend' of a priest, v. p. 90, note 5, p. 219, note 3.

ne-w ḥtp·w I (Pl. 2); *a wḥ⟨·f⟩ n ḥtp* IX. 3/9, 4/14.

ḥtp 4 IX. 13/6; *ḥtp n 4* 13/7, 15/20; *ḥtp 16* 3/15.

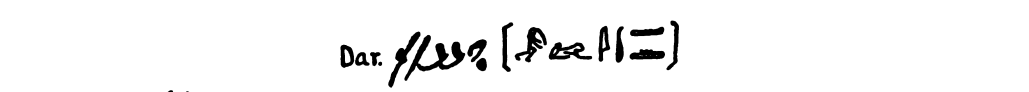
pe ḥtp 1/3; *pe-k ḥtp 5* 3/10; *e-n a ṯy n-f x npe-f ḥtp* 16/18.



ḥtp-ntr subst. masc. 'temple-estate,' 'divine endowment estate,' v. p. 80, note 2, p. 265, note 14.

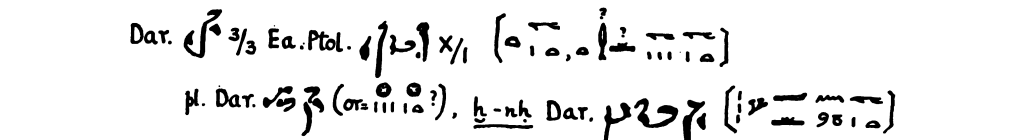
land, &c. *ḫr p ḥtp-ntr n Ḥỉḫr* XV/2, XXIV/8; *wḫ-w st 1000 yḥ a p ḥtp-ntr n 'Mn* IX. 7/10; *ḥtp-ntr . . . e-f ỉp a 'Mn* 6/14, cf. 7/9, 18/2; *p r-5 n p ḥtp-ntr n 'Mn* 9/3, 11/4.

also IX. 11/3, 17/2, 11, 16, 24/11.



ḥtr subst. masc. (name of animal?). *p nt s·'nḫ ḥtr* IX. 11/21, v. p. 234, note 11.

ḥtr 'twin' ϩατρε in ppr. n. *T-ḥtr·t*.



ḫ subst. [masc.] 'wood' ϣε.

w' ỉgs n ḫr ḫ IX. 3/3; *ỉm ḫ* 'carpenter' X/1.

pl. *n ỉ'·w n ḫ·w* (?) IX. 16/10, v. p. 242, note 8, and cf. *Ne* = 'Thebes,' p. 423.

ḫ nḫ ϣεννοϥ: *w' ḫ nḫ n pe-f qỉy n 'nḫ* IX. 7/12, v. p. 228, note 8; but can it mean 'fence of wood'?

ḫ abbrev. for **ḫry**, v. p. 293, note 2.

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Dar. 7/11 La. Ptol. XVI/2 XXI/29 XXX/12 Ptol. XLI/10 Rom. XLIV A/5 XLV A/9

ẖ subst. fem. 'body,' &c., Boh. ϧⲉ, ϧⲏⲧ-.
'belly' *a ṯ t-w e-ṭbe ẖ·t-w* IX. 24/5 (poet.).
'likeness,' 'copy,' v. p. 247, note 6: *ẖ n ty wṭy* IX. 21/10, 11, 22/8, cf. XXXI/1, XXXVI/1; *t ẖ mṭ* IX. 10/20, v. p. 232, note 11; *ṭe-f ʾr-w ẖ·t-s n P.* 19/12.
a ẖ n 'like': IX. 7/11, 13/5, 21/8, 24/13, XVI/2, &c., marriage form (16) on p. 269; XVII/5, XLI/10; *a ẖ·t-* IX. 14/21, XXI/29.
ẖ (*n*) *rm* 'family,' 'class' (?): *n ẖ·w rm nt pḥ a ḥ-ntr* IX. 7/8, v. p. 228, note 3; *mn ẖ 2·t n rm* 8/13.
'scale,' *ḥr ẖ* 'by' in measures: *mḥ-ntr 40 ḥr ẖ mḥ-ntr 40* IX. 7/12, so also XLIV. B/9, XLV. A/13.
'stage,' 'floor' *ṭe-w pḥ te-f ẖ-ẖre* IX. 21/4, v. p. 247, note 1; *e-f whm ẖ·t 2·t* XLIV. A/5, B/5, XLV. B/7, v. p. 299, note 4.
uncertain *py ke ʿy nt wgp a ẖ·t-f* 'collapsed on itself'? or 'leaning against it,' XLV. A/9, B/8.
cf. also *ẖ-mw* below.

ẖ, used in IX for **ḥ** 'front' ϩⲏ before nouns, v. p. 222, note 19; written as the last.
a ẖ: *fy-w n a ẖ n ḥ-ntr* IX. 2/20.
n ẖ: *pn-w st n ẖ n ḥ-ntr* IX. 11/3; also (?) *n ẖ n ne-w ẖrṭ·w* 24/2.

La. Ptol.

ẖʿ verb 'rise,' 'be manifested' ϣⲁⲓ.
n hw·w ẖʿ 'festal (?) days' XXV/17, v. p. 155, note 1.

Dar.

ẖʿy subst. 'tool,' v. p. 244, note 14.
a ne ẖʿy a wrp IX. 18/17.

Dar. 11/7 La. Ptol. XV B/2 XXI/17 Rom.

ẖy verb trans. 'measure' ϣⲓ.
stm-f dep. on *my, ṭy*: *my ẖy-w n* (?) *p r-5* IX. 11/7; *ṭe-y ẖy-w s* 17/13.
qual. ϣⲏⲩ: *e-w ẖy·w e-w fy·w* XXI/17.
inf. *pe-f ʿw n ẖy* XV. A/1, B/2; *n ẖy·w py ʿy* XLIV. B/8, cf. XLV. A/12.

Ea. Ptol. XI A/3 C/2 XII A/3 et. sim. La. Ptol. XVII/3 Rom.

ẖyr, ẖry, ẖr subst. masc. 'street,' Boh. ϧⲓⲣ.
p ẖry (*n*) *Pr-ʿo* XI/3, XII/3; *p ẖyr* (*n*) *Pr-ʿo* XVII/3, XVIII/4, XXIII/3; *p ẖr p-Pr-ʿo* XLV. A/14.

Dar.

ẖyt subst. (?) 'fury' ϣⲟⲉⲓⲧ.
šʿ ẖyt IX. 18/1, v. p. 102, note 3, p. 244, note 6.

La. Ptol.

ẖyṭ subst. fem. 'court' ϩⲁⲉⲓⲧ.
wʿ(·t) ẖyṭ XVII/3, 4.

Dar.

ẖb verb 'diminish' ϣⲱⲃ : ϣⲱⲡ.
stm-f past ind. *ẖb-w te-k ʾpy* IX. 25/3.

Psam.

ẖbs subst. [masc.] 'lamp,' Boh. ϧⲏⲃⲥ.
ḥq ẖbs sm I (Pl. 3).

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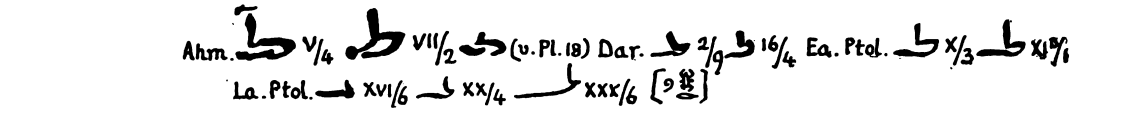


ḥp verb 'become' ϣωπε.

stm-f past ind. VII/2, IX. 2/9, &c. &c. After *ỉy* (ϫπο): *mỉe-f ỉy ḥp pe-f ḥỉ* IX. 6/1; *n nỉ e-y a ỉy ḥp-w* V/4, &c., marriage form (6) on p. 268; *ỉy ḥp-n ỉy* IX. 14/7.

infin. *n szy e·ʾr ḥp nʾm-k* IX. 4/4; *nỉ e-s a ḥp* X/4.

qual. 3rd fem. sing. *mỉ . . . e-s ḥp·ỉ* IX. 3/1; *sỉ ḥp·ỉ* 4/7–8; *e ỉe gm ḥp·ỉ* 13/13; 3rd pl. *sỉ ḥp* (*ỉr-w*) 6/13, 21.

ḥp wᶜ hw IX. 5/4; *ḥp ỉwe* 4/4; *ḥp rhy* 4/9.

neuter masc. *ḥp-f e-y sḫ* IX. 4/5; *e-f ḥp e-* (ϵϣωπε) 10/2, 14/7, XXV/11.

fem. *ḥp-s n ḥỉ-w s* IX. 3/1; *e·ʾr-s ḥp e-* (ϫϲϣωπε) 3/13, 6/1, v. p. 226, note 12; *e·ʾr-s ḥp wne* 2/20.

m-s ḥp e IX. 6/6, 10, 16/4, v. p. 227, note 1; *m-s ḥp ỉe(-y)* 13/12; *e-ỉbe ḥp e* 18/7.

ỉe-(y), ỉe-k rḫ p ḥp e IX. 8/1, 17/4; *eʾr-n a rḫ p ḥp e* 13/19 'realize,' 'be aware that,' 'understand that,' v. p. 229, note 10: in 13/11 without *e* 'have common sense' (?). The caus. seems to be expressed by *ỉy gm⟨f⟩ p ḥp e* 1/16, 2/2, 8/10.

n ỉ n p ss n ḥp ḥar-w a·wne ỉy ʾ nʾm-f IX. 4/3.

ḥp n (*nʾm-*) 'become of' IX. 1/17, 4/4, &c.

a ḥp e-f sḫne nʾm-n IX. 10/18.

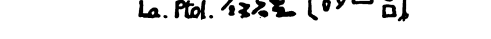
ᶜo-f n ḥp IX. 10/18.

ḥpr, ḥpry subst. fem. (?) 'marvel' ϣπϵϵρϵ : ϣϕнρι.

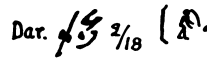
ḥpry n rm (*m ỉs*) *pe* IX. 10/4, 6; *pe⟨-k⟩ ʾr ḥpry* (var. *pre*) *n rm* 6/4, 10/5; *ḥpr n ᶜy pe* 8/13.

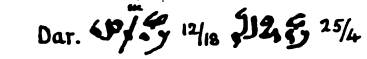
ḥpš subst. masc. 'shoulder' ϣωπϣ.

in ppr. n. *Ḥr-p-ḥpš*.



ḥpš subst. fem. (in dowry). *wᶜ·ỉ ḥpš . . . k·ỉ ḥpš 2·ỉ* XXII/5.





ḫf(t ?) verb 'destroy,' 'desolate' ϣωϥ (or ϣωϥτ errare?).

stm-f dep. on *ỉy*: *a ỉy ḫf pe-f ỉm* IX. 12/17.

inf. *p gy n ḫf eʾr pỵ ỉme* IX. 6/12.

interjectional 'Destruction!' 'Alas!' (?), v. p. 222, note 16, p. 235, note 9; *ḫf ḫf n Te-w-gy* IX. 2/18; *ḫfe Pr-ᶜo šny* 15/8.

ḫft-ḥr 'presence of god, 'dromos' of temple, v. p. 235, note 10.

ỉ-f-s a ḫf(ỉ)-ḥr nʾMn IX. 12/18; (*wỉy*) *nin ḫf(ỉ)-ḥr n ʾMn* 21/11; *n pe-k ḫfỉ-ḥr* 25/4 (poet.).

ḥm adj. 'little,' 'young'; 'small' gold piece=20 teben of silver ϣнлл.

šs ᶜo . . . šs ḥm XVI/7, XX/5.

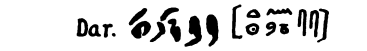
p sn ḥm IX. 5/17; *N. p ḥm* XXXI/7, XXXII/16.

nb ḥm 2 a ḥỉ 40 XXXVII/2, cf. XVI/7, 8, XX/6, XLII/6, 9, and v. p. 136, note 4, p. 163, note 1, p. 270, note 5.

fem. *ỉe-k z-w mỉ ḥm·ỉ n n ḥm·w r-w* IX. 24/15 (poet.).

ḫ·mw subst. masc. 'allowance of water' (?), v. p. 265, note 12.

pe-f šn pe-f ḫ-mw XV. A/2, B/2.



ḥmn 'period of 8 days' (?), but probably mistake for **ss**, v. p. 97, note 5, p. 238, n. 9.

ḥmn ᶜš IX. 15/10.

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Dar. 11/9

ḫn (?) subst. masc. 'interior,' Boh. ϩⲟⲩⲛ, v. p. 233, note 11.

in prep. *p ḫn n* (or *ḫr ḫn* (?) *n*), Sah. ⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ, Stern, § 572: *wᶜ pr-ḥḏ p*(?) *ḫn n p bk n ʾny* IX. 11/9; *rm p* (?) *ḫn n p pr Pr-ᶜo* 16/16.

Dar. 3/2 24/7 Ea. Ptol. XI A/4 La. Ptol. XV B/3 XXI/15 XXVIII/7 Rom XLIV B/5 XLV B/11

ḫn subst., same as last, Boh. ϩⲟⲩⲛ, ϩⲉⲛ-.

as prep. ϩⲉⲛ- with subst. and with suffixes passim: *a bl ḫn* IX. 11/7; *mḥ n p t e*(-*y*) *ḫn-s* 3/2, also in 11/5, 19/20, 24/7, 13.

a ḫn (cf. ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ-) *ʾn ne-s rm a ḫn-s* IX. 12/6; *ḫḫt wn . . . a ḫn p ᶜy* XI/4.

adv. *n ḫn* (ⲛϩⲟⲩⲛ) *e-t n ḫn e-t n ḫn erme-w* marriage form (14) on p. 269.

ḫne in ppr. n. *Pa-nḏ-ḫne* (for *nḏ* **bḫne** ?).

Ea. Ptol. X/2 La. Ptol.

ḫn verb 'approach,' 'wed,' 'kiss' (connect with ⲙⲉⲗⲉⲉⲧ?).

mte-y ḫn k-t s-ḫm-t aḫr-t X/2; marriage form (5) on p. 268, remaining only in XVI/5, v. p. 254, note 11.

Dar. 25/9

ḫny subst. 'disturbance' (?).

nḫm-n a ne-w ḫny-w btwy-w IX. 25/9 (poet.).

Dar.

ḫnš verb (?) 'stink' ⲙⲛⲟⲩ.

pe-f ʾy ḫnš a rm IX. 25/8 (poet.).

Psam. (Pl. 11)

ḫnt subst. masc., name of part of a temple (?). *mḥt-s p ḫnt* II (Pl. 11).

Dar. 1/2 24/4

ḫr particle (ⲙ- in consuetud. ⲙⲁⲣ-).

introducing nominal sentence: *ḫr mnte-k p ḫn-ntr ʾMn* IX. 14/22; *ḫr ʾnte-k rḫ p ḫḥp* 17/4; *ḫr bne-f gᵊ n-w ʾn* 24/4, v. p. 237, note 8: introducing emphatic stmf *ḫr eᵊr-f ỉy ʾr-w s* 18/18.

consuetudinal, followed by *stm-f*: *ḫr eᵊw-w aḫr-n* IX. 6/18; *ḫr ỉe-n ỉe-f* 7/4–5; *ᶜy e ḫr eᵊw N. ar-f* 12/7; *e ḫr sḫ-k* 19/2; *ḫr ʾr-k sḫ pr-ᶜnḫ* 14/21; *wne ḫr ỉe-w n-y* 1/2, v. p. 219, note 2; so also *wne ḫr stm* 7/1, *ỉe* 7/2, *ʾr* 8/9: hortatory *ḫr z-k* 15/15, v. p. 240, note 3.

ḫr verb used with suffixes 'say' followed by speech without *z* (ⲭⲉ).

ḫr-f ny s(-*y*) *n-y* (or *z n-y* 'namely to me') IX. 4/9; *e ḫr-w ny ʾMn* &c. 24/4, v. p. 224, note 13, 251, note 11.

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Dar. 1/3 Ea. Ptol. X/2 XI A/3 B/2 C/2 E/1 La. Ptol. XVII/3 Rom. XLIV B/10

ẖr prep. 'with,' &c. ϧⲁ-, ϧⲁⲣⲟ-: with suffixes IX. 4/3, 16/13, 17/18.

'belonging to,' 'in hands of,' of property *e-s ẖr p šr n pe-f šr* IX. 3/18, so also 15/4, 16/6, 13, 17/18, XI/3, XVII/3, XXXII/7, 8, XLIV. B/10; *ḫp ẖar-w* (share) 'belonged to them' (the fathers) IX. 4/3, v. p. 288, note 1.

'in charge of,' 'bearing' *ṭe-w wʿ rm ẖl ẖr n šʿ·w* IX. 19/13; *wʿ tgs n ẖr ḫ* 3/3; *p sẖ n ẖr wḫ·w* 8/17.

'concerning' *ʾwe 2·t ẖr ḥṭ 100* XXXVI/9; *p ʿnḫ . . . ẖr n ʾwe·w* XXXVI, verso 2.

distrib. *ẖr rnp·t* IX. 1/3, 10/11, 16/19, 21, X/2; *ẖr ʾbṭ nb* X/2; *ẖr hw* IX. 17/18, X/2, v. p. 219, note 4.

'as' *p šgr*(?) *nt pḥ aḥr-y ẖr nb . . .* XLI/9, v. p. 297, note 1.

'from possession of' (?) *ẖr pe-k yt* IX. 4/3.

ẖr ṭʾ n ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ-: *n syn·w* IX. 3/2, cf. 10/15.

ẖr (or *p*?) *ẖn*, v. **ẖn**.

adj. 'possessing' ϩⲁⲣⲓ : ϧⲁⲣⲓ in title *ẖr-ḥb*, cf. also **hr(t)-ntr**.

ẖr 'street,' v. **ẖyr**.

Dar. 8/8 19/13

ẖl subst. 'youth,' 'maid' -ϩⲁⲗ, F. ϩⲉⲗ, ϩⲣ-, ϩⲗ̄- : ϧⲉⲗ-.

p ẖl 2 IX. 11/7, 10, cf. 5–6; *wʿ n n ẖl·w* 13/2, cf. 11/4; fem. *ṯ ẖl* 8/11; *wʿ·t ẖl s-ḥm* 8/8; pl. fem. *n ẖl·w ṭr-w* 9/15.

n ẖl·w wʿb·w IX. 11/7, v. p. 233, note 9; *wʿ rm ẖl* 19/13, v. p. 245, note 11.

v. also ppr. nn. *P-Ḫl-Ḫns, Ḫr-Ḫns*.

Dar. 25/6

ẖl verb III inf. (hardly ϧⲉⲣ-, ϧⲟⲣ- 'destroy' or ϣⲱⲗ 'rob' or ϣⲁⲁⲣⲉ percutere).

infin. *b ʾr p ḥrʿ ẖl pe-f hwrʿ* IX. 25/6; *ʾr n nḫt·w ẖl·t-f* 24/11 (poet.).

Dar.

ẖre subst. masc.

ḥṭ a ṭy a p ẖre n p šnʿ (?) IX. 1/5, v. p. 219, note 14.

Dar. La. Ptol.

ẖre, ẖry adj. 'lower' abbreviated to **ẖ** XL. E/3.

te-f ẖ ẖre IX. 21/4, v. p. 247, note 1; *wʿ trt ẖry ḥry* XVII/3, 4, v. p. 273, note 8.

Dar. 5/4, Ptol. XL B/4, abbr. XL E/3

ẖry in *a ẖry* 'downward' ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ : ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ : with *ʾn* IX. 14/4, 'pull down' 18/14, 19/7; *st-f* 24/2; *ṯ a ẖry* i.e. 'deposit in bank'? XL recto passim; *ʾw a ẖry* meaning? IX. 5/4; from Syria to Egypt *ʾw a ẖry n p t Ḫr* 15/7.

ẖry 'street,' v. **ẖyr**.

ẖryr (?), v. uncertain IX. 24/14.

Dar. 16/2 Ea. Ptol. X V/14 La. Ptol. XXI/31

ẖrw subst. masc. 'voice' ϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ. *mte-y ʾr-w a ẖrw-f* XXI/31. in ppr. n. *Ḥr-mʿ-ẖrw*.

ẖrr (?) (cf. ϣⲟⲣϣⲣ̄), v. uncertain IX. 24/9.

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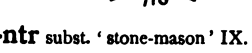
Dar. [hieroglyphs]

ẖrš verb (cf. ϣερϣι 'mock at'). *e·ʾr-k ẖrš n ne-w . . . m-bḥ-w* IX. 25/5 (poet.).

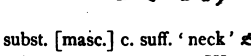
Psam. [hieroglyphs] (Pl. 5) Ahm. [hieroglyphs] V/3 [hieroglyphs] VII/4 (v. also Pl. 18) Dar. [hieroglyphs] 9/5 [hieroglyphs] 7/11 etc.
La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XVI/6 [hieroglyphs] XX/4 [hieroglyphs] XXI/7 [hieroglyphs] XXX/5 Rom. [hieroglyphs] XLIV B/10 [hieroglyphs]

ẖrṭ·w children' as pl. of **šr**, Boh. ϧⲣⲟϯ.
ẖrṭ·w sn·w rm nb I (Pl. 5); *ne ẖrṭ·w nt ms* V/3, VI (Pl. 18), VII/4, cf. marriage form (6) on p. 268; *ne-f ẖrṭ·w* IX. 7/11, 9/5, 8, 18, 20, XLIV. B/10; *n ẖrṭ·w N.* XVI/1, XXI/7.
fem. *te-f ḥm·t erme ne-s ẖrṭ·w s-ḥm·w* IX. 8/7.
The singular in ppr. nn. *ʿNḫ-p-ẖrṭ, Ḥr-p-ẖrṭ, Pa-ẖrṭ.*



Dar. [hieroglyphs] 18/16 [hieroglyphs]

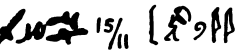
ẖr(t)-ntr subst. 'stone-mason' IX. 18/15, 16.



Dar. [hieroglyphs]

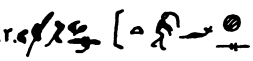
ẖẖ subst. [masc.] c. suff. 'neck' ϧⲁϧ.
ṭe n wʿb·w ne-w ḥbs·w n ẖẖ-w IX. 13/9.

Ea. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XI A/4, [hieroglyphs] B/3, [hieroglyphs] E/1, [hieroglyphs] XII B/2, [hieroglyphs] C/2, [hieroglyphs] F/2, [hieroglyphs] XIII C/2 [hieroglyphs]

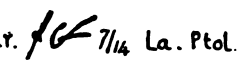


ẖs subst. fem. 'gebel,' 'necropolis-hill.' *t ẖs·t (n) Zm* XI/3, 4.

Dar. [hieroglyphs] 15/11 [hieroglyphs]



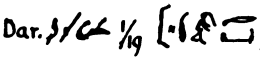
ẖsy verb trans. III inf. 'fatigue,' 'weary' ϩⲓⲥⲓ : ϧⲓⲥⲓ, ϩⲁⲥⲧⲉ.
stm-f past ind. (intrans.) *ẖsy P. n p ʿy n wpy* IX. 15/11.
inf. c. suff. *e-f a ẖsy·t-k* IX. 15/19.



Dar. [hieroglyphs]

ẖsf adj. (cf. ⲥⲱϣϥ : ϣⲱϣϥ 'despise').
ʾr s mṭ ẖsf·t m-tʾ·t-f IX. 15/8.

Dar. [hieroglyphs] 7/14 La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XXVI/16 Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XLI [hieroglyphs]



ẖṭ (**šʿṭ** ?) verb trans. 'cut off,' 'carve,' 'engrave' ϣⲱⲱⲧ.
stm-f past ind. *ẖṭ-k st* IX. 24/9; dep. on *ṭy*: *ṭe-f ẖṭ-w wʿ·t wṭy* 7/14.
inf. *nt e-f*(?) *ẖṭ-w n p yḥ* XXVI/16, v. p. 284, note 4.
qual. (?) 'be wanting' *p ḥw p nt ẖṭ n n yḥ·w* XLI/3, 11.

Dar. [hieroglyphs] 1/19 [hieroglyphs]

ẖṭ (**šʿṭ** ?) subst. fem. 'leaf, or sheet, of papyrus.'
wʿ·t ẖṭ n zmʿ IX. 1/19, 2/1, 3/10, 4/2, 4.

La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XVIII/4 [hieroglyphs]

ẖte subst., 'square plot,' σφραγίς (?).
mḥ ẖte 'square cubit,' v. **mḥ** cubit.
See also uncertain XLV. A/9.

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Dar. 9/4

ḥṭe, ḥṭy verb intr. 'go down stream' ϩατε : ϫατ.
stm-f past ind. *a Ḥnés* IX. 6/18–19, 7/20, 9/4, (*a Te-w-sy*) 11/14 ; *a p pr Pr-ᶜo* 11/18, v. also **m-ḥṭe**.

ḥṭb verb (?) in ppr. n. *Ḥṭb* Σαταβους.

Dar. 11/9 11/11

ḥṭb verb trans. 'slay' ϩωτϧ : ϫωτϧ.
stm-f past ind. *ḥṭb-w* (*y*) IX. 2/13, cf. 11/8–9, 11.
inf. *ḥṭb rm n mtre* IX. 2/15 ; *nt e-tn ḥṭb nᵓm-w* 2/17 ; *a ny wᶜbw a ḥṭb(-y)* 2/3.

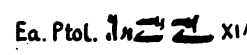
Dar. 2/3

ḥtm verb trans. 'seal' ϣωτεм.
ḥtm-f p zmᶜ ṯe-f ḥtm(-y) s erme-f IX. 2/3.
in *wḥ-ḥtm* 'sealed package'(?) *ᵓr-w st n wḥ-ḥtm* IX. 16/14.

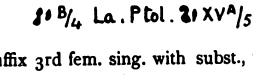
La. Ptol.

ḥtm subst. masc. 'gate.' *ḥr zz p ḥtm n P-ỉy* XVII/3, v. p. 273, note 5.

ḥtm (?) subst. fem. 'treasury' (?), v. uncertain IX. 1/5, &c.

Ea. Ptol. XI A/2 C/1 D/1 

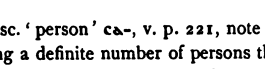
ḥtḥt subst. (?) 'thing sought for,' 'furniture' (?), cf. ϫετϫωτ. *ḥṯḥṯe nb n pr* XI/2.

Psam. 4, 9 (Pl. 11, 12) Ahm. 2, 3 VIII Dar. 2 2/16 3 8/8 4 5/15 Ea. Ptol. 2 X/4 2 XI A/6 2 B/4 La. Ptol. 2 XV A/5 2 XIX/9 2 XXVIII/12 

·S pron. suffix 3rd fem. sing. with subst., pronouns, stm-f infin. and prepos. 'she,' 'her' -c.
for use as neuter, v. **ḥt** 'heart,' also *ᶜq-s a ḥt* s.v. ; **rḫ** 'know,' **ḫp** 'become,' **z** 'say,' **stm** 'hear' 17/17.

S absol. pron. 3rd sing. (Eg. m. , fem.) 'he,' 'she,' 'it' : written as the last, = ce affirmative.

as object : after stm-f, *s-y s n-f* IX. 1/11 *ṯe-f ḥtm(-y) s* (i. e. *p zmᶜ*) . . . *ṯe-f s* . . . *ᵓn-w s* 2/3–4 ; after imperative, *ᶜš s* (i. e. *p zmᶜ*) IX. 4/9 ; *e-ᵓr s* 13/17 ; after infin. *ỉy* 'give,' v. **ṯe**.
as subject of pronom. sentence in IX only in *pe-w wš ᶜo s* IX. 16/19, where the pronoun has been displaced for emphasis : the normal order would have required **st** (q.v.) *st ᶜo* ; similarly *mnṯe-k s*, &c., VIII/4, sale and cession forms (5) on pp. 256, 257.

Dar. 1/18 3/8 3 24/8 La. Ptol. XXIII/2 XXXIV/9 

S subst. masc. 'person' ca-, v. p. 221, note 4.
in mentioning a definite number of persons the usual form is *rm s 2* IX. 1/18 ; *wᶜb s 6* 2/17, &c., cf. 11/15, 12/9, 13/8, 19/17.
ᶜn a wḥ-k n ḥtp erme pe-k sn pe-k šr s 3 s (?) *ḥtp 5* IX. 3/9, v. p. 223, note 13 ; *M. . . N. . . . a s 2* XXIII/2.
sḫ n šwe 50 q s 1 (or *a rm* ?) IX. 3/8 ; *ᵓwṯ-n n p s 2* XXXIV/9.
s nb IX. 24/8.

S·n 'man of,' 'seller of' can-. v. ppr. n. *P-s-n-mṯk* and p. 201, note 3.

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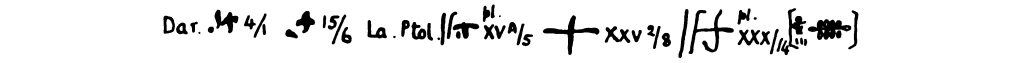
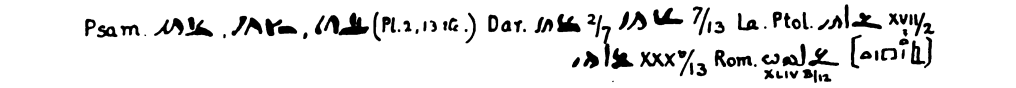
Dar. 4/1 15/6 La. Ptol. pl. XV A/5 XXV 2/8 pl. XXX/14



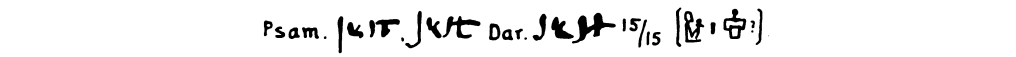
S 'order,' 'tribe' (of priests), v. p. 90, note 5.
wʿb s 20 p nt e-tn mḥ-f a s 1 . . . wʿ s n wʿb mte-f ʾr p r-5 n p ḥtp-ntr IX. 13/8; *wʿ s* 4/1; *s 2-n* (*3-n, 4-n*) XXV 2/5, 8, 11; *p 4 s·w* IX. 15/6; *p 5 s·w* scribe's formula XV et seqq.
pl. *n s·w* IX. 4/1, 11/6, 15/20.



Psam. (Pl. 2, 13 etc.) Dar. 2/7 7/13 La. Ptol. XVII/2 XXX B/13 Rom. XLIV B/12

S, S·t subst. fem. 'place' ce-.
s n ḥ-ntr παστοφόριον v. p. 47, note 5, II (Pl. 10, 14), IX. 2/7, 7/13, 18/14, 19/7, 21/4; so also *s* alone I (Pl. 2), II (Pl. 11, 12, 13, var. *s n ḥ-ntr*), IX. 2/8. v. p. 320.
'place' (Teuzoi) *t s ḥw·t n Amenrasentêr te* IX. 6/15; cf. *ʾMn ḥry-s-wry* 7/8.
a t s n 'in place of,' cf. εφμαπ- IX. 24/14 (poet.).
v. ppr. nn. *Pa-t-s-ʿo·t, Ta-s·t.*

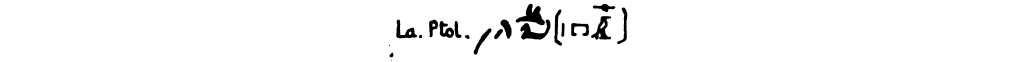
Psam. Dar. 15/15



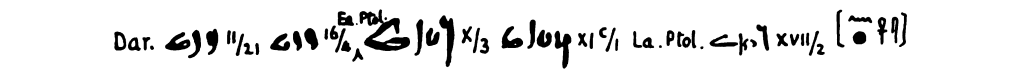
S in **n s** 'in presence of,' 'before,' 'unto' (judges, in legal phraseology) ⲛⲥⲁ- (?).
smy n s n wpty·w IX. 15/9; *n eʾr r-w* 15/15; *a ṯ-t-k n s n wpy·w* I (Pl. 6), II (Pl. 14), v. p. 204, note 31, and cf. **m-s**.

m-s ⲛⲥⲁ-, v. s.v., p. 356.

La. Ptol.

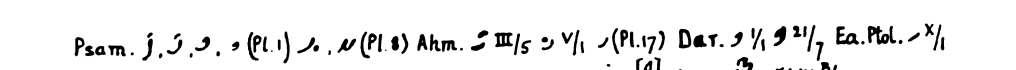


S' subst. masc. 'wall' (?), v. p. 282, note 8. . . . *wbe p sʾ* . . . XXV/13.



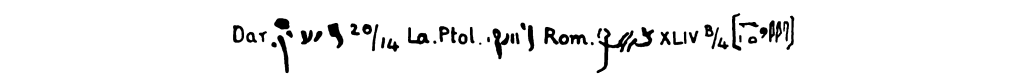
Dar. 11/21 16/4 Ea. Ptol. X/3 XI C/1 La. Ptol. XVII/2

s·ʿnḫ verb. caus. 'nurture' ⲥⲁⲛⲁϣ.
infin. *p nt s·ʿnḫ ḥtr* IX. 11/21; *p eʾr s·ʿnḫ-n* 12/11, parallel to *ṯy ʿnḫ-n.*
as subst. 'revenue,' 'pension,' 'annuity' (?), v. p. 99, note 3.
pr wrḥ yḥ s·ʿnḫ bk X/3, XI/1, belonging to a man IX. 16/2, 4, 5, *s-ḥm·t n s·ʿnḫ* (*nb e-ṭb ḥt*) XVII/2, 5; *p sḫ* ('writing') *n s·ʿnḫ* XVII/5.



Psam. (Pl. 1) (Pl. 8) Ahm. III/5 V/1 (Pl. 17) Dar. 1/1 21/7 Ea. Ptol. X/1 XI A/1, et postea sim. fem. XLIV B/2

sy subst. 'son' in filiation ⲥⲓ-, see p. 201, note 5 (cf. also p. 253, note 9?).
M. sy N. I (Pl. 1, 8), II (Pl. 8, 9), IX. 1/1, &c. &c.
in ppr. nn. *Ḥr-sy-ʾs, Sy-Nyt, Sy-Sbk,* title *sy mr-f.*
fem. **sy·t**: *Hry·w sy·t Rhs* XLIV. B/3.



Dar. 20/14 La. Ptol. Rom. XLIV B/4

sy subst. masc. 'beam' ⲥⲟⲓ.
ḥṯ 10 n sy sb(*n?*) IX. 20/14; *e-f mḥ n sy sb* XVII/3, v. p. 273, note 6; *e-f grg sy sbe* XLIV. B/4.

sy verb 'be satisfied' ⲥⲉⲓ, (ⲧ-)ⲥⲓⲟ in ppr. n. *Sy-p-mw.*

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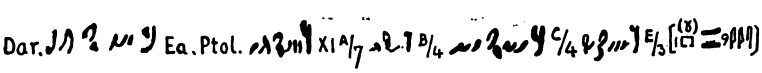
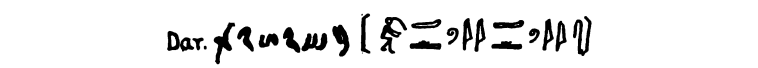
Dar. [hieroglyphs]

syn subst. 'physician' ⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ. *ḫr ṭ' n n syn·w* IX. 3/2.



Dar. [hieroglyphs] Ea. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XI A/7 [hieroglyphs] B/4 [hieroglyphs] C/4 [hieroglyphs] E/3 [hieroglyphs]



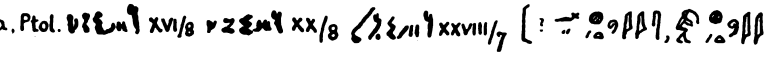
syḥ subst. 'place of embalming' (?), v. p. 85, note 4. *hw 70 n syḥ* IX. 10/10; *pe qᶜ syḥ te qs·t* XI/7.

Dar. [hieroglyphs]

syḥyḥ verb 'lament' (?). *e·ʾr-w ṭwn-w a syḥyḥ* IX. 24/17 (poet.).

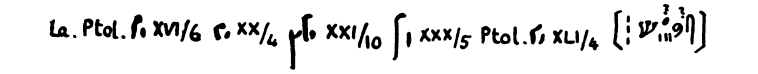
syḫ in ʾr syḫ. v. sḫy.

La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XVI/8 [hieroglyphs] XX/8 [hieroglyphs] XXVIII/7 [hieroglyphs]



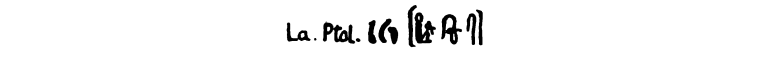
syḫf (? *syḫ-f*) subst. masc. 'liability,' 'loss' (?). *mnte-t pe-w šy ʾnk pe-w syḫ-f* marriage form (15) on p. 269.

La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XVI/6 [hieroglyphs] XX/4 [hieroglyphs] XXI/10 [hieroglyphs] XXX/5 Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XLI/4 [hieroglyphs]



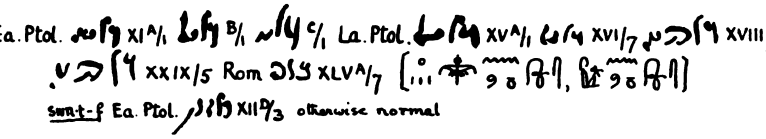
sw subst. masc. 'wheat,' '(measure of) wheat' ⲥⲟⲩⲟ, v. p. 268, note 1, 278, note 4.
p sw XLI/4.
ʾrṭb (?) *sw 10* et sim. XVI/5, 6, 7, 8, XLI/3, 4.
'(measure)' i.e. 'artaba' of wheat *sw 5* XX/4, XXII/4 &c., pl. *n sw·w* XXXIV/5.

La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs]



sw verb (?) 'store' (?), v. p. 288, note 3. *sw-f n*(?) *ḥ-ntr* (?) XXXII/8.

sw. v. swr 'drink.'



Ea. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XI A/1 [hieroglyphs] B/1 [hieroglyphs] C/1 La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XV A/1 [hieroglyphs] XVI/7 [hieroglyphs] XVIII/3 [hieroglyphs] XXIX/5 Rom [hieroglyphs] XLV A/7 [hieroglyphs]
swn-t-f Ea. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XII D/3 otherwise normal

swn subst. fem. 'price' ⲥⲟⲩⲛⲧ⸗ : ⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ⸗.
ḥṭ n swn nt nb XI/1; *swn ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t* marriage form (9) on p. 269; *swn te tʾ·t* XLV. A/7; *swn·t-w n ḥṭ* sale form (6) on p. 256, v. p. 259, note 2, marriage form (16) on p. 269; *swn·t-w ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t* (as in Coptic) XXVIII/6.

Dar [hieroglyphs]

swn verb trans. 'recognize' ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ.
p e·ʾr swn-n IX. 3/5.

Dar. [hieroglyphs] 2/10 [hieroglyphs]

swr, sw verb trans. 'drink' ⲥⲱ, (ⲧ-)ⲥⲟ.
stm-f past ind. *swr n ʾm-wn·t ḥq* IX. 2/10.
infin. *e-w swr ḥq* IX. 2/10, 8/8; *swr ḥq* (*m-bḥ ʾMn*) 9/7, 8.

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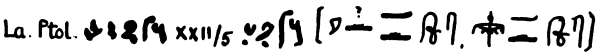
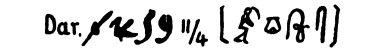
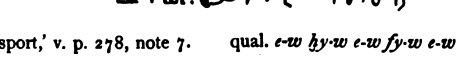


swḫ subst. fem. 'egg,' 'cone' (?) coογϩe.
wᶜ·t swḫ n ḥmt a ḥt 50 XXII/5 ; *wᶜ·t swḫ* XXX/7, in dowries, v. p. 270, note 10.



swg adj. 'foolish,' 'lewd' (?), cf. coϭ, v. p. 232, note 12. *rm swg·w ne* IX. 10/21 ; *ḥyn·w n ḫl·w rm swg·w* 11/4.

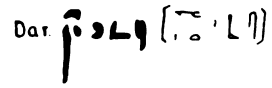


swt verb 'transport,' v. p. 278, note 7. qual. *e-w ḫy·w e-w fy·w e-w swt·w a pe-k ᶜy* XXI/17.

S·WZ verb. caus. 'make prosperous.' in title *s·wz ᵓb n yt*, p. 429.

sb subst. masc. 'door' cϩe.
'door,' 'gate' as entrance *p sb n ḥ-ntr* IX. 2/14, see also ḥ-sbe·t.
'door' as part of furniture of house ; or 'plank,' 'planking' (?) *e-f mḥ n ṯy sb* XVII/3, v. p. 273, note 6 ; *e-f grg ṯy sbe* XLIV. B/4, XLV. A/8, v. also **sbn**.

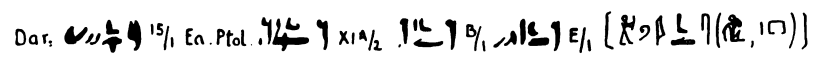
sb 'teaching' in ᶜ-**sb** q.v.



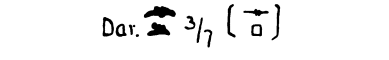
sbn or **sb** 'planking' (?) as above : hardly ceϩen.
ḥt 10 n ṯy sb(n?) IX. 20/14.

sbḫ verb 'implore,' 'entreat' cωϩϩ.
a sbḫ n rn-k IX. 24/18.

sbq adj. 'little,' 'scanty,' 'few' coϩϩ.
ss sbq·w n eᵓr ḫp IX. 2/5, 21/5 ; *e-f sbq n rm* 6/10–11.
verb *n-sbq* : *e bn n-sbq-k n ms ᵓn* IX. 6/12.



sbṭ verb 3 gem. 'equip' coϩτε, ceϩτωτ.
periphr. stm-f : *ᵓr-w sbṭe ṯy rm* IX. 20/11 ; *ᵓr-f sbṭet-f* 15/1, v. p. 237, note 10.
sbṭ n ry·t nb XI/2, v. p. 258, note 3.



sp subst. masc. 'time,' 'instance' con. *ᵓr⟨·w⟩ sp ⟨4⟩ n ḥb* IX. 3/6, 4/7 ; *pe-w sp mḥ-5* 3/7.

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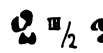
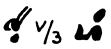
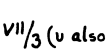




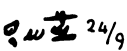


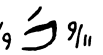
Ahm. III/2 V/3 VII/3 (v also Pl 18) Dar. 4/14 14/7 : after plural 24/8

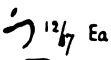
sp·sn 'twice' ⲥⲉⲡⲥⲛⲁⲩ (as sign of repetition of a word preceding).

ʿn sp-sn with negative 'never again,' 'never': after *bn e* ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ, *bn e(-y) ʾr nmḥ eʾrn-k ʿn sp-sn* III/2, V/3, VI (Pl. 18), VII/3; *bn e-w lky-w e-w snṭ n(-k) ʿn sp-sn* IX. 4/16, 14/7; after *tm* IX. 4/14.

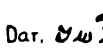
n tʾ·w sp-sn 'in pieces,' 'piecemeal,' IX. 24/8, v. p. 252, note 1; *wʿ sp-sn* 'one by one' 25/4.

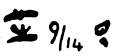


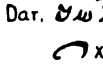


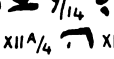


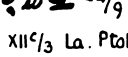
v. **m-šs**.

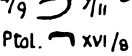












Dar. 9/14 24/9 9/11 12/7 Ea. Ptol. XI A/5 B/3 C/3 XII A/4 XII C/3 La. Ptol. XVI/8 XVIII/4 XXIX/8

sp, spy verb. intr. 'remain over' ⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ.

infin. *p nk nt e-f a sp(y) ar-k* IX. 9/11, 14; *n ʾm-w* 24/9.

as subst. *p sp n ny ḫl·w* IX. 12/17; *p sp n* . . . XVIII/4, XXXVI/21.

e-f mḥ ʾt sp nb sale form (6) on p. 256, marriage form (12) on p. 269.

Psam (v. Pl. 3) Dar.

sm subst. [masc.] 'herbs' ⲥⲓⲙ. *ḫbs sm ʾrt·t* I (Pl. 3); *gm-w sḫ sm* IX. 24/4.

Dar.

sm verb (?) intr. 'bless' ⲥⲙⲟⲩ. periphr. stm-f *ʾr Ḥ. sm* IX. 8/14, v. p. 230, note 8.

sm verb 'bind,' 'unite,' v. div. n. *Sm-tw*.

Dar. 1/17

smy verb intr. 'report,' 'plead,' 'petition,' 'accuse' ⲥⲙⲙⲉ : ⲥⲉⲙⲓ.

stm-f past ind. IX. 15/9, 17/9, infin. 3/4, 4/12, 13.

'report' only with *ʿn*, ⲁⲛⲥⲙⲙⲉ : *ʿn⟨-f⟩ smy n mṭ nb* IX. 1/17, 6/8, 7/20; *ʿn-f sme n P. z* 13/1, 15/13.

'plead' *m-bḥ Pr-ʿo* IX. 17/9; *n-s n wpy·w* 15/9; *n-s n-e·ʾr r-w (n?) sḫ erme N.* 'against N.' 15/15, v. p. 240, note 3; *n M. a N.* 'to M. against N.' 24/17; *n M. e-ṭbe N.* 'to M. about (or "on behalf of") N.' 19/3.

Dar. La. Ptol. XV B/1 XXX/3

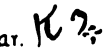
s·mn verb caus. 'establish' ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ : ⲥⲉⲙⲛⲓ.

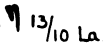
qual. (?) *e pe-k s·mne* IX. 24/9; *n nt s·mn n Ra-qṭ* XV/1, XVI/2, &c.; with var. *s·mn·w* XVIII, XIX, XXIV (ⲥⲙⲟⲛⲧ : ⲥⲉⲙⲛⲏⲟⲩⲧ). Cf. qual. (?) of **s·ḥn**.

Dar.

sms cf. ⲥⲟⲙⲥ 'look at'; or perhaps some kind of food (?). *ʾt sms* IX. 24/12 (poet.).

Dar. 13/10 La. Ptol. XVI/9 XXII/7 XXX/11





smt subst. masc. 'likeness,' 'copy' ⲥⲙⲟⲧ.

e-k ṭy ʾr-f smt n n ʿy·w ʿy·w IX. 13/10; *p smt ne-t nk·w* marriage form (16) on p. 269.

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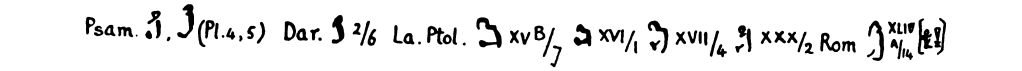


Psam. (Pl. 4, 5) Dar. 2/6 La. Ptol. XV B/7 XVI/1 XVII/4 XXX/2 Rom XLIV A/14

sn 'brother,' **sn·t** 'sister' ⲥⲟⲛ, ⲥⲱⲛⲉ, pl. ⲥⲛⲁⲩ.
IX. 2/6, 3/9; *p sn t sn·t* XVII/4.
'relation,' 'colleague' *pe sn* IX. 1/2, 5/20, 19/6; *wʿ sn, šr n p sn ḫm n pe-f yt* 5/17; pl. 'relations,' 'colleagues' *ḫrṭ·w sn·w* I (Pl. 4, 5); *n sn·w ʿy·w n n wʿb·w* 11/1; *ne-f sn·w* 2/12, 15/11.
n ntr·w sn·w XV/scribe, XVI/1, &c.; *Ptlwmys p mr-sn* XVI/3; *ʾRsyne t mr-sn* XVI/2, 5, &c.
v. ppr. nn. *P-sn-ke, Pa-sn* (?).

Dar.

sny verb trans. 'pass away,' 'depart' (?) ⲥⲓⲛⲉ.
ṭe-w sny(-y) n pe ṭme IX. 4/14.

Psam. (Pl. 3)

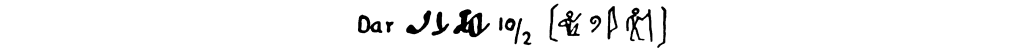
s·ntr subst. [masc.] 'incense' ⲥⲟⲛⲧⲉ.
mnḫ s·ntr nḥ I (Pl. 3).

Dar. 14/6

snṭ verb intr. 'fear' ⲥⲛⲁⲧ, constr. with dative *n*.
infin. *e-w snṭ n-k* (var. *n-tn*) IX. 4/16, 14/6; *e-w a snṭ n-w* (i. e. 'letters') 4/16.

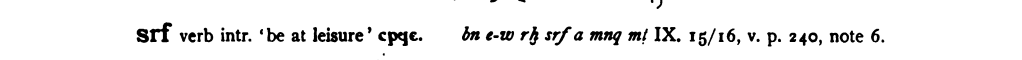
Dar. 25/1

sr verb trans. 'arrange' ⲥⲱⲣ.
rel. stm-f *n-e·sr-k n-e·ʾr ḫp* IX. 25/1.



Dar 10/2

sry subst. 'officer,' 'magnate.'
wʿ sry IX. 10/2–3, 17/3; *šn Pr-ʿo n sry·w* 10/5, v. p. 232, note 1.

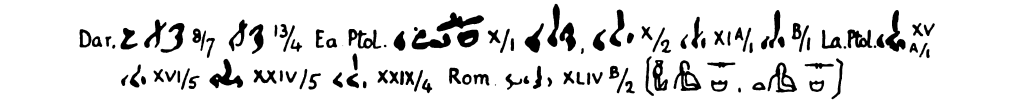


Dar.

srf verb intr. 'be at leisure' ⲥⲣϥⲉ. *bn e-w rḫ srf a mnq mṭ* IX. 15/16, v. p. 240, note 6.

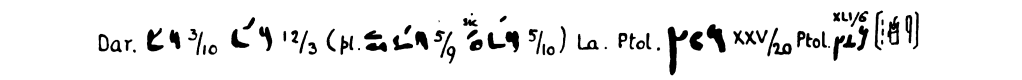
srtyts στρατιωτης, v. Titles, p. 429.

Dar. 8/7 13/4 Ea Ptol. X/1 X/2 XI A/1 B/1 La. Ptol. XV A/1 XVI/5 XXIV/5 XXIX/4 Rom XLIV B/2



s·ḥm subst. and adj. 'woman,' 'female' ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ, v. p. 231, note 1, p. 254, note 7.
as title *s-ḥm·t N.* X/1, &c.; *s-ḥm·t n s·ʿnḫ* XVII/2, 5; *pe-t šp n s-ḥm·t* X/2, marriage forms (4), (5), (8) on pp. 268, 269; *ne-t nk·w n s-ḥm·t* ib. (7), (9), (11), (16).
pl. *ne-f s-ḥm·w ne-f ḫrṭ·w* IX. 9/5, 8, 18; *ne-w s-ḥm·w ne-w ḫrt·w* 13/4 (in 9/20 *ḥm·w*).
adj. *wʿ·t ḫl s-ḥm·t* IX. 8/8; *te-f ḥm·t erme ne-s ḫrṭ·w s-ḥm·w* 8/7, v. p. 229, note 18.

Dar. 3/10 12/3 (pl. 5/9 sic 5/10) La. Ptol. XXV/20 Ptol. XLI/6



s·ḥne verb caus. 'provide,' 'aid,' 'tend' (?) or 'assign' (?), 'guarantee' (?), Boh. ⲥⲁϩⲛⲓ 'supply,' qual. Boh. ⲥⲉϩⲛⲏⲟⲩⲧ.
(Peteêsi) *a ḫp e-f s·ḥne nʾm-n* 'helping (?) us' IX. 10/18, v. p. 86, note 1.
the fields *ḫp e-w sḥn·w n-k* 'providing for thee' (?) XLI/6, or perhaps qual., cf. qual. of **s·mn**.
as subst.: (1) 'administration,' 'managers' (?), or 'commissioner' (?) *p ḥry-Mzy n T-Qḥy erme p s·ḥne n T-Qḥy* IX. 12/3.
(2) 'diploma' (?), 'assignment' *p s·ḥne n pe-k ḥtp 5* IX. 3/10; *p s·ḥne n pe-f yt* 10/5, v. p. 223, note 14.
(3) 'business,' 'claim' (?) *n s·ḥn·w* IX. 5/9; *ny s·ḥn* 5/10.

ʿš·s·ḥne 'title,' 'claim' (?) *n pe-k ʿš-s·ḥne* IX. 20/8, v. p. 245, note 5.

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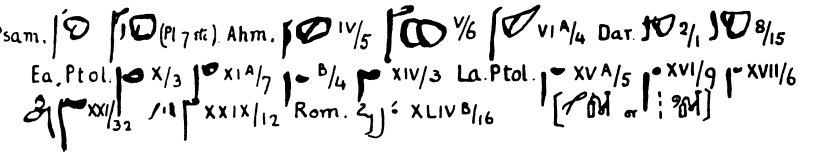
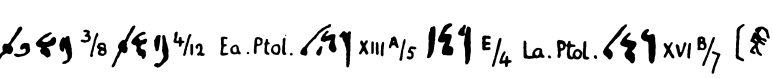
s·ḥṭ verb caus. 'make brilliant,' 'enrich,' probably same as ⲥⲁϩⲧⲉ : ⲥⲁϩϯ 'light fire,' v. p. 227, note 6.
mte-w s·ḥṭ ṗy rṗy n nṯ nḏ IX. 6/14; *ʾr-f s·ḥṭ Te-w-sy* 7/10.



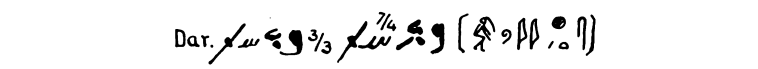
sḫ verb trans. write ⲥϩⲁⲓ : ⲥϭⲁⲓ, ⲥⲁϩⲉ : ⲥϭⲏⲧⲉ.
stm-f past ind. IX. 3/20; dep. on *ṯy* 2/6, final *sḫ-y* 2/1, 3/19–20; *e ḫr sḫ-k* 19/2. relative *ṗ zmᶜ a·sḫ(-y)* IX. 4/9.
infin. *e-y sḫ* IX. 4/5; *nṯ sḫ* XXI/32; *nṯ sḫy* in XXVIII–XXX. not found with suffixes (?).
qual. *nṯ sḫ ḫry* X/3, XI/4; (*Wynn, rm*) *nṯ sḫ* (var. *e-f sḫ*) *a* 'appointed to' in military titles. v. Titles s. v. *šp*.
imperat. IX. 4/4, 5, v. p. 224, note 8.
with direct obj. *sḫ-y n-k mṯ nḏ* IX. 2/1; *sḫ n szy* 4/4; *ṗ zmᶜ a·sḫ-y* 4/9: with *n*, *e-y sḫ n n mṯ* (*a·z n-y P. sḫ st*) 4/5.
absol. 'be a writer' *e ḫr sḫ-k* IX. 19/2, 'to write a title for a person to a thing,' 'appoint him' *sḫ-n n-f a tᵉ ḫn-nṯr* 3/19–20, cf. 8/2, 3, 9/16, 17/18, &c., cf. p. 224, note 1.
'to make a written return' *a rḫ-w n sḫ* IX. 19/4.
ṗ ᶜy n sḫ IX. 4/9, 8/14–15, 19/14, v. p. 69, note 5.
mtr sḫ I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 14).
in signatures *m sḫ N.* I, II (Pl. 8), VI (Pl. 17), v. p. 205, note 38, *a sḫ N.* I. A/7, *sḫ N.* II. A/7 (Pl. 8), *a sḫ N.* VIII/10, XI. A/7, v. p. 205, note 34 (emphatic stm-f ?), *sḫ N.* IV/5, V/6, VII/5, X/4, XII et rell.: at end of witness-copies *sḫ ny* (?) I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 15), VI (Pl. 18), XI, XII, cf. p. 205, note 41.
as subst. 'a writing,' 'document' *sḫ nḏ qnḏ nḏ* sale form (11) on p. 256, &c.; *ṯ sḫ a ṗ nk* IX. 7/5; *ʾr sḫ e-ṯḏ ḫṯ a* cession form (6) on p. 257, cf. p. 224, note 1; *sḫ e-ṯḏ ḫṯ* XV. A/3, B/4, XVII/5; *ṗ sḫ wy* XV. A/3, B/4, cf. XLIV. B/15; *ṗ sḫ n sᶜnḫ* XVII/5; *sḫ n gyz* XXXI/1.

sḫ 'scribe,' v. titles, p. 429. (Written as the above, but without the additional dets. of XXI/32, &c.)

sḫ subst. fem. 'field' ⲥⲱϣⲉ, v. p. 101, note 7, p. 202, note 17, p. 242, note 10.
n ḥ-nṯr n sḫ n ṗ ṯme I (Pl. 2).
gm-w sḫ sm IX. 24/4 (poet.); *ṯ sḫ ṗ ṯṉe* 17/17, 18/2; *ṯ sḫ·ṯ Škke* 16/11.



sḫ subst. masc. ⲥⲁϣ 'stroke,' v. p. 223, note 9.
šp sḫ n šwe 50 IX. 3/8, 5/8; *ṗy sḫ 2 n šwe* 4/12; *ʾṯ sḫ nḏ* cession form (12) on p. 257, XXI/31.



sḫy subst. fem. 'a beating' ⲥⲛϣⲉ.
ḥṯḃ-w st n sḫy IX. 2/13, 11/8–9; *šp-w sḫy* ⟨*ᶜo·ṯ*⟩ 7/4, 11/8; *ṯ sḫy* 3/3.

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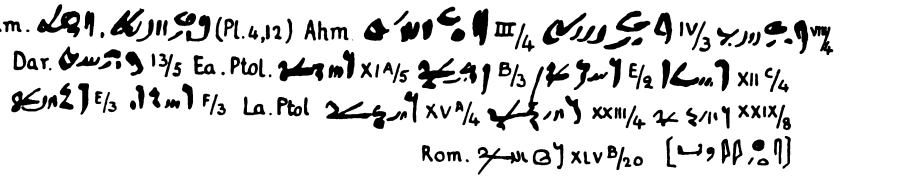
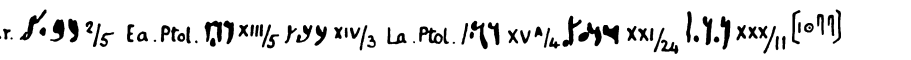


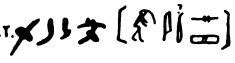
sḫy, syḫ only in *ʾr-sḫy* 'exercise authority over,' Boh. ⲉⲣⲱⲓⲱⲓ, v. p. 203, note 22.
ʾr sḫy nʾm-w et sim. I (Pl. 4), II (Pl. 12), III/4, IV/3, VIII/4, sale and cession forms (9) on pp. 256, 257, XLV. A/20, B/20; *mte-ỉ nt ʾr syḫ n pe qᶜ syḫ* XI/7; *rm e-f ʾr sḫy* IX. 13/5, in XXIX written *ʾry-syḫ*.

sḫpr verb caus. 'produce.'
st s·ḫpr ef IX. 25/2 (poet.).

sḫne subst. masc. 'bank,' 'table,' 'account.'
p sḫne n sgn·w XXXI/9, v. p. 160, note 5, p. 287, note 3.

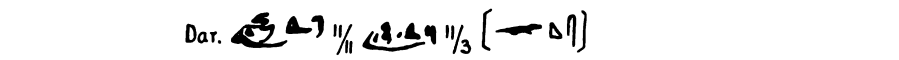


ss subst. masc. 'time,' 'day' ⲥⲟⲩ-, cf. ⲥⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ.
ss n ms IX. 24/10; *ss n ʾr* 24/12; *p ss n qᶜ-ỉ* marriage form (16) on p. 269.
n ss·w nt e-f ʾr-w e-f ḥb IX. 8/6, sim. 14/15, cf. 8/12; *n ss nḥ* sale and cession forms (11) on pp. 256, 257; *n ke ss* IX. 18/8; *a rḫ wᶜ ss a ḫp e* 13/14.
p ss ḥw 'the date' XXI/21, 24.
ss sbq·w n-e·ʾr ḫp IX. 2/5, 21/5; *ss ᶜš·w* 5/8 (in 15/10 perhaps *ḫmn* rather than *ss*).
v. Days of month, p. 419.

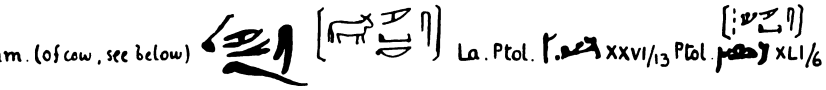


šše (?), ššt verb (?) 'die,' 'be wanting,' 'be prevented' (?) (cf. ⲯⲱⲯⲧ and **ššt** below).
šše Pr-ᶜo IX. 15/14 (twice), v. p. 240, note 2.

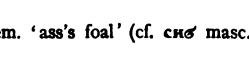
šn subst. 'lily-oil,' Boh. ⲯⲱⲯⲉⲛ, ⲯⲱⲛⲛ.
tḥḥ·w s n šn IX. 8/15, v. p. 83, note 7.



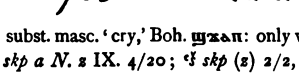
sq verb trans. 'gather' ⲥⲱⲕ, v. p. 233, note 4.
stm-f past ind.: *sq P. n mlᶜ·w* (?) IX. 11/11; intr. *sq n wᶜb·w* ⟨*a ḥ-nỉr*⟩ 11/3, 14/19; dep. on *ỉy*: *ỉe P. sq-w n wᶜb·w a ḥ-nỉr* 13/4.
imperative *sq st a p ᶜy* IX. 12/15.



sk verb trans. 'plough,' 'cultivate' ⲥⲕⲁⲓ : ⲥϫⲁⲓ, ⲥϫⲏⲧ-.
infin. *nte-k sk ʾsḫ ḫn-w* XLI/6: with suff. *sk-f* XLI/7; *sk-w* XXVI/13, XLI/12.
(2) as subst. 'plough-cow.'
ỉy ʾḫ ỉšry (*n*?) *sk bk* VIII/2, v. p. 216, note 6.



sg·t subst. fem. 'ass's foal' (cf. ⲥⲏϭ masc.), v. p. 271, note 3.
k·ỉ sg·ỉ XXXVII/2 (following *ᶜo·ỉ* 'ass').



skp subst. masc. 'cry,' Boh. ⲯⲕⲁⲡ: only with *ᶜš* (ⲁⲯⲕⲁⲡ).
ᶜš(-y) skp a N. s IX. 4/20; *ᶜš skp* (*s*) 2/2, 15, 20/13.

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La Ptol

sgn subst. 'ointment' cogn. (plural) *p šḫne n sgn* (?) XXXI/9, v. p. 287, note 4. v. also ppr. n. *Sgne* (?).

Psam. (v Pl. 2) Ahm. VIII/7 Dar. 3/12 14/2 Ea Ptol. (cf. e-st s.v. 's XI/4) XI A/4 XII C/5 et passim sim. cf. s above.

st abs. pron. 3rd pl. ce or coy.

as object. after stm-f *my wi st N.* IX. 3/12; *wne ḫr stm(-y) st* 7/1; *ḳe-y st n-k* sale and cession form (6) on pp. 256, 257; after imperative *sḫ st* IX. 4/5 (cgaicoy); *e-'r st* 9/9 (apicoy); *sq st* 12/15; after infinitive only with ty q.v.

as subject of pronominal sentence ce- *st 'w* IX. 2/13; *st mwt-t* (maooyt) (ib.); *st ḫp* 6/13, 21; *st mne* 13/11; *st n ḥ-ntr* 14/2: so also when displaced for emphasis *mte-k st* (cf. oyntaicoy) I (Pl. 2) sale and cession form (5) on pp. 256, 257; cf. false writing *e-st N.* for *ns-st N.* XI/4.

st used for abs. pron. 3rd fem. sing., as subject of pronominal sentence, ⲉ-; compare *e-f* = ⲉⲩ s.v. e, and cf. s on p. 382.

st ḫp-t IX. 4/7–8, also probably *'n st n ḥt-k* z 4/6; *st ḫḥ* 9/6–7; *bn st ḫḥ 'n* 17/13–14.

Psam. (Pl 7,15) Dar 17/10 24/2 Ea. Ptol. XI D/witness La. Ptol. XXXI/8

st verb trans. 'withdraw,' 'return' cwte.

stm-f past ind. IX. 16/11, 17/10; dep. on *ty* 5/4, v. p. 225, note 8; relative *a-st-f* 17/11, 18/4.

infin. IX. 17/2, with suff. 24/2.

qual. (?) *e-f st* IX. 18/6.

refl. 'withdraw,' 'return,' 'turn oneself' *e-f st-f a ḫry* IX. 24/2, cf. 24/6, 18.

'confiscate,' 'withdraw' *st-f t m'e n Te-w-sy* IX. 16/11, cf. 17/10, 11, 18/4; *p mr yḫ st n'm-f a p yḫ w* (?) *'n* 17/2.

bn e-y st mṭ n'm-w I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 15); qual. 'invalid' of a document *e-f* (i.e. *p zm'*) *st eṭḥ ḫp* IX. 18/6; 'restore' a thing to a person *e'r-k st n-y pe-k 'y* XXXI/8.

v. ppr. nn. *St-w-wt, St-yr-b'n.*

Dar. 7/10 16/7 La. Ptol. XV B/2 PtoL XLI/7

st subst. fem. 'arura' cet(eiwqe): cet(ioqi).

t st 120 yḫ IX. 16/11; *st 1000 yḫ* 7/10, 16/7, 17/13; *st 1 yḫ* 16/8; proportion of corn to arura 7/14–15 XLI/7.

without *yḫ* (cf. p. 265, note 9) *nt 'r st* $9\frac{1}{2}$ *a st* $9\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{2}{16}$ *a st* $9\frac{1}{2}$ *'n* XV. A/1.

for the fractions, v. Metrology, p. 414.

Dar. 5/7

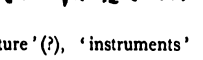
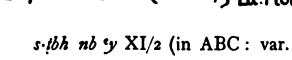
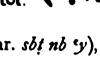
sty subst. fem. 'fire' cate.

ḥwy sty a ⟨*p 'y*⟩ IX. 4/20, 5/3, 7 'set fire to.'

Dar. 24/14

seṭb subst. 'injuries' (?), v. p. 222, note 17, p. 246, note 14.

n seṭbe a'r-w n-k IX. 21/1; *e-w 'r n-w seṭb* 24/14.

Ea. Ptol.  XI A/2 C/1  La. Ptol. 

s·ṭbh subst. 'furniture' (?), 'instruments' (cf. Boh. coβai?), v. p. 258, note 4.

s·ṭbh nb 'y XI/2 (in ABC: var. *sbṭ nb 'y*), *rm s·ṭbh nb wy'* XXVI/14.

La. Ptol.

stp verb trans. 'choose' cwtn. rel. stm-f (?) *N. a stp 'n w'b·w a hb* XXV/5.

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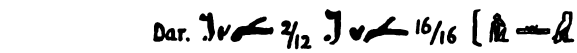


Dar. 2/12 16/16

sṭm verb trans. 'hear,' 'hearken' ⲥⲱⲧⲙ.
stm-f past indic. IX. 2/12, &c.; dep. on *ṭy* 5/13, 10/21; *ḫr sṭm-f* 7/1.
infin. *e-f sṭm* IX. 16/16; *bn-p-f sṭm* 17/17; *bn e-f sṭm* 24/17.
'hear' absol. *sṭm Y.* IX. 2/12: with neuter obj. *sṭm s N. z* 11/10–11, cf. 10/21.
'hearken,' 'obey' *e-w sṭm n-f mṭ* IX. 16/16; *bn-p-w sṭm-s n-y* 17/17; *bn e-w sṭm n-w smy* 24/17.
in ppr. n. *Ṭḥwt-sṭm.*

sṭm subst. 'servant' (of priest) *pe-f sṭm* IX. 15/2, v. p. 238, note 1.

stn subst. 'king' in *'Mn-Rᶜ-stn-ntr-w*: without det. in **šs-stn**, geogr. n. *Ḥ-nn-sṭn*, div. n. *Stn-tw* (*Sm-tw*).

Dar. 13/9 24/17

sṭr verb intr. 'lie down' (ϫⲧⲟ : ϣⲧⲟ= *ṭy sṭr*?). In all cases except IX. 25/6 with ethical reflexive dative *sṭr-f n-f.*
stm-f past indic. IX. 2/10, 12/20, 13/9; dep. on *ṭy* 24/14, 15, 17.
imper. IX. 11/5.
infin. *b 'r p ᶜn-wšb sṭr* IX. 25/6 (poet.).
'lie down' IX. 2/10, 11/5, as opposed to *wrš* IX. 24/14, 15; of obeisance *sṭr n-f N. a p 'ṭn* 12/20, 13/9.

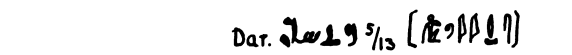
La. Ptol.

sṭḥ subst. (?) 'chaff,' 'impurity' (?). *pr e-f wᶜb 't s* (?) *'t sṭḥ* XXI/16.

Ea. Ptol. X/1 La. Ptol. XVI/5 XX/6 XXX/9 Ptol. XL F/7

sttr subst. fem. στατήρ, ⲥⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣⲉ.
ḥṭ 2 a sttr 10 X/1 et sim. pass. in marriage contracts, &c., always followed by fem. numeral in XL (F, &c.).

Dar. 5/13



s·zy [verb intr. 'narrate'] ϣⲁϫⲉ, sermo, res.
inf. as subst. always in pl. *n szy* 'events': clearly in IX. 4/4, 5/13, 11/17, v. p. 224, note 2: so also probably 4/1, 6/20.

Dar. 5/2 11/1 La. Ptol. XVI/9 XXII/7 XXVII/8 XXX/11
imperative Dar. 7/5

š verb intr. 'go,' Boh. ϣⲉ, ϫⲟ = *tšo.*
stm-f past ind. IX. 2/10, 3/8, &c.; dep. on *ṭy*, *my* IX. 3/13, 4/11.
infin. IX. 3/16, &c.
imper. *m-še*, Boh. ⲙⲁϣⲉ, see below.
qual. supplied by *nᶜy* q. v.
'go' *š a* 'to' a person IX. 3/8, to place or thing 3/16, *t ḥ-sbe·t* (gateway? or path?) *nt š a p yr-ᶜo* XXXII/6; *š-w a bl* IX. 4/10; *ṭy š-w m-s-w* (ϫⲟⲟⲩ) 4/10–11, 11/1; *š N. e·'r ne-f yt·w* of death 14/15, 18/10–11, 19/16, 21/5 (the last omits *ne-f*), v. p. 85, note 1.
followed by ethical reflexive dative *š n-f* 'go away' IX. 2/10, 11, 3/13, 5/2, 6/17, marriage form (16) on p. 269; *š n-f a* (place) IX. 15/11, 18/12.
2nd pres. and 1st future *e-y š*, *e-y a š*, followed by infinitive of intention, cf. ϯⲡⲁ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ; *e-y a š nḫt-k* IX. 5/11; *e-y a š ṭy* 9/10; *e-y š ṭy* 15/11; *e-k š zṭ-s n-f* 11/1, v. p. 225, note 12.
mṭ e š-s 'a past event' IX. 13/4, v. p. 235, note 13.
imperative: with reflexive dative *m-š my n-k a wᶜ ᶜy* IX. 4/2, so also 5/2, 10/8; followed by another imperative *m·še . . . a·'n* 5/5; *m·se my ṯ-w* 7/5; *m·še n-k . . . mšte* 10/8; *m·še 'mḥte* 11/17; *qṭy* 12/14; *sḫ* 19/2.

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Psam. (v. Pl. 5, 6, 13) Ahm IV/5 V/1 VII/5 VIII/3
(v. also Pl 17, 18) 3/18 21/5 La. Ptol XXXII/10 Rom. XLVA/20 (š-z·t)
š^c-te Dar. 1/18 10/9 La. Ptol. XXI/29 Ptol. XLI/10

š^c prep. 'until,' 'to' .
of time *š^c z·t*, also in Rom. *š-z·t*, v. z·t; *š^c p-hw* 'until now,' 'still' IX. 1/15, 3/18, 6/18, 15/4, 21/5; *š^c twe* 11/5.
of place *n ṯ (n) . . . š^c Swn* IX. 5/15, 18, 6/7; *ph·f š^c Ne* 7/9, cf. 12/13, 13/1.
of other things *š^c ḥṯ nb pr nb* I (Pl. 5), V/3, VI (Pl. 18).
with conjunctive particle *š^c-te-f* IX. 1/18–19, 10/9, XXI/29, XLI/10.

Dar.

š^c subst. [masc.] 'sand' . *'rb·w n š^c·w n ḫ·w (?) a t m'e* IX. 16/10.

š^c 'sand' (?) in ppr. n. *Pa-š^c*.

Dar.

š^c subst. fem. 'writing,' 'letter.'
t š^c IX. 4/17; *ty š^c* 19/11; *'r-f n-w š^c* 4/16, 17, 19/8; *'š-w n š^c·w* 19/14; *š^c nm·t* 4/16, 20/8; *š^c ḫyt* 17/20–18/1.

Dar.

š^cy subst. 'slaughter,' 'execution.' *'Mn p nb š^cy* IX. 25/2 (poet.).

š^cṯ (?). v. ḫṯ.

š^c-te. v. **š^c** 'until.'

La. Ptol. XVII/3 Rom.

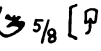
šy subst. masc. 'cistern,' 'pool' . *p šy* XVII/3, XXV/14. in title *ḫry šy* XLV. A/3, 5.

La. Ptol. XVI/8 XXII/7

šy subst. masc. 'fate' (?), 'control' (?), 'profit' (?). *mte-t pe-w šy 'nk pe-w syḫf* marriage form (15) on p. 269.

Dar.

šw subst. 'whip,' 'stick,' 'kurbash' (?).
sḫ n šwe IX. 3/8, 4/12, 5/8, v. p. 223, note 10.

Dar. 

šwe subst. masc. 'blank,' 'block for sculpturing.'
n šwe n twt 2 IX. 7/14.

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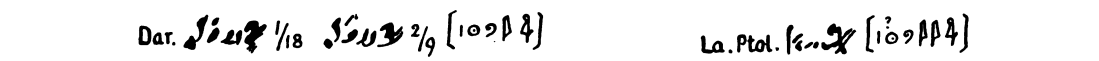
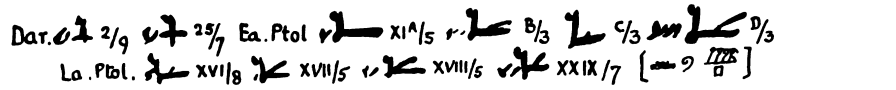


šwe subst. masc. 'drought,' 'heat' (?).
n p šwe IX. 1/18, 19; *Mḫyr 13 p ḥb n p šwe* 2/9, v. p. 67, note 8.

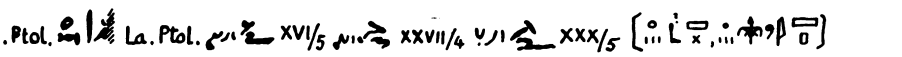
šwy subst. (?) 'dry place' (cf. Boh. ⲥⲟⲩⲓⲉ).
p wrḥ n šwy XVIII/4, 5, v. p. 275, note 8.

šwš 'scourging' (?) in ppr. n. *P-nt-nḫt-šwš* (?).

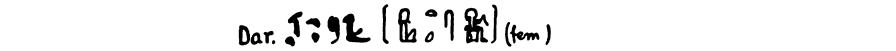
šb subst. fem. 'exchange' ⲙⲉϩⲓⲱ, v. p. 229, note 9; cf. **špe** ⲙⲁⲛ.
'r n-k te-w šb IX. 8/1, 12/17; [*n?*] *t šb n* 18/1.



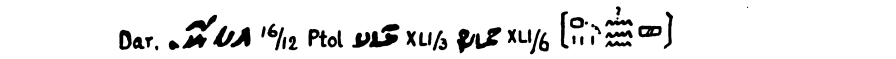
šp verb trans. 'receive.'
stm-f past indic., see below; dep. on *ty* 2/9, 16/8; relative *a·šp-f* XXIX/5.
imper. XVII/5.
infin. IX. 25/7.
qual. IX. 16/7, fem. 3 sing. *šp·t* 17/15, v. p. 244, note 1.
šp-y swn·t-w sale form (6) on p. 256; *šp-y st n ṯ·t-t* marriage form (12) on p. 269; *šp sḫ n ṯ n N.* XVII/5; *a·šp-n ṯ N.* XXIX/5; *rm* (or *Wynn*) *e-f* (or *nt*) *šp* . . ., v. Titles, s.v. *šp*.
of blows, pain, &c. *šp sḫ n šwe* IX. 3/7–8, 4/12, 5/8; *šp sḫy* 7/4, 11/8; *y'b* ⟨*'o·t*⟩ 1/19, 4/19, 9/12, 10/13; *šp 'y n-ṯ n p nḫt* 25/7 (poet.).
šp t n N. n p ḥt 10 'take promise of' (?) IX. 20/17. [compare Spieg., *Pap. Eleph.*, I. 1/5.]
šp a N. 'assign' land to god or priests: *te-f šp·w st 120 yḥ a p twt* IX. 16/8: qual. 'assigned' 6/14–15, 7/9, 16/7, 18, 17/15, 16, v. p. 227, note 7.
with dative *n*, *šp n N.* 'succeed to N.' IX. 2/9, 14/16, v. p. 222, note 2; *p šp n n mnḫ n 'Mn mnte-k s* 14/14; 'the succession (?) to' or 'perquisite,' v. p. 237, note 5.



špe subst. masc. 'gift' ⲙⲁⲛ in Coptic marriage contracts, v. p. 254, note 6, p. 268, note 2.
pe-t špe n s-ḫm·t X/2, marriage forms (4), (5), (8) on pp. 268–9.
in ppr. nn. *Šp-S*, *Šp-Mn*, v. p. 216, note 4.



šps adj. (fem.) 'noble' O.C. ⲙⲁⲛⲥⲉ. *te-f g' šps* IX. 24/1.



šm subst. masc. 'harvest,' 'rent' ⲙⲱⲁ, v. p. 242, note 13, p. 284, note 2.
p šm n ty m'e IX. 16/12, cf. 18/3; *n n yḫ a·st-f* 17/11, cf. XLI/6; *p šm ḥ-sp 23* XLI/3: cf. XLI/9, 10: pl. (?), XLI/15, 16.
v. also Months, p. 418.

šm fem. **šmy·t**, relative by marriage, &c., ⲙⲟⲁ fem. ⲙⲱⲁⲁⲉ socrus, gener, v. p. 300, note 5.
p šm t [*šmy·t*] XLIV. A/14, *šm šmy·t* XLV. B/21.

šmm 'hot' (?), 'heat' (?).
n šmm·w (or *n-šmm-w* as verb) IX. 24/3 (poet.).

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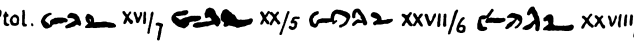
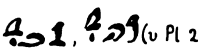
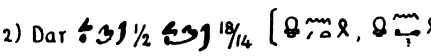
Dar.

šms 'attendant' (cf. ϣⲁⲙϣⲓ).
pe-f šms IX. 19/17, 18; *p šms* (or ppr. n. *P-šms* ?) XXXV/8, following 'the στρατηγός.'

'n-šn La. Ptol. 

šn subst. 'hair' only in compound 'n-šn = wig (?) or as modern kurs (?), cf. Berl. 3115 2/2.
wᶜ 'n-šn in all dowries (pp. 269–71).

Psam.  (v Pl 2) Dar  v mr-šn

šn subst. 'seal' (?). in titles *sḫ šn, mr šn*, v. p. 202, note 12.

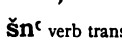
Dar.

šn verb trans. 'ask' ϣⲓⲛⲉ.
stm-f past ind. IX. 7/2, 10/5, 17/15.
infin. with suff. *šn·t-f, šn·t-w* IX. 1/7, 7/2.
šn Pr-ᶜo n sry·w n'm-s IX. 10/5; *šn(-y) n sḫ·w z* 17/15, cf. 7/2.

La. Ptol.

šn subst. masc. 'tree' (?) ϣⲛⲏ (?), cf. ϣⲛⲏ fem. hortus, v. p. 265, note 11.
yḫ . . . ḫnᶜ pe-f šn pe-f ḫ-mw XV. B/2.

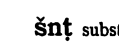
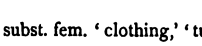
šn v. uncertain IX. 1/5, &c.

Dar. 

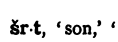
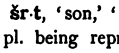
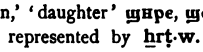
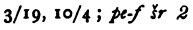
šnᶜ verb trans. 'drive out,' 'exclude.'
e-ỉn a rḫ šnᶜ-f IX. 13/14.

Dar.

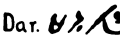
šny verb intr. 'be ill' ϣⲱⲛⲉ.
ḫf Pr-ᶜo šny IX. 15/8–9.

Dar.  La. Ptol. 

šnṯ subst. fem. 'clothing,' 'tunic' ϣⲉⲛⲧⲱ. *'r-f ḥe-f šnṯ n pky* IX. 11/11; *wᶜ·t šnṯ* XVI/7.

Ahm.  (v Pl 17) Dar.  fem. Ea. Ptol.  La. Ptol.
Rom. 

šr fem. **šr·t**, 'son,' 'daughter' ϣⲛⲣⲉ, ϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ: only in sing., the pl. being represented by **hrṯ·w**. v. also **ms** ⲙⲁⲥ.
pe(-f) šr IX. 2/6, 3/19, 10/4; *pe-f šr 2* 11/11; *pe-k šr s 3* 3/9.
p šr (n) pe-f šr IX. 3/18, 15/4; *p šr šr-šr* XVII/4, v. p. 273, note 11; *šr n p sn ḫm n pe-f yt* IX. 5/17; *šr n wᶜb* 5/16; *p šr p ntr* XLIV. B/1, XLV. B/2.
pe šr ᶜo pe-t šr ᶜo X/3, marriage form (6) on p. 268; *pe-w* (?) *šr ᶜo* XVI/1, 3 'eldest' (?) or 'chief' son, 'heir.'
te-f šr·t IX. 9/4, 14/2, cf. XLIV. A/3, 14.
v. ppr. nn. *P-šr-, T-šr(-n-)*, for which cf. p. 205, note 43.

Dar. 

šlf 'injurious' (?) (cf. ϣⲗⲟϥ).
t mṯ nt e-s šlf mnte-k IX. 11/1.

Dar.

šll verb intr. 'pray' ϣⲗⲏⲗ, ϣⲗⲗ̄.
e(-y) smy e(-y) šll n mn IX. 5/9: periphr. stm-f *'r-w šll eʾr ḫr n N.* 19/21.

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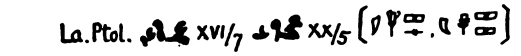
Dar. 6/6

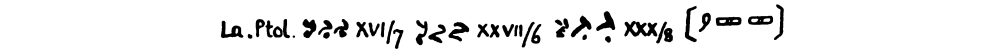


šs-stn subst. masc. 'byssus' ϣⲛ̄ⲥ.
nb šs-stn IX. 6/6; *šs-stn* 14/14.

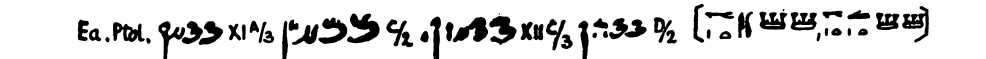
La.Ptol. XVI/7 XX/5

šs, šš subst. masc. 'sistrum,' v. p. 269, note 8.
wʿ šs ʿo (var. *ḫm*) XVI/7; *wʿ šš* ⟨*ḫm*⟩ XX/5, XXII/5, in dowries pp. 269–70.

La.Ptol. XVI/7 XXVII/6 XXX/8



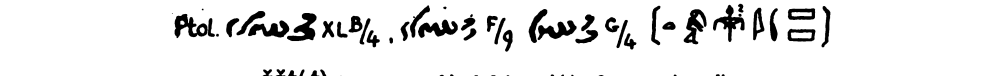
šš subst. masc. 'vessel,' 'chamber-pot' (the det. must be due to this meaning, not to ⲥⲁϣ *sḫ* ictus) ϣⲟϣⲟⲩ, ϣⲁϣⲟⲩ, and cf. Boh. ϣⲁϣ, v. p. 270, note 2.
wʿ šš XVI/7, XX/6, &c.; *šš 2* XXII/5, in dowries pp. 269–71.



Ea.Ptol. XI A/3 C/2 XII C/3 D/2

ššt subst. fem. 'window' ϣⲟⲩϣⲧ (ⲛ). *e te ššt wn* (*a*) *pr-ʾmnt* XI/3; *e p wyn* (*n*) *ššt ʾwṭ-w* XII/3, XIII/3.

Ptol. XL B/4 F/9 G/4



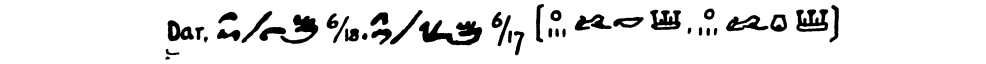
ššt(·t) 'unaccounted,' 'deficiency' (?), cf. ϣⲱϣⲧ impedire.
ššt·t ḥṭ (?) *ss* ⟨*6*⟩ XL. B/4, G/4; *ššt·t ḥṭ wṭḥ 23 stir 1·t* XL. F/9.
v. also **sše, sšt.**

ške (?), cf. ϣϫⲉ κάρφος, v. p. 284, note 3. v. uncertain XXVI/15.

Dar.

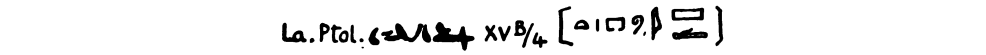
šgnn 'quarrel,' Boh. ϣϭⲛⲏⲛ. *šgnn e n-ʿš-w n-e-ʾr ḫp* IX. 17/19.

Dar. 6/18 6/17



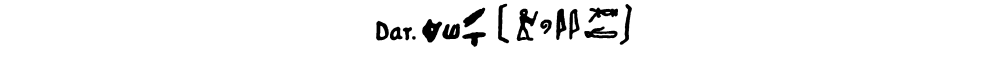
škr, šgr subst. masc. 'tax,' 'rent,' Boh. ϣϭⲟⲣ, v. p. 227, note 11.
ṭe-w ṭe n rpy-ʿy-w ... *škr* IX. 6/16: *šgr e-f ʿš* 6/17 (twice), *škr* 6/18, 7/2: cf. XLI/9 (?).

šṭ verb 'nurture' (?) in ppr. n. *Šṭ-Nfr-tm.*



La.Ptol. XV B/4

šṭ, šṭe·t subst. fem. 'district' (?). v. place-nn. *T-šṭ-.*

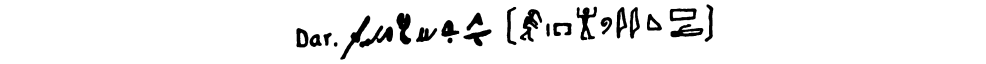


Dar.

šṭy subst. 'remuneration,' cf. ϣⲓⲧⲉ. v. p. 319. *ne-s šṭy ḫr rnp* IX. 16/21.

šty in title (?) *nfr-šty.*

Dar.



šṭqy subst. masc. 'prison' ϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ. *ṭe(-y) mt-f n p šṭqy n Ḥnés* IX. 12/4.

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-k poss. suff. masc. 2 sing. 'thou,' also with infin. and prepositions, -ʀ.

-k ending of qual. 1 sing. in Dar., v. *'y*, *'y*, *wy*, *gr'*, *'nḫ*, zf.

Ahm. 

k subst. 'bull.' *k* VIII/9 (twice).

Dar.  7/18  18/8 La. Ptol.  XVII/7  XX/5 Rom.  XLV^{A}/9 

Dar.  15/17 La. Ptol.  XXI/23  pl. Dar.  4/4

fem. Dar.  3/15 Ea. Ptol  X/2 La. Ptol.  XV^{A}/3  XVI/5  XXVII/5 

 XXXV/3

ke, g', ge, v. p. 240, note 9; fem. **k·t**, pl. **ke·w** 'other' ʀe- (abs. 'another' ʀe, ϭe), pl. ʀooγe.

p w' . . . *p ke twt* IX. 7/18, 19; *g' ḥṯ* 15/17; *n ke ss* 18/8; *w' 'n-šn ke 'n-šn* XVI/7, XX/5; *g' ss hw* XXI/23.

fem. *t ṯ* . . . *erme k·t ṯ* IX. 3/15; *k·t s-ḫm·t aḫr·t* X/2, marriage form (5) on p. 268.

te-f k·t pš·t XV. A/3, B/5; *w'·t ḫps k·t ḫpš 2·t* XXII/5; *w'·t 'o·t k·t sge·t* XXXVII/2.

pl. *ny ke·w t'·w* IX. 4/4.

in ppr. n. *P-sn-ke* (hardly ʀoγi?), p. 205, note 42.

La. Ptol.  XVI/9  XX/8  XXX/12 

ge conjunction 'or,' Sah. ϫe.

p ss n q'-ṯ . . *nṯ e-y a 'r-f ge mṯe-ṯ e-'r-ṯ mr* . . . . *p smṯ n ne-ṯ nk·w* . . . *ge swn·ṯ-w* marriage form (16) on p. 269.

Dar.  24/4 

g' verb intr. 'be quiet,' 'cease' ϭω, v. p. 251, note 12.

infin. *'Mn g' n-n ḫr bn e-f g' n-w 'n* IX. 24/4; *b 'r 'Mn g' n ṯbe* 25/6.

Dar.  7/8 

g' subst. fem. 'shrine.'

ṯ g' n 'Mn IX. 7/8; *n ṯe-f g' šps* 24/1.

Dar.  2/13  20/16 Ea. Ptol.  X/2  XI^{A}/7  B/4  C/4  D/4

La. Ptol.  XVI/5  XX/8  XXX/10 Ptol.  XLI/15 

q' verb trans. 'leave,' 'place' ʀω.

stm-f past ind. IX. 9/20, 24/13, dep. on *ṯy* 7/19–20.

imper. IX. 18/17.

infin. with suff. *q'-n* IX. 2/13.

'place,' 'deposit' *q' w' twt n* IX. 7/19–20, of people 9/15, 20; *q' n'm-w erme p nṯr* 13/13; *q' n nḫṯ·w m-s-w* 24/13.

'let go' after beating IX. 2/13, 3/8, 5/8, v. p. 223, note 11, cf. 20/7, 'leave,' 'let alone' 13/1, 18/19.

'abandon' road *q' ṯ me* IX. 13/10; land *n yḫ* XLI/15; 'abandon,' 'divorce' wife X/2, marriage forms (5), (16) on pp. 268, 269; 'forgive' debt, &c. IX. 20/16, 25/7.

doubtful *pe q' syḫ te qs·ṯ* XI/7: also *q' s n-ṯn* IX. 18/17, 'let it alone' or 'forgive it to yourselves,' i. e. 'never fear.'

La. Ptol. 

q' subst. fem. 'vessel,' 'censer' (?) ϫʜ.

k·ṯ g' 2·ṯ XXXV/3, v. p. 289, note 2.

La. Ptol.  XIX/4  XXIV/7 

qy fem. subst. 'field' (lit. high land, sharaki?) ʀaie : ʀoi.

yḫ qy nṯ ṯ qe (var. *qy*) *'Y-* . . . XIX/4, XXIV/7, v. p. 147, note 4.

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Dar.

qy verb intr. 'be long.'
ʾy ṯe ʾMn qy pe-f ʿḥ IX. 5/13, cf. [1/1].
cf. **šṯ-qy** 'prison.'

Dar.

gy subst. masc. 'hard-stone mason.' v. p. 81, note 13.
n gy·w n ṯ-bsn IX. 7/15; *gy p nı e-f a rḫ nqr-s* 18/17.

Dar.

gy subst. masc. 'usual manner,' 'character' ϭι- : ϫι-.
e-f n gy n ʿy ʿo IX. 6/10; *gy nb a gm-f e-w ḫp* 6/19; *a p gy a·wne ḫp n N.* 10/7; *a pe-f gy* 10/9.
p gy n followed by infin. *ṯy ʾq* IX. 1/8, 9, 10; *ṯ-ṯ-s* 4/3; *ḫf* 6/12.

La. Ptol.

gyz? cf. ϭιϫ (?).
sḫ n gyz XXXI/1.

Dar.

gw verb trans. 'oppress' ϭοοϒ.
gw-w p gḃ eʾr ḫr n p nʿše IX. 25/3, v. p. 253, note 2.

La. Ptol.

qws subst. masc. χοῦς.
p qws 29 XXI/18.

The reading *qws* given me by THOMPSON from an ostracon and the parallel texts. We can thus compare *El Hibeh*, 84 (b), 22, and 90/11 μετρωι τωι χοι τωι βασιλικωι, μετρωι χοει τωι . . . . A liquid measure would naturally approve itself as a general standard for all measures of capacity. The 29-χους measure of Gebelên must be identical with the 29-χ(οινιξ?) measure at the same place, occurring in *Gr. Pap.*, I. 18/20. See also *El Hibeh*, 85/18, and the long note ibid. p. 228. Does it mean a χους of 29 (χοινικες), which seems just possible, or a measure of 29 χοες? if the latter, which would be the natural interpretation of the demotic, then χους must be equivalent to χοινιξ. With regard to the equivalence of χ and dem. *q* (often *qḥ*), Ἀντιμαχος and Ανσιμαχος both end with *qws* in demotic (CASATI, &c.): the wine-measure κοεις (acc. pl.) in a document of saec. 6–7, *B.G.U.* 972, is surely χους or χοευς. GRENFELL kindly sends the following note: 'The Greek has $\kappa\theta\overline{\chi}$ and $\overset{\kappa\theta}{\chi}$ respectively: it would be possible to resolve χ as χοῦς, but in such expressions we have τριακονταχοίνικος where written out (e.g. *Rev. Laws*, col. XXXIX), and I know no instance of χους = χοινιξ. If the demotic has really 29 χοῦς it is possible that the two measures were somehow equated, and that μέτρωι τῶι χοί refers to this, though the expression remains very puzzling.'

La. Ptol.

qbe·t subst. fem. 'shirt' (?) Boh. ⲕⲟϩⲓ.
wʿ·t qbe·t XXXVII/2 in dowry.

Dar.

gb verb intr. 'be weak' ϭϩϩe.
qual.(?) *e p šr . . . gḃ·w aḥr-ın* IX. 13/14, v. p. 236, note 7, cf. SPIEG., *Eleph. Pap.*, 2/7, 3/10.
adj. 'weak' ϭⲱϩ IX. 25/3, v. s.v. **gw**, and p. 253, note 3.

Dar.

qbḥ subst. 'coolness' ⲕϩⲟ.
bn-p-w ṯy qbḥ n ḫt-w IX. 24/5 (†ϫϩⲟϩ, †ⲕϩⲟ refrigerium, requiem, dare).

kp subst. in ppr. n. *Pa-kp*.

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La. Ptol. XXIX/5

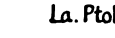
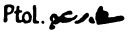
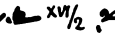
km (?) subst. 'garden' (?) σωλλ.
n ṯ·w wrḥ km (?) XXIX/5, 7.

Dar.

gm subst. fem. 'strength' (?) σολλ.
e te gm ḫp·t IX. 13/13.
cf. ppr. n. *Ḥr-ḫb-wsy-gm* (?).

Dar. La. Ptol. XXI/12

gm verb trans. 'find,' 'learn' σωπε : ϫιλλε : ('know,' v. p. 230, note 5).
stm-f past indic. IX. 8/4, dep. on *ṯy* 8/9, relat. *a·gm-f* 6/20, 7/9.
infin. IX. 10/5, &c., with suff. *gm·ṯ-f* 12/4, 15, XXI/12.
e·ʾr-f gm IX. 4/18, 6/10, v. p. 227, note 3.
ṯy gm pe ʾr ḅk 8/9; *ṯy gm-f p ḫp e* 'learn,' 'be convinced that.' v. ḫp.

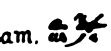
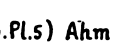
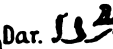
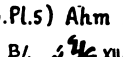
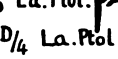
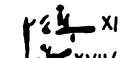
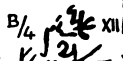
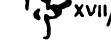
La. Ptol.  XVI/2  XVII/2  XXIV/3

qne subst. 'victory,' 'prize.'
ṯ ḥy qne nᶜše in title ἀθλοφόρος, XVI/2, &c., v. p. 271, note 11.

Dar. 7/18 *qn-f* 18/22

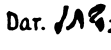
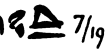
qn subst. 'breast' κογπ-.
n qn n p wᶜ . . . n qn n p ke twt IX. 7/18; *n qn-f* 18/21, 22; *e ṯ ᶜš*(?) *n qn-w* 25/2.

gne. v. ppr. n. *Pa-gne* (or *Sgne*?).

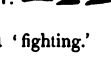
Psam.  (v. Pl. 5) Ahm  Dar.  8/10 Ea. Ptol. X/4
XI A/7  B/4 XII B/5 C/4 D/4 La. Ptol  XV A/4
 XVII/6 XX/9 XXX/13 Rom.  XLV B/19


qnb subst. fem. 'public title,' 'title deed,' v. p. 46, note 4, p. 204, note 29; cf. also *z-n qnb·ṯ erme-k eʾr-ḫr n wpṯy·w* Berl. 3113/3.
n qnb·tw n pe⟨*-f*⟩ *yṯ* IX. 8/10, 9/2; *qnb nb mṯ rm-nm nb* XI/2; *ṯy nᶜ-f n-k n qnb nb* I (Pl. 5); *ṯy wᶜb-f n-k a sḫ nb qnb nb* sale form (11) on p. 256; *mše-k ne-w sḫ·w ne-w qnb·w* ibid. (12); *ʾṯ s qnb nb* VIII/10, X/4, ibid. (14), marriage form (19) on p. 269.

qnbw (?). v. qnzw.

Dar.  7/19  11/7

qnḥ, qnḥy subst. fem. 'shrine,' 'chapel,' also 'closet' (?) κεπϩε.
ṯ qnḥ n ʾMn . . . ṯ qnḥ n Wsr IX. 7/19, 18/20, 21; *ṯ qnḥy n ʾMn* 11/8; *rm e-f ḫḥ* (?) *a Pr-ᶜo n ṯ qnḥ* 16/16, v. p. 242, note 19.

Dar. 

qnqn 'fighting.'
rm n qnqn IX. 12/9, v. p. 234, note 15.

Dar. 24/11

kns subst. 'force,' v. p. 244, note 12, p. 286, note 6, σονc.
a ṯy sḫ-k . . . n kns IX. 18/12; *ṯ s n nḥṯ·w n kns* 24/11.

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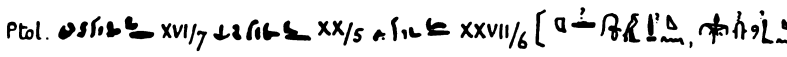
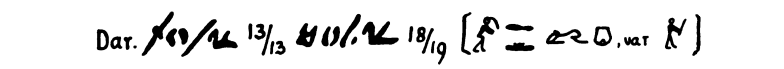
La. Ptol.

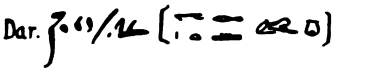
kns (?) v. p. 286, note 6. *n ṗ-w wrḥ km* (?) *nt ḥry erme pe-s* (sic) *kns* XXIX/7.

La. Ptol. 

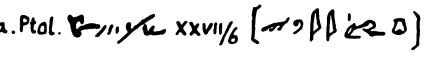
qnzw (?) subst. fem. (or **qnbw** ?).
wᶜ-t qns (?) XVI/7, XX/5, XXVII/6 in dowries, v. p. 269, note 6. (Spiegelberg, *Pap. Libbey*, p. 11, reads *qns*.)

Dar. 

grᶜ verb trans. 'dispel,' 'impede' ϫωωρε, but v. p. 245, note 2.
infin. *e-n rḫ grᶜ-f ḫr ʾi-s* IX. 18/19; qual. *e(-y) grᶜ-k m-ṗ-twn* 13/13.

Dar. 

grᶜ subst. some kind of arm or armour, 'shields' (?).
e-w lḫ n ne-w grᶜ-w ne-w ḫnw IX. 11/12, v. p. 234, note 2.

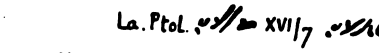
La. Ptol. 

gly subst. fem. 'wig' (?).
wᶜ-t gly XXVII/6 in dowry.

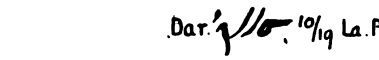
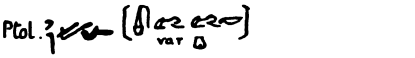
Dar.

krf verb trans., cf. ϭωρϥ avellere. *b ʾr Ḥ. ṯy krf-w te-k mṭ* IX. 21/2.

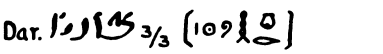
qrr 'frog,' v. ppr. n. *Qrr*.

La. Ptol. 

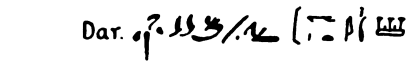
qll subst. masc. 'collar' ϫλϩλ, v. p. 270, note 3. *wᶜ qll* XVI/7, XX/6, in dowries.

Dar. 
La. Ptol. 

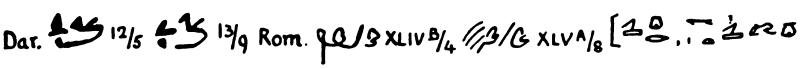
kll, gll subst. 'burnt-offering' ϭλιλ : ϭλιλ, v. p. 86, note 2, p. 144, note 4. *ṯe-f ʾr-w kll ṯe-f ʾr-w wṯn m-bḫ ʾMn* IX. 10/19–20; *n gll-w Pr-ᶜo* XVII/5.

Dar. 

grḫ subst. [masc.] ϭωρϩ : ϵϫωρϩ.
n grḫ IX. 3/3, 18/13.

Dar. 

gršt (grše ?) 'club-men,' 'guards' (?).
ṯe-w n n ḥyn-w gršt (?) IX. 2/7, v. p. 221, note 17 (*n* after *ṯy* implies persons).

Dar. 

grg verb trans. 'equip,' 'furnish' ϭωρϭ : ϫωρϫ, v. p. 299, note 3.
infin. *grg Te-w-sy* IX. 12/5; *grg pe-n ṭm* 13/9. qual. *a-wne e-w grg nʾm-w* IX. 24/9; *e-f grg sy sbe* XLIV. B/4, XLV. A/8.

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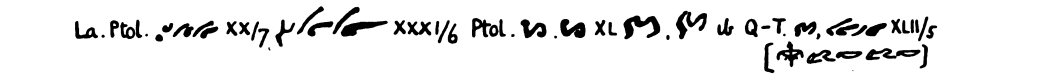
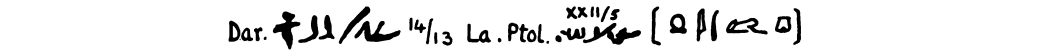
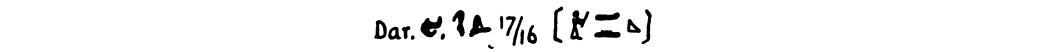


krkr subst. 'talent' σιπσωρ : χιπσωρ.
of silver *ḥṭ 2170 nt ʾr krkr 7 ḥṭ 70* XX/7; *ḥṭ 935 nt ʾr krkr 3 ḥṭ 35* XXXVIII/4.
cf. XL. A–E, L–T passim: of corn (?) *krkr 200 ḫn n pr·w* XXXI/6.

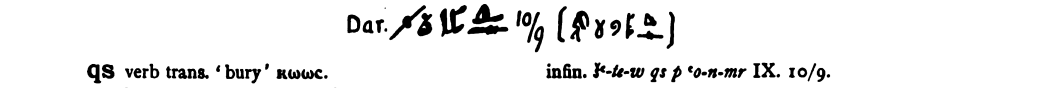


glt subst. fem. 'finger-ring.'
wʿ·t glt n nb IX. 14/13: in dowries (of silver) *wʿ·t glt* XX/6, XXII/5, v. p. 237, note 2.

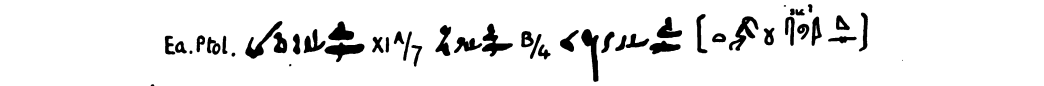


qḥ 'side' (?) 'proximity' (?), cf. eq-κεq. *a qḥ n p ḥtp-nṯr* IX. 17/16, 18/2, v. p. 244, note 2.

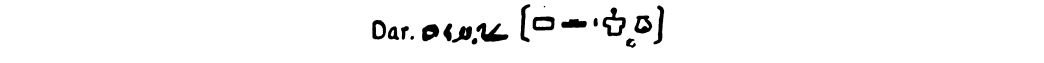
qḥy subst. fem. 'territory,' in place-n. *T-qḥy*, v. p. 233, note 13.



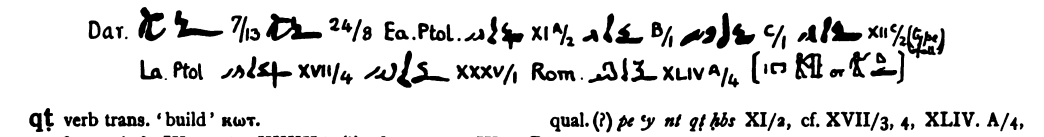
qs verb trans. 'bury' κωωc.
stm-f past ind. *qs-w s n te-f ḥ* IX. 10/10, cf. 14/4.
infin. *ʾ-te-w qs p ʿo-n-mr* IX. 10/9.



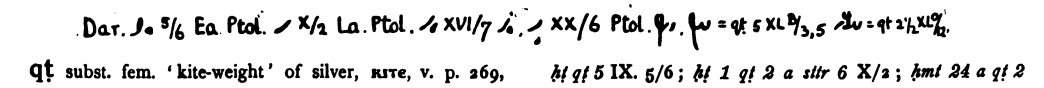
qs·t subst. fem. 'burial,' 'mummy' καιce. *n qs·w nt mte-y ḥr t ḫs n Zmʿ* XI/4; *te qs·t* XI/7.



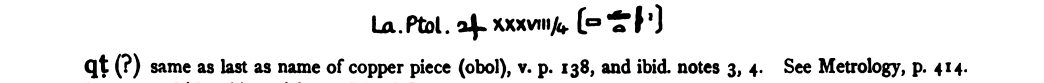
gs subst. 'stone' (?). *e na ʾBṭ ḫwy gs r-w* IX. 24/3 (poet.).



qṭ verb trans. 'build' κωτ.
stm-f past ind. IX. 24/7, XXXII/4 (?), dep. on *ṯy* IX. 7/11, 13, 8/7, 21/4.
infin. *n qṭ n me* IX. 24/8; *p he n qṭ* XXXV/1; *qṭ pr* IX. 24/8.
qual. (?) *pe ʿy nt qṭ ḫbs* XI/2, cf. XVII/3, 4, XLIV. A/4, B/5.
in place-n. *Ra-qṭ*.



qṭ subst. fem. 'kite-weight' of silver, κιτε, v. p. 269, note 2.
ḥṭ qṭ 5 IX. 5/6; *ḥṭ 1 qṭ 2 a stir 6* X/2; *ḥmt 24 a qṭ 2* XVI/7.



qṭ (?) same as last as name of copper piece (obol), v. p. 138, and ibid. notes 3, 4. See Metrology, p. 414.
(*n*) *ḥmt wṯḥ* (?) *qṭ* (?) *24* (*a*) *qṭ 2* XXXVIII/3, 4.

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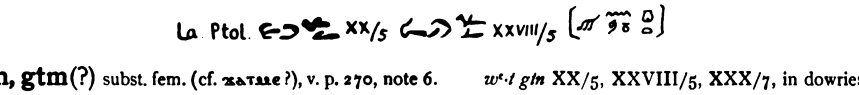
qṯy verb intr. 'circulate,' 'go round' (constr. with *n*) ⲕⲱⲧⲉ.
stm-f past indic. IX. 11/7; dep. on *ṯy* 16/10.
infin. IX. 25/7.

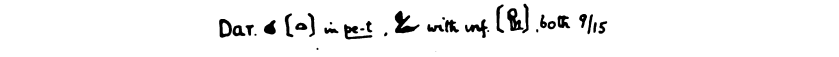
qṯy-w n p ḫl 2 IX. 11/7; *n t mˀe* 16/10; *ˀwṯ(?) ḥn·w-f* 25/7.
ⲁⲗⲡⲕⲱⲧⲉ *n p qṯy n p ˁy* IX. 11/12, 15, 12/12; *n pe-f qṯy* 7/12.

qṯy subst. 'type,' 'pattern' (cf. ϭⲟⲧ?). v. title *sḫ qṯy*.



gtn, gtm(?) subst. fem. (cf. ⲭⲁⲧⲁⲗⲉ?), v. p. 270, note 6. *wˁ·t gtn* XX/5, XXVIII/5, XXX/7, in dowries.

·t [𓊃] fem. ending *-e* : *-ı* : seldom written in Dar. except with adjectives.



-t pron. suffix 2nd fem. sing., with subst., pronouns, stm-f, infin., and prepos. *-e* : *-ı* : not always written; for Dar. see esp. 9/15, elsewhere [𓊃].

·t [𓏏] ending of qual., cf. Achm. ϩⲁⲗⲁⲥⲧ, Sah. ⲗⲉⲣⲓⲧ, ⲥⲁⲗⲟⲛⲧ, &c.
1 sing. v. **wy** (La. Ptol.).

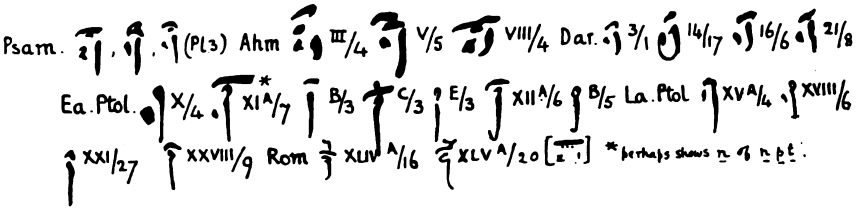
2 masc. *e-k ḥms·t n-k* IX. 9/10 (Dar.).
3 fem. v. **ˀy, ḫp** (Ahm., Dar.).
1 pl. v. **ˀy** (Dar.), **wy** (La. Ptol.).

t- [𓏏] stem of objective pronoun in 1 and 2 persons, beginning with verbs III inf. (?) in Dar., cf. **y**, and p. 220, note 10.
1 sing. *ṯ-f ḥ(-y)* IX. 20/6; *ˁrq(-y) ḥ(-y)* 12/16; *mḥ-k ṯ-y* XLV. A/6; imperat. *ṯ ḥ(-y)* IX. 9/14.
2 masc. *ḥs ṯ-k ḤY.* IX. 8/1; *mr(-y) ṯ-k* 20/6; *mḥ-y ṯ-k* XXXI/8.

2 fem. *ˀr(-y) ṯ-ṯ n ḥm·t* X/1, marriage form (3) on p. 268.
[1 pl. *mḥ-k ṯ-n*, cf. p. 280, note 2.]
(The independent pron. 1 sing. is spelt *ṯṯ* [𓏏𓊃] in *e mṯe ṯṯ* 'thine (fem.) am I' XI/7, v. p. 259, note 3.)

-t suff. 1 sing. after consonant -ⲧ.
only in Rom. *pḥ-ṯ* XLV. B/6, v. p. 302, note 12.

t fem. def. art. ⲧ-, v. p.



t subst. masc. 'land' ⲧⲟ : ⲫⲟ.
p ṯ rs IX. 1/2, 5/14, 6/1, 3, 5, 8–9, 7/6; *p ṯ Ḥr* IX. 3/16, 19, 14/17–22, 15/1, 2, 5, 7.
mṯ n p ṯ IX. 3/1, 2; *rm n p ṯ* 11/14, 16/5–6, 21/8; *rm mṯ*, &c., *nb n p ṯ* in legal documents I (Pl. 3, 4, 5), &c., et pass. to XLV, IX. 7/3; *nṯ nb n p ṯ tr-f* I (Pl. 6).
in ppr. n. *T-Ḥr-p-ṯ*: pl. *ṯ-w* in ppr. nn. *Pa-ṯ-w, Sm-ṯ-w*.

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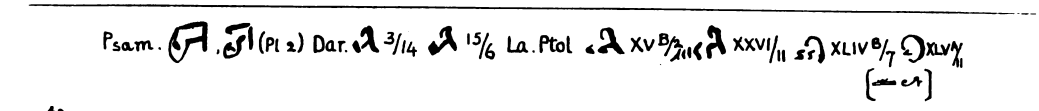


t' subst. fem. 'piece,' тое, v. p. 202, note 10.

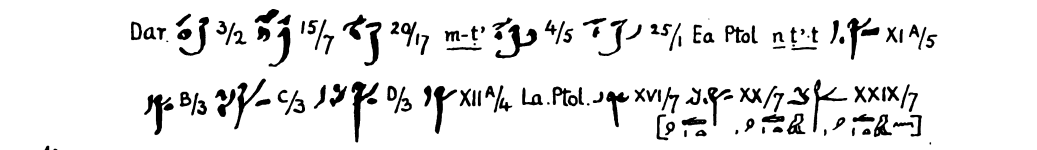
share of officials in temple revenues, cf. p. 45, note 3, *p 'ḥn . . . p sḫ-šn* I (Pl. 2); *p ḥn-ntr* IX. 3/14, 8/1, 2, 3, 9/12; *ny p·w* I (Pl. 5, 6); *ty p 3·t* I (Pl. 4, 6); *4·t p·w* IX. 15/6; *k·t t 16* 15/6.

'fraction' (of land) *p·t pš·t* XV. A, B/2, XXVI/11; *p·t 1/3·t* XIX/4.

'division' of Arsinoite nome *t p·t Ḥyrqy* XLIV. B/7, XLV. A/11.

'pieces' of metal, 'coins' *n p·w n n pr-ḥḏ·w n Pth* XVII/5.

'fragments' *'r-w pe-k n p·w sp-sn* IX. 24/8; not quite тото, v. p. 252, note 1.



ṭ' subst. fem. 'hand' те-, тоот=.

as independent noun:

with article: *ṭe-w tḫb-f a n p·w* IX. 15/7; *p nte te-f p ḫ* 24/2, 7; cf. *e p·w* (for *p·t-w?*) *ph* 24/12.

without article, or with suffix: *ṭy šp-w p n n w'b·w* IX. 20/17; *mḥ P. m-p n Ḥ.* 12/1, *n p n* 12/17, *n p·t-y* 20/6; *n rm nte p·t-w zr* 1/6.

in prepositional phrases:

n p n, m-p·n, n p·t-, m-p·t- нтеп-, нтоот=.

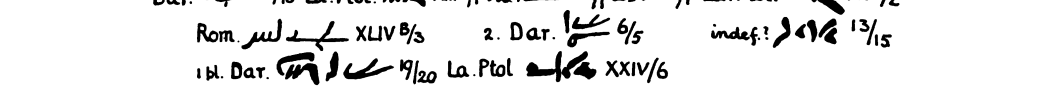
'in hand of,' 'with' *ḥ(-y) w'·t ḥḏ n zm' m-p·ḥ(-y)* IX. 4/5; *e wn ḥḏ 100 m-p·t-k* 15/19; *a·'n-t a pe 'y (n) p·t-t* marriage forms (7), (9) on p. 269: also *st m-p·t-k tm ṭy 'r-w* IX. 25/1: also *'r s mḥ ḫsf·t m-p·t-f* 15/8.

'from' *šp-y swn·t-w n p·t-k* sale form (6) on p. 256, marriage form (12) on p. 269; *šp sḫ n p' n N.* XVII/5; *a·'n-t n p·t-y e-ṭbe ḫḥ* XLIV. B/14.

'by,' 'through' *e·'r-f mw m-p·t-f* IX. 11/21; *e(-y) gr'·k m-p twn* 13/13, v. p. 236, note 5; *ꜥf m-p n* 16/3.

v. also above *m-ṭr* and *n-ṭe*.

ḫr p n Satен- 'under hands or direction of,' 'in care of' *n syn·w* IX. 3/2; *p 'o-n-mr* 10/15.



ṭe-, te- stem of pronominal prefixes, 1st pres., v. p. 226, note 18.

1 sing. *te-y* ⸗-: *te-y* (*ṭe-y*) *'y·k* IX. 2/5, 4/18, 20, 5/12; *'y·k n ms* 5/20, 10/13, 17; *n·'y·k* 5/4; *rḫ p ḫp* 13/11; *wy·k* in cessions XIII/1, XV. B/2; *wy·t* XIV/1; *ww* XLIV. B/3.

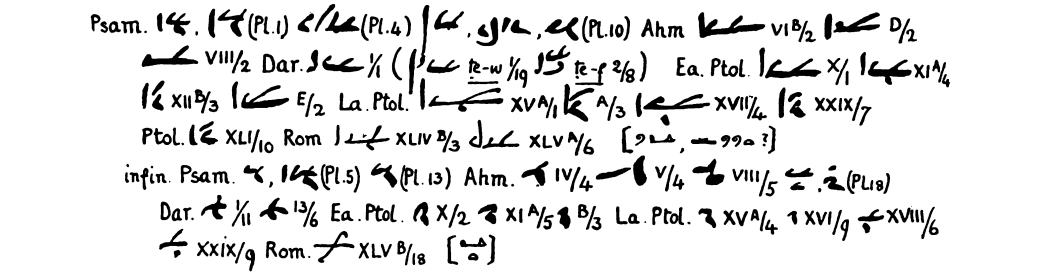
2 masc. *te-k* ⸗к-: *ṭe-k mšṭe* IX. 6/5; *rḫ p ḫp* 8/1; *'n-ṭe-k rḫ p ḫp* 17/4, v. p. 229, note 10.

[3 masc. *e-f* (?) ⸗ф-, 3 fem. *st* (*e-s ?*) ⸗т qq.v.]

indef. (?) *te-t*: *'n te-t rḫ p ḫp* IX. 13/15, v. p. 236, note 8.

1 plur. *te-n* ⸗н-: *te-n 'y·t* IX. 19/20; *wy·t* XXXIII/4; *wwe* XXIV/6.

[3 plur. *st* ce- q.v.]



ṭe infin. **ṭy** verb trans. 'give,' 'place,' 'cause' ⸗.

stm-f past ind. passim dep. on *ṭy* IX. 12/12, 20/20, &c.; final *ṭe-y mt-f* 12/4; optative *'y ṭe 'Mn qy pe-f 'ḥ* 1/1, 5/13; relative *a·ṭe* 2/6, &c. (*a·ṭe-y* appears to be written once *a ṭy* IV/4, p. 210, note 14).

imperat. v. **my**.

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infin. *ỉy* passim : takes object-pronouns, v. p. 211, note 3, p. 231, note 10 ; 3 masc. sing. *ỉy s* IX. 9/14, 13/6, 7, 24/11, sale form (14) on p. 256 ; 3 fem. sing. *ỉy s* IX. 8/12, 17/14 (where spelt like ⲉⲓⲥ, p. 243, note 15) ; 3 pl. *ỉy st* IX. 18/5, VIII/7. The other persons not found.

'give' with *n* of recipient. Of giving daughter in marriage IX. 8/12.

'put' with *a* of place IX. 1/5 ; *ỉe-f rm s 2 m-s-y* IX. 1/18 ; *ỉy ʿnḫ m-s-ỉ* marriage form (17) on p. 269 ; *p ʿḥ rỉ nỉ e-w a ỉy-s m-s-ỉ* sale form (14) on p. 256.

'cause,' as causative followed by stm-f : the dependent verb often has passive or intransitive meaning, p. 227, note 18.

v. ppr. nn. *Pa-ỉe*, *P-a-ỉe-*, *T-a-ỉe-*, v. p. 192 : *'S-*, *'Ḥ-*, *Tḫwỉ-e-'r-ỉy-s*, v. p. 203, note 27, p. 211, note 3.

tes, te-s. v. **tys** 'lo!'

Dar. 3/12 9/10 La. Ptol. XXXVI 1/3

ty adv. 'here' ⲧⲁⲓ, v. p. 219, note 7.

ʿnḫ ⟨'Mn⟩ nt ḫỉp ỉy IX. 1/4, XXXVI/3 ; *ỉy n ⟨Te-w-sy⟩* IX. 8/10, 9/10, 12, 16, 10/8 ; *ỉy* 3/12, 4/12, 6/13, 14, 8/10.

Dar. 3/11 8/9 La. Ptol. XVI/6

tys, te-s interj. 'behold!' ⲉⲓⲥ : the same group written for **ṭy-s** 'give it' IX. 17/14, v. p. 219, note 8, p. 243, note 15.

followed by circumstantial *e* IX. 3/11, 18, 19, 6/12, 17, 9/9 : by nominal sentence with circumstantial *e* 1/4 : do. without *e* 8/9, 13, 9/12 : introducing descriptive heading *ỉys p wn ne-ỉ nḳ·w* marriage form (7) on p. 269 : after an emphasized word taken out of its sentence, which follows without *e*, *ny wʿb·w te-s ỉe N. 'r-w n-w ḥp* IX. 3/11.

Dar. 1/4

tw subst. masc. 'breath' ⲧⲏⲩ.

wz ỉe-ḳ tw IX. 1/4, 12/7 ; *wz p tw n* (title) 12/5, 20/13, v. p. 65, note 7.

v. names *Pe-f-ỉw-ʿw-* and p. 206, note 49.

Dar. La. Ptol.

ṭw, ṭww subst. masc. 'rock,' 'mountain,' 'gebel' ⲧⲟⲟⲩ.

'mnỉ p ṭw XXIV/9 ; figurative *ỉe-w p ṭw n ḥỉ-w* IX. 25/5, v. p. 253, note 10.

Dar. 4/4

ṭwe subst. 'morning,' 'morrow,' Boh. ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ. *ḫp ṭwe* IX. 4/4, 11/6 ; *e-'r ṭwe ḫp* 18/13 ; *ỉs ṭwe* 11/5.

twn 2nd pl., variant (faulty ?) of **tnw**, q. v.

Dar.

ṭwn verb trans. 'raise' ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲛ. refl. *e-'r-w ṭwn-w a syḫyḫ* IX. 24/17.

Dar. 7/18 18/22 (7/17 omits determ.)

twt subst. masc. 'statue' ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ. IX. 7/14, 17, 18, 16/7, 8, 9, 18/20, 21, 22.

twt verb (?), v. ppr. n. *Twỉ*.

Dar.

ṭb subst. 'sandal' (?), used in prepositional phrase (ϱⲓ-) ⲧⲟⲩ(-ⲛ), (ϱⲓ)-ⲟⲟⲩⲱⲥ, v. p. 222, note 9.

wʿ mkỉl 's e-f ḫr ṭb n p sb n ḥ-ntr IX. 2/14.

Dar.

ṭb subst. 'brick' ⲧⲱⲃⲉ.

ỉe-n 'r-w ppy ṭb IX. 21/4.

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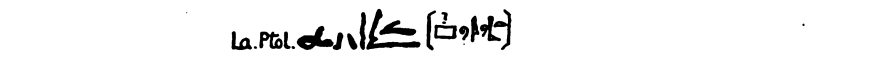
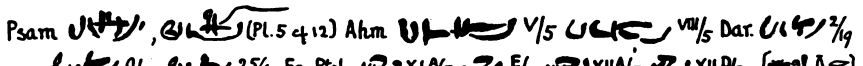


tbe subst. fem. 'box'(?) тнѣе, v. p. 289, note 3. *tbe 320-t* XXXV/4.



ṯb 'exchange,' &c.

(1) in *(e)ṯbe* 'avenger,' 'vengeance'(?), cf. петѣе: v. p. 253, note 13.

b ʾr ʾMn gʾ n (e)ṯbe IX. 25/6.

(2) in preposition **e-ṯbe** (for *a ṯbe*) 'in exchange for,' 'because of,' 'for' етѣе : етѣнт-, v. p. 222, note 17 : with suffixes *e-ṯb-i-s* II (Pl. 12), v. p. 208, note 6; *e-ṯb-s* VIII/5, 7; *e-ṯb-tn* (for *-i-n*) V/5; *e-ṯb-i-* regularly in IX and later (IX. 2/19, 4/6, 7, 8, 7/4, sale form (10) on p. 256, &c., XLV. A/19, B/21).

'in exchange for' *aʾn-y e-ṯb ḥṯ* XV. A/2, B/3; so also XLIV. B/14: cf. the expressions *sḫ e-ṯb ḥṯ* cession form (11) on p. 257, XLIV. B/15; *nb e-ṯb ḥṯ* XVII/5, v. p. 274, note 2, cf. VIII/7.

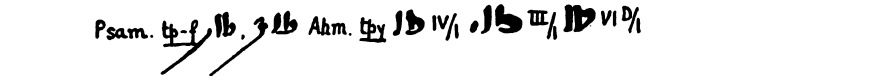
'on account of,' 'concerning' *ʾy e-ṯb ny rʾw* I (Pl. 5), cf. V/5, VIII/5, sale form (10) on p. 256; *e-ṯb ʾḫ* IX. 9/15; *e-ṯb ḫp e* 18/7.

ṯbʿ (?) (rather **ṯb**) verb 'recompense,' 'repay' тωωѣе.

ṯe-k ṯbʿ(?)-w ne-w bk-w IX. 24/15; *ṯe-k ṯbʿ-w p mwṯ n mne n p nṯ . . .* 24/16.

ṯbn 'teben-weight.' See Metrology, p. 414.

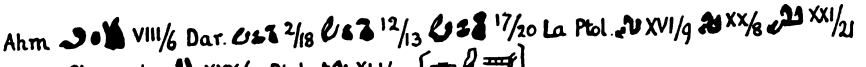
ḥṯ wiḫ (?) *ṯbn*, apparently so fully in XVI/7, 8, XX/6, 7; like *ḥṯ wiḫ qṯ 1* XX/6, 7.



tp 'head,' as prepos. 'for self'(?).

a(?) *sḫ N. . . . tp-f* I. A/8, 9 (Pl. 8), v. p. 46, note 11, p. 205, note 37.

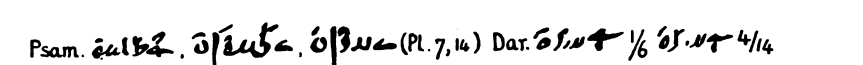
cf. adjective in title *ḫn-nṯr tp*(*y*) (p. 428).



tm neg. part. before infinitive тан-.

inf. as subject *p phʾw eʾr ḫp tm rḫ ty* IX. 17/20; *a tm* 4/14, 12/14, 16, marriage form (16) on p. 269; *m-s tm* IX. 5/12, v. p. 225, note 13; *rḫ tm* 2/18, 12/13; condit. *e-y tm* VIII/6 (twice), XXI/21, XLI/5; *eʾr-y tm* IX. 1/14.

tm in divine n. *Nfr-tm*.



ṯme, ṯmy subst. masc. 'village,' 'town' тнне.

n ḫ-nṯr n sḫ n p ṯme I (Pl. 2), cf. IX. 1/6–9, 11–13, 2/19; *pe ṯme* IX. 4/14; *ṯmy n Sbk* XLIV. B/6; *ṯme Sbk* XLV. A/10.

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Dar.

tms verb trans. 'bury' ταλλε. imperat. pl. *tms·w ne-tn ḫwʿ·w ḫn-w* IX. 11/5.

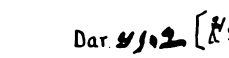
Dar

tmgy subst. 'hard (?) stone' from Elephantine (?). v. p. 229, note 2. *n šwe n twt 2 n tmgy* IX. 7/14; *ṯmgy* 7/17; *ʾny tmgy* 18/20.

-tn suffix pron. 2 pl. with stm-f, some subst., pronouns stm-f and prepos. 'ye,' 'you' -τιι: not with infin., v. *tnw*. sometimes falsely written for *·t-n* 1 pl., e.g. *ʾ·tn* for *ʾ·t-n*.

Ptol. XLI/7.9

tn subst. used as preposition 'at the rate of,' v. p. 296, note 4, SPIEGELBERG, *Pap. Reinach*, p. 184, note 18; possibly to be read 'n, compare *ʾy n* s.v. *ʾy* 'come.'
tn ʾrḫ sw 5 a st 1 yḫ XLI/3, 7; *tn sw 20* XLI/9.

Dar 

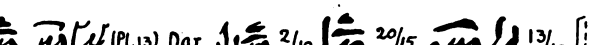
tn adv. interr. 'where?' τωπ.
e-f tn pe-f šr IX. 15/4 (with prefix of 2nd pres. as in Coptic, cf. Boh. ⲁϥⲫⲱⲛ ⲡⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲓ).

La. Ptol

tn, tny verb trans. 'honour,' v. p. 273, note 1, p. 142, note 7.
p nṯr a·tn yṯ-f XVII/1, &c.; *a·tny* XXV. A/19, B/passim.

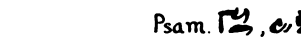
La. Ptol.

ṯnʾ subst. 'basket,' v. p. 285, note 6. *fy ṯnʾ nb m-bḫ ʾRsyn* XVI/2, 4, &c. = καν(η)φόρος.

Psam. (Pl. 13) Dar. 

tnw pronoun 2nd pl. 'you' τηνοϒ, object after stm-f: *nḫṯ(·y) tnw* 17/4.
used with infin. instead of suffix: *ṯ tnw* II (Pl. 13), IX. 20/15; *ʾn tnw* 20/15; *ʾrq tnw* 20/16; *ḫtb tnw* 2/18.
used with subst. instead of suffix; the form here varies **tn, tnw, twn**: *ḫt tnw* II (Pl. 13, seven copies *ḫtnw*, one *ḫt-twn*, three *ḫt-tn*, v. p. 210, note 5); *m-ḫ twn* IX. 13/13, cf. τηϒτη (?).

ṭr. v. **m-ṭr, ṭ**ʾ.

Psam.  (Pl 6) Dar

ṭr subst. 'boundary,' used with suffix as preposition 'to (its) limit,' 'in (its) entirety,' τηρ-.
p ṭ ṭr-f I (Pl. 6); *p ʾy ṭr-f* XI/4; *p yḫ ṭr-f* XIX/5: cf. sale and cession forms (3) on pp. 256, 257.
n ḫl·w ṭr-w IX. 9/15, cf. 13/4; *st ḫp ṭr-w* 6/21, cf. 7/2, 9; *mtr-w ṭr-w* 7/3.

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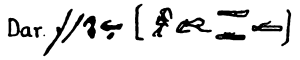
La. Ptol

ṭre (ṭle ?) subst. fem., v. p. 269, note 7. *wˁ·t ṭre* XVI/7.

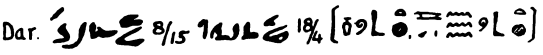
La. Ptol

ṭrt subst. masc. 'staircase,' 'terrace,' 'floor' v. p. 273, note 8, τωρτ.
wˁ ṭrt ḫry ḫry XVII/3, 4.

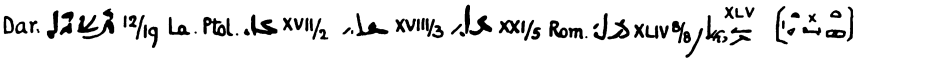
tltl (?). v. ppr. n. *P-tltl* (cf. τλτιλε ?).

Dar. 

ṭḫr adj. 'sad' (?), cf. τωϱρ.
ʾḥ n mṭ ṭḫr·t [t]y IX. 12/10.

Dar. 

ṭḫb verb trans. 'anoint.'
ṭḫb-w s n šin IX. 8/15; *ṭe-w ṭḫb-f a n ṭˀ·w* 15/7; *ṭḫb-f a ʾḫ-mne* 18/4–5, v. p. 97, note 1, p. 238, note 5.

Dar. 

tš subst. masc. 'nome,' 'province' τοω.
p tš n Ḫmn IX. 12/21; *Ḫ-nn-stn* 19/13; *Ḥr-ṭy* 12/15, 21; *Pr-Mze* 8/4, 12/15, 20–21; *Ne* 8/16, in protocol XVI/2, &c.; *p tš ʾRsyne* (c. varr.) XLIV. B/8, XLV. A/11–12, B/10.
py tš IX. 7/4; *n p tš* 8/5, 10/8.
n sḫ·w n tš IX. 7/1; *sḫ n tš n Ne T-šṭ-rs* XVII/2.

tš subst. 'neighbour,' in ppr. nn. *Tš*, *Tše-nfr*.

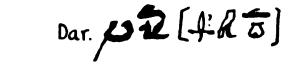
Ahm.

ṭšry adj. fem. [masc. *ṭš*] 'red.' *ʾḥ ṭšry* VIII/2, v. p. 216, note 5.

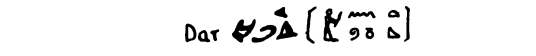
tg verb 'plant' τωϭ, v. **mtg** (?).

La. Ptol

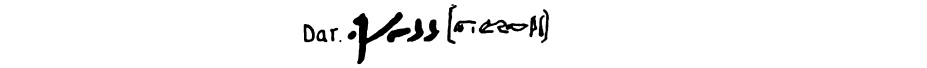
tk, tkm (?) 'fruit' (?) (cf. ϯϭe gourd), perhaps the same as the next.
hrnt (?) *šs* (?) *tk* XXVI/13, v. p. 283, note 9.

Dar. 

ṭgm subst. 'castor-oil.'
ḥn ṭgm 200 IX. 16/18.

Dar 

ṭqn (?) verb 'govern' (?).
e-f rḫ ṭqn (?) *n rn-s* IX. 6/3, v. p. 226, note 15.

Dar. 

tkr subst. 'eunuch' (?): the det. however may be .

p tkr n Ḥl-Ḫns IX. 16/17, title of Harkhêbi, v. p. 242, note 22.

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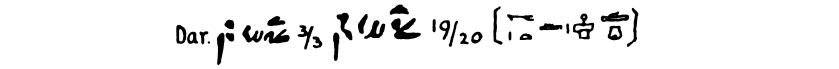
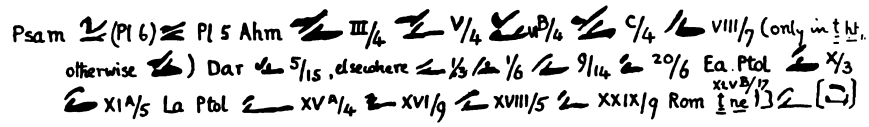
Dar. 3/3 19/20



tgs subst. masc. 'boat,' v. p. 220, note 11.
ʿl a wʿ tgs n ḫr ḫ IX. 3/3; *ḫn tgs 2* 19/20: also 11/13, 18/13, and cf. 1/14.

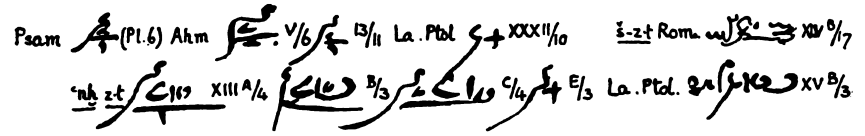


Psam (Pl 6) Pl 5 Ahm III/4 V/4 B/4 C/4 VIII/7 (only in ṯ ḥt, otherwise) Dar 5/15, elsewhere 1/3 1/6 9/14 20/6 Ea. Ptol X/3 XI A/5 La Ptol XV A/4 XVI/9 XVIII/5 XXIX/9 Rom XLV B/17 ṯ ne

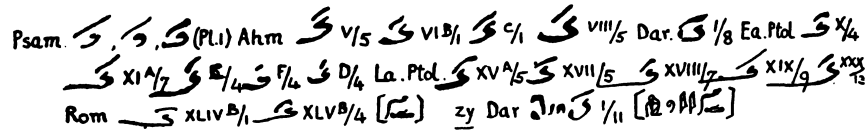
ṯ verb trans. 'take' ϫⲓ.
stm-f past ind. IX. 4/1, 4; *ṯ-f t-y a wy* 20/6; dep. on *my* 7/5; relative *a-ṯ-w a ḫry* XL. A–H passim.
imper. *ṯ t(-y) a Ne* IX. 9/14.
infin. *p gy n ṯ-t-s* IX. 4/3, cf. 3/18; *ṯ-t-k* I (Pl. 6) IX. 1/14; *ṯ tnw* II (Pl. 13); *ṯ-t-w* XXXIV/6; *nt ṯ n te-k tʾ* IX. 15/15, 17, v. p. 240, note 5; *ṯ ḥt*, v. **ḥt**.
cf. *ṯ-bsn* 'engraver' IX. 7/15, 16; ppr. n. *T-Ḥr-p-t*.

ṯ in (*n*) *ṯ* (*n*) 'from,' 'since' ϫⲓⲛ : ⲓⲥ-ϫⲉⲛ : F. ⲛϫⲓⲛ : *ṯ ne p-hw* in XLV. A/20, B/17 = Sah. ϫⲓⲛⲉ, v. p. 302, note 11; Stern, § 567.
of time: (*n*) *ṯ* (*n*) *ḥ-sp-t 21 a ḥry* I (Pl. 4), sim. VI (Pl. 18), VII/3; *n ṯ ḥ-sp* &c. III/4, V/4, VIII/3; *n t n p-hw* IX. 1/6; *p ss n ḫp* IX. 4/3; *ʾbṭ 7 a p[-hw]* 5/1, cf. 16/1; *n ṯ* (*n*) *p-hw a ḥry* XXXVI/17, sale and cession form (9) on pp. 256, 257; with infin. *n ṯ n ʾr ḥn-ntr* IX. 1/3; *n ṯ n wy . . . a-ʾr-w* 7/5.
of other relations: *n ṯ n ḫrṭ-w rm nb p t* I (Pl. 5); *ṯ rm nb n p t* V/5.

Z 'chick,' 'child,' in ppr. nn. *Z-wr* (fem.), *T-nfr* (masc.).



Psam (Pl. 6) Ahm V/6 13/11 La. Ptol XXXII/10 š-z-t Rom. XLV B/17 ʿnḫ z-t XIII A/4 B/3 C/4 E/3 La. Ptol. XV B/3



z·t subst. 'eternity.'
šʿ z-t I (Pl. 6), II (Pl. 13), IV/5, V/2, 5, 6, VI (Pl. 17, 18), VII/3, 5, VIII/3, IX. 13/11, XXXII/10; *š-z-t* XLV. A/19, 20, B/17; *Pr-ʿo* &c. *ʿnḫ z-t* XIII/4, 5, XV. A/2, B/3, v. p. 127, note 4.

Psam (Pl. 1) Ahm V/5 VI B/1 C/1 VIII/5 Dar. 1/8 Ea. Ptol X/4 XI A/7 E/4 F/4 D/4 La. Ptol. XV A/5 XVII/5 XVIII/7 XIX/9 XXX/12 Rom XLIV B/1 XLV B/4 zy Dar 1/11

Z verb trans. 'say,' 'tell' ϫⲱ: in some forms written **zy**.
stm-f (for 1 sing. see below): past ind. IX passim: at beginning of legal documents = λέγει passim, v. p. 256, note 1: dep. on *my* IX. 6/2: relative (ⲡ-ⲉϫⲉ-) *n mṭ a-z n-y N.* 4/5, cf. 6/20.
imperative *e-z e-zy* ⲁϫⲓ-, see below.
infinitive *z* passim: with suffix *zt-s*, cf. Boh. ϫⲟⲧⲟⲩ, see below.
participle, of persons, second name *N. z-t n-f M.* 'called M.' XII. H/5, XVII/3, 5; *N. zy-t n-f M.* XV. B/4 (cf. ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ for the form?): contrast, of a place *nt e-w z n-f p-šy* XVII/3, also of a man's title *p mr-pr-ḥṭ n ʾMn p nt e-w zt-f n-f* IX. 8/6.
'tell' *ny szy nt e-k z nʾm-w* IX. 4/1: in legal phrase 'cite' document against opponent *ʾt z qnb nb . . . erme-k* VIII/10 and later passim at end of legal documents: *pe-k ʾr n z* 'thine opponent' IX. 15/18, v. p. 240, note 10.
e-f z introducing direct oration explanatory of action, IX. 1/14, 5/4, 13/20, 14/1: so also *e-w z* 2/13, 15; *e-tn z* 2/17.
note the idiom in inquiring wishes, *ʾḫ p nt e-k z e-ʾr-s* IX. 15/13; *mṭ nfr-t e-k z my ʾr-w s n-y* 8/16; cf. 10/12; also *p sry nt e-k z my ḥn-w s n-f* 10/3.

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In IX, stm-f 1 sing. is written (for distinction from the common ⲁⲉ) *sy* (for *s-y*) with det. 𓀀: 1/11, 16, 19, 3/14, 4/7, 5/1, 17/16, 20/4, except perhaps in *s(-y ?) n-ỉn* 13/7, cf. *s-y n-ỉn* 13/6.

The imperative is written *e-sy* with det. 𓀀 ⲁⲁⲱ(?):—*e-sy my n-y* 6/12; *e-sy my* 11/3; or *e-s*:—*e-s my n-y* 10/3, 1/10; in constr. *e-s* ⲁⲁⲓ-:—*e-s wˁ-t ỉˁ* 9/16; and with pronoun e-*s s* ⲁⲁⲓⲥ:—*e-s s* 16/5, and the instructions to a messenger are given in the form *e-s s n-w s* (ⲁⲉ) followed by or. dir., 12/16, 16/20, cf. I Kham. V/8.

The infinitive (with suffix *sỉ-f* IX. 8/6; *sỉ-s* 11/1, cf. Boh. ϩⲟⲧⲟϥ, v. p. 227, note 8) may take a neuter (fem.) suffix, followed by *s* (ⲁⲉ-) introducing an actual quotation in oratio directa:—*ỉ-e-wnee-w sỉ-s s ỉ s ḫw-ỉ . . . ỉe* IX. 6/15; *wne b ʾr-ỉn sỉ-s n-y s ḫr ỉe-n ỉe-f* 7/4: compare *rḫ ỉ nỉ e P. s nʾm-s s* 10/17, and contrast 19/12.

s as conjunction 'saying,' 'namely' ⲁⲉ: written *a s* V/5, VIII/5, v. p. 212, note 1: introduces direct oration after words of speech ᶜš, *smy*, &c., but not after *s* (except to explain the pronominal object of *s* as above, and also in *n e-ʾr s n-k s* 18/7).

note also *ḫr-f ny s n-y* 'he spake thus, namely to me,' or *s(-y) n-y* 'I said to myself' 4/10: cf. *s n-ỉn* 'namely (?) to you' 13/7, or *s(-y?)*. With direct oration also after many other verbs *ỉ* 'go' 3/8, 11; ʾ*w* 11/7, 17, &c.

explanatory with indirect oration:—after *e-ʾr-s ḫp* ⲁⲥⲙⲱⲛⲉ IX. 20/7; 'because' corresponding to *e-ỉb* in previous sentence *e-ʾr-f ỉy mḥy-w n, s* 4/7, cf. 4/14.

Ea. Pt. XI A/3 B/2 C/2 D/2 XII C/3

sy subst. fem. 'wall' ⲥⲟ : ⲥⲟⲓ. *e ỉe-f sy ʾmnỉ (n) ʾr n-y sy bk-ỉ* XI/3, XII/3.

sy. v. s 'say.'

swf subst. 'papyrus' ⲥⲟⲟⲩϥ in ppr. n. *Swf-ʾḫy*.

swz subst. masc. in ppr. n. *P-rm-p-swz*.

Dar. 16/5

Ahm IV/3 Dar

sf verb intr. 'burn,' 'be angry,' v. p. 242, note 3.

qual. *e(-y) sf-k n pe-k ᶜš s-ḫne e-ỉb-�ỉ-s* IX. 20/8; *e p mr yḫ sf m-ỉˁ n Ḥ.* 16/3.

infin. *mỉ ee-fa sf nʾm-s* IX. 16/5.

smᶜ subst. masc. 'papyrus roll' ⲥⲱⲱⲁⲉ.

p smᶜ et sim. IX. 2/3, 3/9, 14/9, 17/7; *wˁ-ỉ ḫỉ n smᶜ* 2/1, 3/10; *ᶜš p smᶜ* 2/2; *ṗy smᶜ e-ʾr-ỉn n-y* 18/6; *ṗy smᶜ bk* IV/1, 4, v. p. 210, note 11; *smᶜ ʾs(?)* IV/3, v. p. 210, note 12.

Dar.

sr in *n-sr* verb 'be grown,' possibly connected with the next, v. p. 224, note 3.

ḫỉ 2 n Ḥ. e n-sr-w IX. 11/6.

Dar 19/12, 19/20

srʾ verb intr. 'be fastened,' 'shackled' (cf. ⲥⲱⲱⲣⲉ ϩϧⲗ, ⲥⲉⲣⲉ- . . . ϩϧⲗ ἐμποδίζειν ?), v. p. 219, note 17.

stm-f after *ỉy* ⲧⲁⲥⲣⲟ 'fasten' *ỉe N. srʾ pe-s ᵗy aḫr-s* IX. 11/10, v. p. 233, note 14.

infin. *a srʾ ḫỉ-w* IX. 24/10; *pe-k srʾ* 19/3, v. p. 245, note 7.

qual.(?) *n rm nỉe pˁ-ỉ-w srʾ n ṗy ỉm* IX. 1/6; *e-w srʾ* 19/12, 18, 20.

La. Ptol. XV A/2

slᶜ subst. masc. 'shore,' 'boundary-stone' (?), v. p. 265, note 15; cf. note 41, and Spieg., *Pap. Eleph.*, I, p. 7.

p slᶜ mḫỉ ỉ my n Ḥ-ỉ-Ḥr XV. A/2, B/3.

stᵊ v. s 'say.'

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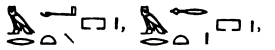
Dar

zṯḥ. verb trans. 'imprison.' *zṯḥ-w n n wˁ·t s n ḥ-nṯr* IX. 2/7.

La Ptol.

zz subst. 'head' ⲭⲉ-, ⲭⲱ-.
ḥr zz p ḫtm = επανω της πυλης XVII/3, v. p. 273, note 5. ϩⲓⲭⲉⲛ-.
a zz n ʾwˁ·w XXXVI/6 'concerning'(?), v. p. 289, note 11. ⲉⲭⲉⲛ-.

The following words of uncertain reading are here collected in the order of their occurrence in the papyri :—

Psam. Pl. 2. *na mr*(?)-ˁ·*ı*(?) written perhaps  , &c.
v. Titles, p. 427.

Ahm.

perhaps reads *ʾs* or *ḫsb*, v. p. 210, note 12.
smˁ ʾs(?) *s*[*mˁ my*?] IV/3–4.

Ahm.

cf. group VIII/7 below: perhaps (*e-f ṯy n-k*) *ḥṯ ỉbn 20 qṯ* $\frac{5}{8}$ IV/5, v. p. 211, note 1.

Ahm.

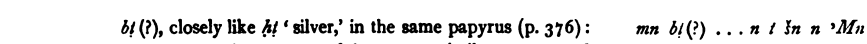
(*e-ỉb*) *ṯy* . . . (?) V/2 ; for the last group compare the det. of *k* 'bull' and *ms* 'bull-calf' in VIII. also the group below IX. 21/8, v. p. 211, note 7.

Ahm.

v. p. 216, note 1.

Ahm.

cf. group IV/5 above.

Dar. 

bṯ(?), closely like *ḥṯ* 'silver,' in the same papyrus (p. 376): *bṯ*, ϩωτε ολυρα, is represented by a very similar group, and is probably to be identified with this. In 11/5–7 the priestly youths are bidden to hide their sticks in the ϩωτε, and afterwards when attacking they take them out of the *bṯ*(?). But this *bṯ*(?) may be a distinct word from *bṯ*, with a more general sense, and may perhaps be read *ỉs* 'corn'; v. p. 219, note 9, and see the group below X/2 (p. 412).

mn bṯ(?) . . . *n ṯ šn n ʾMn* IX. 1/4 ; pl. *pš n bṯ*(?) &c. 11/6–7.
bṯ(?) *4,000* . . . *40*(?) *n p šm n ṯy my* IX. 16/12.
also 16/13, 18/3.
Note that the wedge-shaped sign following the group in 1/4 may be read separately as a measure (p. 414).

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Dar. 1/5

a fem. word for 'granary,' possibly *šn* ϣⲉⲩⲛⲓ, cf. p. 219, note 10.

mn bṭ(?) *n t šn*(?) *n ʾMn* IX. 1/5; *ʾr-f nb n t šn*(?) *ṭe-f fy·w ḥṭ nb a·gm-f n t šn n n pr·w* 16/13.

Dar. 1/5

subst. masc. (?) *šnʿ* (?).
wḫ ḥṭ a ms a ty a p ḫre n p šnʿ (?) (or *n ẖr ʿ* ?) IX. 1/5.

Dar. 1/11

v. p. 220, note 6.

Dar. 1/12

v. p. 220, note 7.

Dar. 4/4 . 16/1

reading perhaps *hn*: *a hn* (?) *a* 'down to' of time, v. p. 224, note 6.

a hn (?) *a p-hw* IX. 4/4; *a hn* (?) *a ḥ-sp 44* 21/7.
n ṯ n ḥ-sp 1 . . . a hn (?) *a ḥ-sp 15* IX. 16/1.

Dar. 8/9 8/10 15/4 20/14

pe-f q-ḥry (?) 'his exalted highness (?)' used in respectful address instead of 2nd person: to Peteêsi I (assistant to the governor of Pterês) IX. 8/9–11, 9/9, 17, 12/10, 11, 13, 13/2, 9–11, 19; to the governor of Hnês 15/3, 4, 20/5, 14.

Dar. 11/12

'soldiers,' plural word, reading perhaps *gl-šr·w*, v. p. 233, note 17.
n gl-šr·w (?) *n T-Qḥy* IX. 11/12.

Dar. 11/21 12/10

. . *yr*, possibly *ḥyr*, cf. ϩⲟⲉⲓⲣⲉ, stercus, v. p. 234, note 10, p. 235, note 1.
bn-p ne-k . . yr sim z IX. 11/21 (*ne-k . . yr* also in *Corpus Louvre*, 21); *eʾr pe-f q-ḥry* (?) (corrected? over line to *n . . yr*) *ty hb n-y N.* IX. 12/10; to read *te-k* and *t* fem. sing. is hardly possible. The meaning is very uncertain.

Dar. 12/7

ḥrt (?), cf. ϩⲟⲣⲧϥ visio, v. p. 234, note 14.
ḥrt-k ar-k IX. 12/7.

Dar. 14/13

perhaps only det. of *nb* 'gold' in *wʿ·t glt n nb* IX. 14/13.

Dar. 15/16

in an account perhaps 'total' *a mḥ* (?) or *a ṭbn* v. p. 240, note 8; cf. also below, IX. 16/18.
ḥṭ 5 . . . ke ḥṭ 5 a mḥ (?) *ḥṭ 10* IX. 15/16.

Dar. 16/12 17/18

the group below, IX. 17/15, is probably the same as this.
bṭ (?) *4,000 . . . . 40* (?) *n p šm* IX. 16/12; *bṭ 33 . . . . 40* (?) *e-w šp . . . ẖr hw* 17/18.

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Dar. 16/15

verb 'petition' (?), reading perhaps *ḫḥ*.
rm e-f ḫḥ (?) *a Pr-ᶜo . . . pe* IX. 16/15.

Dar. 16/18

corn-measure, reading perhaps *ʾrỉb, ἀρτάβη*.
ʾrỉb (?) *bỉ 600 ḥn ṯgm 200*, &c. IX. 16/18.

Dar. 16/18

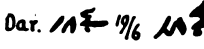
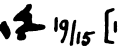
after enumeration of items 'all the above,' 'namely,' before stating the general application, the same word as *ṯmỉ* (?) in X/2 &c. (p. 412): cf. also the group 15/16 above.
after enumerating items *ṯmỉ* (?) *n pe-f ḥtp ḫr rnp·t* IX. 16/18.

Dar. 17/2

probably reading *w*, cf. p. 243, note 8.
p yḫ w (?) IX. 17/2.

Dar. 17/15

apparently the same as 16/12 above, with the initial ligatured.
bỉ 20 . . . . 40 a st 1 yḫ IX. 17/15.
It may perhaps be transcribed as . . . The land on the island was thus estimated to be worth 20 of these 40-*khar* (?)-measures per arura. That the *khar*-measure was in use in the Saite age is shown by the inscription of the adoption of Nitokri, l. 24, and in papyri.

Dar.  19/6  19/15

in title *mr ᶜ* (?) IX. 19/1, &c.

Dar. 20/9

the initial may be a vertical stroke broken later.
ḥỉ 10 . . ᵖ (?) IX. 20/9.

Dar. 21/8

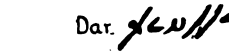
'ration,' 'fee,' or the like: possibly *ᶜq* (?), v. p. 247, note 5, and the group below XV. A/2 (p. 412).
bn-p-w ỉy ỉ-w n-f ᶜq (?) *1* (or *ᶜq·w ỉ*) IX. 21/8.

Dar. 24/3

perhaps *m-ᵓr* vetitive.
e na Ḥn-Mn m-ᵓr (?) (*ᶜỉ-w*) IX. 24/3, v. p. 251, note 8.

Dar.

the first letter may be *p* according to the original, v. p. 251, note 20: the next sign may perhaps be only determinative.
e pe-k (*ᶜy*) *n ps* (?) (or *n ps qỉ pr* ?) IX. 24/8.

Dar. 

probably to be read *ḫrr*, possibly an abbreviation for 'destroy.'
e-w a ḫrr (?) *e pe-k s·mn* IX. 24/9.

Dar. 24/14

probably *rᶜ nḥ* IX. 24/14, v. p. 252, note 14.

Dar. 24/14

verb (?) *e ḥ ᵓr-w ḫryr* (?) *n-w* IX. 24/14, v. p. 252, note 15.

Dar. 25/5

e ᵓr-k ḫrš n ne-w . . . w m-ḥḳ-w IX. 25/5.

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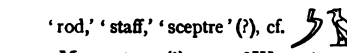
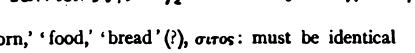
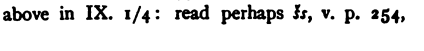
Dar.

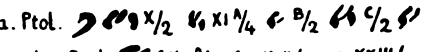
'rod,' 'staff,' 'sceptre' (?), cf.  , and v. p. 253, note 14.
'Mn mn t m³·t (?) *m-ḥ·t-f* IX. 25/7.

Ea. Ptol.  La. Ptol Ptol 

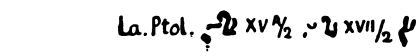
'boti,' 'corn,' 'food,' 'bread' (?), σιτος: must be identical with *bḫ* (?) above in IX. 1/4: read perhaps *ỉs*, v. p. 254, note 8.
ỉs (?) . . 6 *ḫr ḥw* X/2 (see the next word); *pe-t ỉs* (?) *ḫbs* X/2; *ẖy nt 'r ỉs* (?) XV. A/1, B/2 = γη σιτοφορος in docket; *ḥrnt* (?) *ỉs* (?) *tk* XXVI/13: cf. the group in XXXIII/5.

Ea Ptol

in *ỉs* (?) . . 6 X/2: a measure, or possibly the numeral *5* indicative of quality, v. p. 254, note 9.

Ea. Ptol.
La. Ptol 

ỉmḥ (?) evidently the same as the group in IX. 16/18–19.
after enumeration of wife's allowances *ỉmḥ* (?) *n pe-t ỉs* (?) *ḫbs* X/2.
after enumeration of γειτονες *ỉmḥ* (?) (or *a ỉmḥ*?) *n ḫyn·w n p ḫr-f* et sim. in sale and cession forms (3) on pp. 256, 257, v. p. 256, note 3. XII. A, E, &c. seem to read *a* alone, many texts *a ỉmḥ* (?): the Roman papyri substitute *a mḥ n ḫe·w erme n ḫyn·w* XLIV. B/13, XLV. A/17.

La. Ptol. 

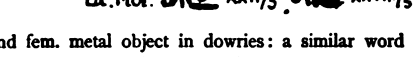
'rations,' 'pay' (?), the same group as in IX. 21/8 (p. 411); read perhaps *'q*.
rm e-f ỉp 'q (?) *ḫn n rm·w N.* et sim. XV. A/2, B/3, XVII/2, XIX/3, XX/3, XXIII/2, XXIV/6.

La Ptol.

'chaff' or the like, or 'trickery,' read *mw·t* (?) v. p. 150, note 12.
pr e-f w'b 't mw·t (?) *'t sḫ* XXI/16.

La. Ptol.

'contract' (?), 'document' (?) read *mḳl* (?), v. p. 279, note 1.
'r·y n-k p ḥp n te mḳl (?) *e te mḳl* (?) *nt ḫry n-ḥ·t-k* XXI/25–26.

La. Ptol. 

masc. and fem. metal object in dowries: a similar word masc. (translated 'lamp' *ḫbs*) occurs in Berl. dem. pap. 3115 1/3–7, 9, 4 b/13; read *tb* or *ṯb* (?), the initial uncertain: cf. the lists on pp. 270, 271.
w' ṯb (?) *a ḥ̈ 30* XXII/5; *w'·t* (sic) *ṯb* (?) (altered?) *a ḥ̈ 60* XXVIII/5; *w'·t ṯbe·t* (?) *a ḥ̈ 50* XXXVII/2; *w' ṯbe* (?) . . . XXXVIII/2.

La. Ptol.

probably *nt ỉn*: cf. Spieg., *Pap. Eleph.*, I. 5/7.

La. Ptol

La. Ptol

subst. masc. 'document' (?), read *bk*: cf. the groups in XXXIII/4, XXXVI. v/1.
w' bk XXV. 1/7; . . . *bk a·ḳe·w* . . . 1/21.

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La. Ptol. XXV/12

La. Ptol. XXV/18

XXVI/10

subst. fem. with det. (?), 'road' (?), in description of boundaries *ʾmnt t . . h·t Pr-ʿo* XXVI/10.

XXVI/12

šp (?) *a mḥ p r Pr-ʿo* XXVI/12.

XXVI/15

in agriculture, probably to be read *ške*; cf. ϣϫⲉ, κάρφος, v. p. 284, note 3.

XXXIII/4

(*p hp n py*) *ze* (?) *bk ʾr-f* (?) *br* (?) XXXIII/4, v. p. 288, note 11.

XXXIII/5

cf. the group 'corn' (?) in X/2.

XXXIII/5

yḥ (?), *šb* (?).

XXXVI/5

(*mn ḥt . . .*) *m-s* (?) *2*, *100* (?) XXXVI/5; but not as *m-s* in l. 16.

XXXVI/10

(*e-s st*) ʾ (?) (*20*) XXXVI/10.

XXXVI/13

(*e-s ty t*) . . . (*tʾ·t-s*) XXXVI/13.

XXXVI/19

ʿḥ (?) *pe* (?) XXXVI/19.

XXXVI v/1

(*t* ?) *bk* (?) (*p ʿnḫ*) XXXVI. v/1: but in XXV/7 q.v. *bk* appears to be masc.

XXXVIII/3

in dowry . . . *šn* (?) (*15 a ḥt 75*) XXXVIII/3.

XXXVIII v/9

(*Ne-nḫt-f*) *p km* (?) *sy Sy-Sbk* XXXVIII. v/9, or *p ḥs* (?).

XL A/1 cf. F/1

XL C/1 (typical) C/3 D/1 D/11

ḥt wz (?) in column alternating with *ṭmṭ* (?) XL. A–J.

XL M/3, 4

XL U/a

probably a corn measure *ḫr* (?).

Ptol. XLI/6

(*t* [. . .]) . . . (*ḥ-sp 23 a ḥ-sp 24 a ḥry*) XLI/6.

XLI/7

(*te-w pš pr*) . . . (*nt nb nt e-w ḫp*) XLI/7.

XLI/8 XLI/9

(*erme*) *p gr* (?) *p* (?) . . . [. . .] (*pr*) XLI/8; [. . .] *gr* XLI/9.

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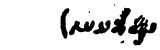
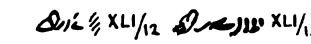
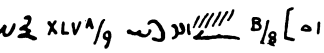


(*ỉy wy*) *ne-k* (?) . . . *w* (*yḫ šr* ?) XLI/11.



(*erme pe-w*) . . . XLI/12, 13.

in list *pe-w lyn* (?) XLI. verso A/14.



Rom. subst. fem. 'plot,' σφραγις (?): read *ḫty·t* (?), v. p. 302, note 3; *e-w ʾr ḫty·t* (?) *2·t* XLV. A/9, B/8.

METROLOGY

αιτρογειταριον in description of house-plot XLIV. Gr/3, v. p. 170, note 4.

ʾpy οιφι, v. Glossary, p. 327.

αρουρα, v. **st**.

ʾrṭb *ἀρτάβη*, in Glossary, p. 331.

mḥ 'cubit,' *mḥ ʾṯn* measure of area, 1 × 100 cubits; *mḥ ḫṭe* 'square cubit'; *mḥ-ntr* 'divine cubit'; v. Glossary, p. 355.

mz *μάτιον*, ⲙⲁⲁⲧⲉ, v. uncertain IX. 17/15 (p. 411).

hn 'hin-measure,' ϩιⲛ, v. Glossary, p. 369.

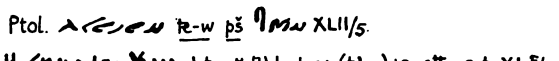
ḫm gold weight or piece = 20 teben of silver, v. Glossary, p. 378.

ḫr v. IX. 17/15, XL. U/a (pp. 411, 413).

st, st . . . yḫ 'arura,' v. Glossary, p. 390. Its fractions are shown in the above groups.

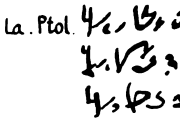
sttr *στατήρ*, v. Glossary.

qws *χοῦς*, v. Glossary.



krkr talent, v. Glossary, p. 400.

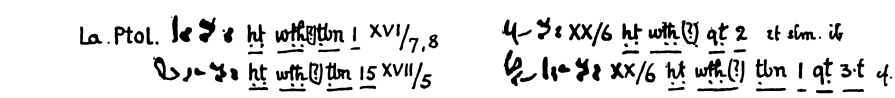
qṭ κιτε of silver, v. Glossary, p. 400.



qṭ κιτε of copper, v. Glossary, p. 400.

These examples illustrate the formula (*n*) *ḫmt* (*wiḫ ṯbn*) *24* (*a*) *qṭ 2*(·*t*) = *ληψομεθα εις τον στατηρα οβελους κδ.*

tʾ 'coin,' v. Glossary.



ṯbn = 10 kite or 5 staters of silver: seldom expressed. v. Glossary.

The above examples, especially those from XX, prove that the sign read *wiḫ* (?) cannot be *ṯbn*, and that *ṯbn* is represented by the sign or group shown in the Glossary.

perhaps a sign of measure, v. *bṭ* (?) IX. 1/4.

See also the groups IV/5, V/2, VII/2, VIII/7, IX. 14/13, 15/16, 16/12, 18, 17/15, 20/9, X/2, XXXVI/5, XL. U/a above on pp. 409–13.

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NUMERALS

Cardinal numerals.

The chief sources for numerals in these papyri, apart from the dates, are the dowries, collected together on pp. 269–71, and the account papyrus No. XL, transcribed on pp. 292–6.

The fem. gender is usually marked with the lower numbers *1–9*, except *6*, but it does not occur after *ḥ-sp* in the earlier texts, nor with *st . . . yḥ*, and is often omitted with *qṭ* (ⲕⲓⲧⲉ). With the higher numbers it is rarely shown, and only in the later texts.

The noun qualified by the numeral precedes the latter in the singular, and the singular number is preserved in referring to it in the same sentence: cf. *ḥtp 4 p nṯ* IX. 13/6; *wʿb s 20 p nṯ* 13/8. On the other hand, the number *1*, q.v., commonly precedes its noun except in mere accounts; and instances are found in which the low numbers *4* and *5* precede, the noun being then in the plural: *2*, however, though common enough, appears to follow its noun in all cases.

1. Psam. 𓏺 in 21(Pl.1) Dar. 𓏺 3/8 𓏺 6/2 Ptol. 𓏺 XL A/11 fem. 𓏺 G/1

2. Ahm. 𓏺𓏺 III/4 𓏺𓏺 V/2 Dar. 𓏺𓏺 1/18 𓏺𓏺 7/17 𓏺𓏺 11/19 Ea.Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XI A/3 𓏺𓏺 B/2 𓏺𓏺 C/2 La.Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XVI/7
Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XL D/6 𓏺𓏺 P/ XLI/3 Rom. 𓏺𓏺 XLIV B/16 fem. Dar. 𓏺𓏺 21/10 Ea.Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 X/1
La.Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XXII/5 𓏺𓏺 XXVII/7 𓏺𓏺 XXVIII/6 Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XL F/2 Rom. 𓏺𓏺 XLV B/4 𓏺𓏺 XLV A/7

3. Ahm. 𓏺𓏺, 𓏺𓏺 VI(Pl.18) Dar. 𓏺𓏺 3/2 𓏺𓏺 21/7 La.Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XXVI/8 𓏺𓏺 XXVIII/1 Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XL B/7
𓏺𓏺 XL T. fem. Psam. 𓏺𓏺, 𓏺𓏺, 𓏺𓏺 (Pl.4) Ea.Ptol 𓏺𓏺 XI A/1 𓏺𓏺 B/1 𓏺𓏺 D/1
La.Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XX/6 Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XL G/2

4. Dar. 𓏺𓏺 2/6 𓏺𓏺 15/20 Ea.Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 X/2 La.Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XVI/7 𓏺𓏺 XVIII/1 𓏺𓏺 XXVII/7 𓏺𓏺 XXVIII/6
Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XL A. fem. Dar. 𓏺𓏺 4/1 Ptol 𓏺𓏺 XL G/3

5. Dar. 𓏺𓏺 3/10 𓏺𓏺 5/6 La.Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XV B/7 𓏺𓏺 XVIII/7 𓏺𓏺 XXIV/15 Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XL B/4 𓏺𓏺 A/6
fem. Ea.Ptol. 𓏺𓏺 XII B/1 𓏺𓏺 D/1 𓏺𓏺 E/1 𓏺𓏺 F/1 𓏺𓏺 G/1 Rom. 𓏺𓏺 XLIV A/4 𓏺𓏺 B/4

1 (*wʿ*, *wʿ·ṯ* ⲟⲩⲁ, ⲟⲩⲉⲓ) masc. written out *wʿ* when preceding the noun, *1* when following: fem. always 𓏺.

preceding:—*wʿ wʿb . . . erme wʿ wn* IX. 6/11 (par. to *wʿb s 2* 11/15); *ṗ 4·ṯ a wʿ sʾ* 4/1; *4·ṯ ṗ·w a wʿ sʾ* 15/6; *wʿ sʾ n wʿb* 13/8; *wʿ ʾn-šn* and fem. *wʿ·ṯ šnṯ* XVI/7, et sim. passim in dowries on pp. 269–70.

following (rare):—*sḫ n šwe 50 a s 1* (or *a rm* ?) IX. 3/8; *wʿb s 20 . . . a sʾ 1* 13/8; *ʾr-f sp 1* (or *sp·w*) 4/7; *ḥṯ 1* 20/18; fem. *sttr 1·ṯ* XL. F–H, but *st 1 yḫ* IX. 16/8, 17/15.

absolute *ʾr pe-f ḥṯ pe-f bṯ 1 a 1½* IX. 6/2; id. *1 a 2* 8/15.

see also Glossary, s.v. wʿ.

2 (*snw*, *sn·ṯ* ⲥⲛⲁϥ, ⲥⲉⲛⲧⲉ)

always follows noun in singular, *rm s 2* IX. 1/18; *ṯy sḫ 2* 4/12; *pe-f ṯwṯ 2* 7/17; *p ḫl 2* 11/7; *pe-f šr 2* 11/11; *p wʿb 2* 11/18; *p wʿb s 2* 11/19; fem. *ḥ 2·ṯ n rm* 8/13; *ṯy wṯy 2·ṯ* 21/10; *wʿ·ṯ ḫpš . . . k·ṯ ḫps 2·ṯ* XXII/5; *qṭ 2·ṯ* XXVII/7, XXVIII/6, usually *qṭ 2* X/2, XVI/8, &c.; *gʾ 2·ṯ* XXXV/3; *sttr 2·ṯ* XL. F–H; *ḥ-sp 2·ṯ* X/1, XX/1, XXXII/11, XLV. A/1, B/1, so also presumably XXXI/2, but early *ḥ-sp 2* III/4, V/4.

v. ppr. n. *P-sn-ke.*

3 (*ḫmt*, *ḫmt·ṯ* ϣⲟⲩⲣⲧ, ϣⲟⲩⲣⲧⲉ)

pe-k šr s 3 IX. 3/9.

fem. *ṗʾ·ṯ 3·ṯ* I (Pl. 4, 5); *qṭ 3·ṯ* XX/6, but *qṭ 3* XX/7; *sttr 3·ṯ* XL. F–H; [*rn*]*ṗ·ṯ 3·ṯ* XXXIV/3; *ḥ-sp 3·ṯ* XL. A/1, F/1, but early *ḥ-sp 3* VI (Pl. 18), IX. 21/7.

v. ppr. n. *T-šr·ṯ-3·ṯ.*

4 (*ftw*, *fṯ·ṯ* ϥⲧⲱⲟϥ, ϥⲧⲟⲉ, ϥⲧⲉϥ- : ϥⲧⲟϥ-)

preceding noun in pl.:—*4 snʾw mte-y* IX. 2/6; *p 4 sʾ·w* 15/6; fem. *4·ṯ ṯʾ·w* 15/6 (par. *ṗʾ 4·ṯ* 4/1).

following noun in sing.:—*ḥtp 4 p nṯ* IX. 13/6 (*ḥtp n 4* 13/7, 15/20); fem. *ṗʾ 4·ṯ* 4/1; *sttr 4·ṯ* XL. F–H, but early *ḥ-sp 4* IX. 21/9.

5 (*ṯyw*, *ṯy·ṯ* ϯⲟϥ, ϯⲉ)

preceding noun in pl.:—(*n*) *p 5 sʾ·w*, scribe's formula, XV et seq.

following noun in sing.:—*pe-k ḥtp 5* IX. 3/10; *ḥṯ 5 . . . ke ḫṯ* 15/16; fem. *ḥ-sp 5·ṯ* XII–XIV; but *qṭ 5* IX. 5/6, XL. A–D.

v. ppr. n. *P-wr-ṯy.*

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6 Dar. 2/17 4/1 15/6 Ea. Ptol X/2 La. Ptol. XV A/2 B/3 XXI/1 XXI/14
 XXXIV/5 Ptol XL A/12 9/12

7 Dar. 5/1 3/4 (cf. 4/12) La Ptol XX/7 fem. XXI/19 Ptol XL B/2 (cf C/10.16)
 XLI/4

8 Ahm VII/4 VIII/1,3 Dar. 9/20 Ptol XL A/5 C/6

9 Ahm VII/2 Dar. 1/1 La Ptol XV A/3 XVI/1 XXI/18 Ptol XL A/2 B/2 v. also 19.

6, 7, 8, 9 the fem. ending not shown except in *ḥ-sp 6 . . . ḥ-sp 7·t* (twice) XXI/14, 19; *ḥ-sp 9·t a ḥ-sp 12* XXXIV/2. v. also *psḏ-ntr·w-f* in Glossary, p. 350.

10 Dar 20/9 20/14 Ea. Ptol , X/1,3 La. Ptol. XVI/5 XX/7 XXI/20
Ptol XL C/7 F/12 Q [∩]
15. Dar 8/14 La Ptol XVII/5 Rom fem XLIV B/1
19. Dar 10/11 La Ptol XV A/1 B/6 (fem.) XXX/1 Ptol XL H/5

10–19. The following instances are noteworthy:—*16 n n ntr·w* IX. 3/15.
ḳe ḥtp 16 IX. 13/7; fem. *t P 16* 15/20; *k·t P 16* 9/12; *t k·t P 16* 4/1, 15/6.
fem. ending shown only in *ḥ-sp 15·t* (spelt *10·t-5·t*) Roman XLIV. B/1, and *ḥ-sp 19·t* (spelt *10·t-9*) once as var. of *19* La. Ptol. XV. B/6.

20. Psam. (v. Pl. 1,4,9) Dar. 7/7 20/14 Ea. Ptol X/2 XI A/1 B/8
La. Ptol. XVI/7 ib. 8 XXI/18 XXVIII/1 Ptol. XL B/12 T.

30. Dar. 11/2 16/18 17/18 La. Ptol. XVI/6 XXII/5 Ptol. XL A/9 B/3 Q S

40. Dar. 7/12 21/7 La. Ptol. XVI/7 XXVIII/5 Ptol XL B/1 C/7 S

50. Dar. 3/8 5/8 Ea. Ptol. X/3 La. Ptol. XVI/7 XVII/1 XVIII/1 XXII/5
Ptol XL B/5

60. La. Ptol. XVI/7 XX/5 XXII/6 (error) XXX/7 Ptol. XL C/6 B/8

70. Dar. 10/10 La. Ptol. XX/6,7 XXVIII/3 Ptol XL B/12 C/9 T.

80. Dar. 16/7 17/15 18/1 La. Ptol. XXX/8 Ptol. XL B/3,4 S/7 XLI/4

90. La. Ptol. XVI/7 Ptol. XL A/6 B/9

20–90. *40* may be in the uncertain group IX. 16/12, 17/15, 18, and *50* in VII/3, 5.
fem. ending perhaps shown in *ḥ-sp 52·t* (?) XXXI/2 (or *ḥ-sp 2·t*), cf. *ḥ-sp 52* XVII/1, XXIV/7.
Interesting for manners and customs are: *sḫ n ḫwe 50 a s 1* (or *rm*?) IX. 3/8, referred to contemptuously 4/12; *ḥw 70 n syḫ* 10/10, cf. p. 85, note 3; *wʿb s 20 p nt e-ỉn mḥ-f a sʾ 1* 13/8, cf. p. 90, note 5.

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100. Ahm VII/2 Dar. 15/19 16/8 4. 16/11 La Ptol. XVI/7 XXX/7 Ptol. XL^{A}/9 XLV/4 [9]

200. Dar. 7/7 16/18 La Ptol. XVI/7 XXVIII/5 Ptol. XL^{B}/12 Q

300. La Ptol. XX/5 XX/6 XXVII/6 Ptol. XL^{D}/9 C/1 Dar. 16/18

400. Dar. 17/15 18/1 16/7 La. Ptol. XVI/5 XXVIII/6 Ptol. XLB

500. La. Ptol. XX/4 XXVII/4 XXX/7 Ptol. XL^{A}/6,7

600. La. Ptol. XX/5 XXXVIII/2 Ptol. XL^{A}/3,5

700. La Ptol. XXII/6 XXX/8

800. La Ptol. XVI/7 XXII/6

900. Dar. 17/13 La. Ptol. XXVIII/5 XXXVIII/4

100–900. The fem. ending is shown only in *the 320-t* XXXV/4.

1000. Dar. 7/10 16/7 La. Ptol. XVI/8 XXX/9 [1]

2000. La. Ptol. XVI/5 XX/6 XX/7

3000. La. Ptol. XXII/6 XXXVII/2

4000. Dar. 16/12 La. Ptol. XVI/7

6000. La. Ptol. XVI/8 XXVIII/6

10,000. La. Ptol. XX/6 [1]

Ordinals.

(a) *old form* with suffixed ⲟ *-nw* preserved in sacerdotal terms.

La. Ptol. XXV B/5 B/8 B/11 XXXII/12 [11 etc.]

s 2-n, s 3-n, s 4-n, XXV. B/5, 8, 11.
ḥn-ntr 4-n n Ḥ-t-Ḥr XXXII/12.

for 'first' the corresponding word is *tpy*, v. title *ḥn-ntr tpy*, p. 428.
cf. place-n. *Ḥmn* (Eg. *Ḥmn-nw*), p. 423.

(b) *later form* with prefixed *mḥ* ⲙⲉⲉϩ-, v. Glossary.

'first' Rom. XLV^{A}/13 B/12

for 'first' the corresponding word (Coptic ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ, ⲙⲟⲣⲡ) is doubtful, apparently *ḫw-t*(?) or perhaps *ḫrp* in *p ʿy ḫw-t*(?) XLV. A/13, B/12; the latter looks like *mḥ 1*, an improbable reading [but cf. Spieg., *Pap. Elph.*, I. 2/5, 3/8].

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Fractions.

Cf. the use of *pš* for $\frac{1}{2}$, and *r·t* in other fractions, pp. 351, 402.

Dar. 6/2 La. Ptol. XVIII/4 XXI/22 Ptol. XLI/3 XLI/4

1/2 (*gs* ϭoc : ϫoc):
ʾr pe-f ḥt pe-f bt 1 a $1\frac{1}{2}$ IX. 6/2; *mḥ ʾm* $1\frac{1}{2}$ XVIII/3, 4; *erme pe-w* $1\frac{1}{2}$ XXI/22, $2\frac{1}{2}$ XLI/3; *sw* $187\frac{1}{2}$ XLI/4.

La. Ptol. XVI/6 XX/6 fem. XIX/4

1/3 (*r-ḫmt* pe-ϣοϫιτ): *p* $\frac{1}{3}$ *nt nb* XVI/6; *nb ḫm* $1\frac{1}{3}$ XVI/7, 8, XX/6, 7; *r·t* $1\frac{1}{3}$*·t* XIX/4, 6; *qt* $\frac{1}{3}$ (?) XL. verso A/7.

Dar. 11/4 14/11

1/5 (*r-ṯyw* pe-ϯοϒ): *p r-5 n p ḥtp-nṯr* IX. 9/13, 19, 11/4, 14/11; *my ḫy-w n* (?) *p r-5* IX. 11/7.

3/5: Ptol *ḥmt* $\frac{3}{5}$ (?) XLI v. A/2

MONTHS, AND DAYS OF MONTHS

A. H. Gardiner's discovery regarding the festivals and names of the months in earlier times, *A. Z.*, 43/136, presumably does not affect the period represented in demotic papyri (see Ed. Meyer, *Nachträge zur Altaegypt. Chronologie*, p. 13 et seqq.).

For the names of the months see pp. 185–7. Meyer (l.c. p. 16) gives from Sachau a few Aramaic names or forms not included there: viz. ʾDʾWD, as well as ʾDʾWD (Paopi), MNTḤTP (Pamenhotp), ʾNP as well as ʾDDP (Epêp).

t wmt n ʾbt 4 ʾḫ 'the tower (?) of Choiak' II/3, v. p. 48, note 3.

ʾbt 2 pr ss 13 p ḫb n p šwe IX. 2/9, festival of heat (?) on Mekhir 13, when much beer was drunk, v. p. 67, note 8.

Phamenoth as the harvest month IX. 1/4, 11/5, v. p. 65, note 8, p. 86, note 5.

farm rent and corn loans payable on 30th of Pachon XXI/9, XXVI/8, or Payni XLI/5, v. p. 156, note 1.

p ʾbt p nṯr = Καισαρειος, v. p. 173, note 1.

Psam. IA/1 (Pl. II) Ahm. VI (v. Pl. 17, 18) VII/1
Ea Ptol X/1 XII/1 B/1 C/1 D/1 F/1 XIV/1 La. Ptol. XV/1
XVIII/1 XXII/1 XXVIII/1 XXXII/11 Ptol. XLF/1

Dar. 1/1 2/9 Ea. Ptol. XIA/1 B/1 C/1 E/1 La. Ptol. XVI/1
XVII/1 XXIII/1 XXIV/7 Ptol XLF/1 F/2

Ahm V/1 VIII/1 La. Ptol XXI/15 XXIV/1 XXV/12 XXVI/8 XXIX/1
(d. 4) XXXVI/2 Ptol XLI/5 Rom XLIV B/1 XLV A/1

Notation of seasons of year. ʾḫ 'inundation,' 'verdure'; pr 'seed-time,' 'winter' ⲡⲣⲱ; šm 'harvest,' 'summer' ϣⲱⲁⲁ.

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Ahm VI A/1 B/1 VIII/1 VIII/3 Ea. Ptol XII A/1 B/1 XIII A/1 XIV/1 La. Ptol. XV B/1 XVIII/1 XXIX/1 XXXV/1 Ptol. XL A/2 F/2 Rom. XLIV B/1 [ ]

Psam I A/1 Ahm III/4 V/1 (v. p. 210 n. 6) Dar. 2/9 La. Ptol. XVII/1 XXI/1 XXIV/1 Ptol XLI/5 [ ]

Psam II A/1 Dar. 1/1 1/4 & 11/2 Ea. Ptol. XI A/1 B/1 D/1 E/1 La Ptol XVI/1 XXI/14 [ ]

Psam II (v. Pl. 11) Ahm. VII/1 La. Ptol XXV/12 XXVIII/1 Ptol. XL F/1 Rom. XLV A/1 [ ]

Notation of months in seasons, 'first,' 'second,' 'third,' 'fourth.'

	Ptol XL	La Ptol		Ptol. XL	La Ptol	Ptol. XL	La. Ptol.
1.	A/3 F/2			11. B/9	XXII/1 XXVI/1	21. D/1	XV A/2
2.	A/4 F/5	XXXIII/1		12. B/11		22. D/3	Roman XLV A/1
3.	F/6,7			13.	Darius 2/9	23. D/5	
4.	F/8,9 G/4	XXXVI/2		14. C/1	XVIII/1	24. D/7	
5.	A/11 F/11	XVI/1	Ahmasi VII/2	15. C/3		25. D/9	
6.	F/12,13 b/4			16. C/6	XV B/1,5	26. D/11	XXIV/7
7.	G/1			17. C/8	XXIX/1	27.	XXIV/1
8.	B/4 G/2,3			18. C/10	XXI/1	28.	
9.	G/5 G/6	XX/1		19. C/11	Roman XLIV B/1	29. E/2 E/1	XXVIII/1
10.	B/7 G/8	XXI/14 & XXIII/1	XXXV/1	20. C/13	XVII/1	29. F/1 E/3 XLI/5	XXI/15 XXVI/8 XXXVI/15

Notation of days of month.

XL offers an almost complete series, and is therefore given the first place in the table. The word ss coγ- is written [⊙] or implied in each case before the numeral.

8th day: v. p. 97, note 5, p. 166, note 2.

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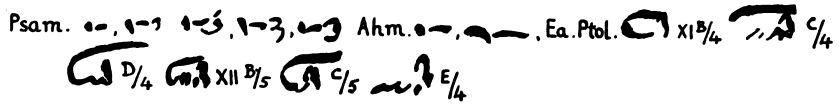
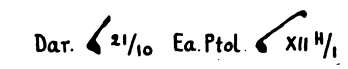
SOME SPECIAL SYMBOLS, &c.



reads perhaps *ny* 'these' (cf. p. 349).

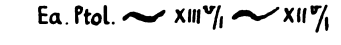
sḫ ny (?) at the end of witness-copies, where the original contract has *sḫ N. sy M.* I, II (Pl. 8, 15), VI (Pl. 18), XI, XII, XIII.

The witness-copy may mean in outline '*A* son of *B* as witness (&c., &c.) writes this.'



after a heading, before particulars, 'viz.:—', v. p. 261, note 3.
before copies of stelae IX. 21/10, 11, 22/8; after *ne-f mtr·w 16* before the names XII. H/1.

signification not clear, v. p. 236, note 3.
wʿb s 20 p nt e-tn mḥ-f a s 1 < wʿ s n wʿb &c. IX. 13/8.



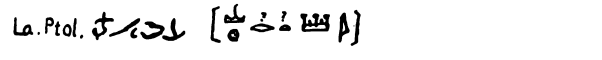
apparently a mere distinguishing tick.
on versos of XII, XIII marks the signatures of those who have signed witness copies on the recto.

reads perhaps *tmt* 'total'; in alternate lines on recto of XL, cf. *tmt* (?), p. 412.

for filiation sign, v. *pa, sy* in the Glossary.

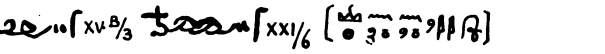
for sign of repetition, v. *sp-sn* in the Glossary.

COUNTRIES, ETHNICS, &c.

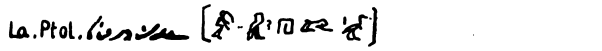


ʾŠwr 'Syrian,' v. p. 274, note 3, and p. 318. in ppr. n. *P-ʾŠwr.*

ʾGš Ekôsh, 'Ethiopian.' in ppr. names *Ḥr-ʾGš.*



Wynn Weenin 'Greek,' 'Ionian,' v. p. 132, n. 7.
Wynn e-f šp, &c. XV. A/2, B/3; *Wynn n ms n Qmy* XXI/6, 8, cf. XXVII/3.



Blhn Βλεμμυς, v. p. 271, note 18. *Blhn ms n Qmy* XVI/5.

Mzy, Ethiopian tribe furnishing police, cf. modern Bêga (?), v. p. 87, note 4, p. 319, note 2.
in title *ḫry Mzy.*

rm Pr-ʾy-lq Rempilak, Ethiopian, Lower Nubian.
rm Pr-ʾy-lq ms n Qmy XXIII/2.

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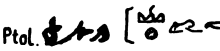
Eg. Ptol.

Dar. 

Hkr Hakor, ϩⲁⲕⲱⲣ, North Arabian nomad tribe, cf. Ἀγάρηνοι, Ἀγραῖοι, Nöldeke in *Encycl. Bibl.*, s.v. Hagar. v. p. 321.
Hkr XII. H/16.

Ḫr Khor, Syria, Phoenicia, v. p. 96, note 1, p. 223, note 16, and p. 318.
p ỉ Ḫr IX. 3/16, 19, 14/17–15/2, 7.

Dar. La. Ptol.

Qm, Qmy, Kêmi, Egypt, ⲕⲏⲙⲉ.
p ḫry n Qm IX. 2/17; *n rpy·w* (var. *ỉy·w*) *ỉy·w n Qm* 6/16, 18, 13/10; *n nỉr·w* ⟨*ỉy·w*⟩ *n Qm* 14/18, 22; *Blhn* (*n*) *ms n Qm* XVI/5; *Wynn* do. XXI/6, 9; *rm Pr-ỉ Y-lq* do. XXIII/2.

Nḥ[s] (?) Nehas, Ethiopian. *Nḥ[s]* (?) XXVI/4.

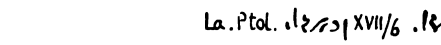
PLACE-NAMES AND DISTRICTS

ỉy-, cf. below *T-ỉy* (or *yḫ*)-*b·n·t*, *T-qy-ỉ Y-* . . .

Dar.

ỉBṭ Ebôt, Ἀβυδος, ebôt. *w·b n Wsr nb ỉBṭ* IX. 8/20; *na ỉBṭ* 24/3.

ỉPy Opi, Ὠφις, Ἄπις, a temple quarter at Thebes. in div. n. *ỉMn-ỉPy*.

La. Ptol. 

ỉMwr, ỉMtr (?) (Eg.) Crocodilopolis at Gebelên, v. p. 273, note 3. N.B. The reading *ỉMtr* is probably incorrect, the supposed *t* being really a small *w* , cf. *ỉŠwr* above, p. 420.
Sbk nb ỉMtr XVII/6, XX/9, XXII/8, XXXVIII/8; *Sbk nb ỉMwr* XXI/33; *rm . . . e-f sḫ a ỉ ḥ'pytrws n ỉMtr* XVII/2; *rm . . . e-f sḫ a ỉMtr* XX/3; *rm . . . e-f sḫ a ỉMwr* XXIII/2, XXIV/6.

Dar.

Yb Yeb, Ιηβ, Elephantine, and the granite quarries of Aswan, v. p. 81, note 11.
pḫ-f a Yb IX. 7/13; *ỉny n Yb* 7/14, 18/16, 20; *ỉny-Yb* 21/11.

Wsy probably Thebes, Eg. in ppr. n. *Pa-Wsy*.

Rom.

Wṭ-wr Wetô, -γεγου 'sea,' the lake of Moeris, v. p. 301, note 2 (*c*). *ḫry ỉy Wṭ-wr* XLV. A/3, 5.

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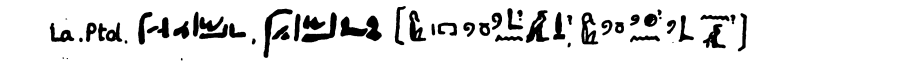
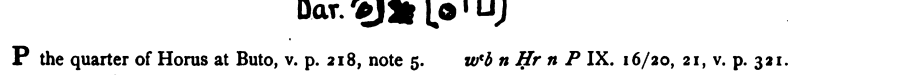
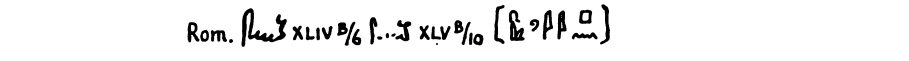
La.Ptol. 

Bḫn, temple or seat of Sobk, Νεβχουνις (?), at or near Gebelên. For the reading *Bḫn* see the Greek and Demotic parallels quoted by SPIEGELBERG and SCHUBART in *Dem. pap. Strassb.* Text, pp. 30, 31.

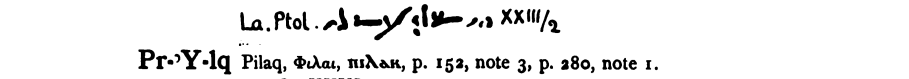
ḥ·t-ntr [*n*?] *Nb-Bḫn* XXXVI/2; *ʾw a T-Bḫn* (or *N-Bḫn·w*?) XXXVI/11.

Dar. 

P the quarter of Horus at Buto, v. p. 218, note 5. *wʿb n Ḥr n P* IX. 16/20, 21, v. p. 321. in ppr. nn. *Psmṯk-mn-n-P*, *P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-n-P*.

Rom. 

Pa-y Pai, -παις, -παιος, v. p. 168, p. 299, note 5. *Sbk nb Pa-y p ntr ʿo* XLIV. B/6, XLV. A/10.

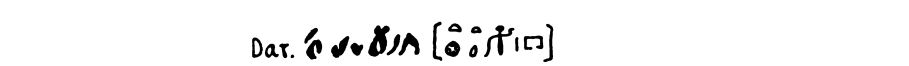
La.Ptol. 

Pr-ʾY-lq Pilaq, Φιλαι, πιλακ, p. 152, note 3, p. 280, note 1. *rm Pr-ʾY-lq ms Qm* XXIII/2.

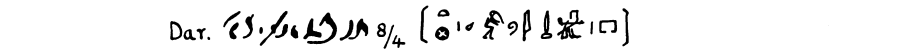
Pr-ʾMn Pamûn, 'Thebes,' Karnak on east bank (?). *ḥm-ḫ·t n Pr-ʾMn* X/1.

Dar.

Pr-Wsr-eʾr- . . . Pusire . . ., Abusir, cemetery of Hnês, v. p. 85, note 5. IX. 10/10.

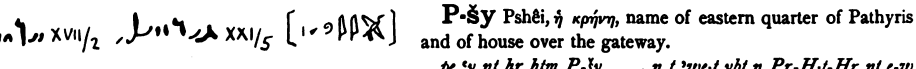
Dar. 

Pr-Wṭ Buto, Βουτω, Πουτο, v. p. 243, note 5. *Pr-Wṭ* IX. 19/16.

Dar. 

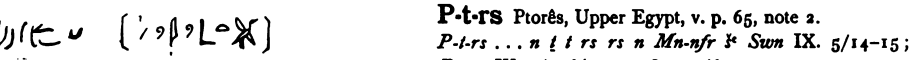
Pr-Mz Pemze, Οξυρυγχος, Πεμϊε. *Pr-Mz* IX. 8/12, 9/1; *p tš n Pr-Mz* 8/4, 12/15, 21.

Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr Phathôr, Φαθυρις, at Gebelên. *pe-k ʿy n P.* XXI/18; *t ʾwe·t ybt P* (v. *P-šy*) XVII/3; *t ʾwe·t mḥt ybt n P.* (v. *Na-p-Km-ḫwy*) XXIII/3; *t ʾwe·t ḥr-ʾb* (?) *ʾmnt n P.* XVIII/4.

La.Ptol. 

P-sy, Pr-sy, Psoi, Ptolemais, Πτοι. *P-sy nt n p tš n Ne* XVII/2, &c. (*Pr-sy* in XXI/5).

P-šy Pshêi, ἡ κρήνη, name of eastern quarter of Pathyris and of house over the gateway. *pe ʿy nt ḫr ḫtm P-šy . . . n t ʾwe·t ybt n Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr nt e-w z n-f P-šy* XVII/3, v. p. 143, note 9.

La. Ptol 

P·ṭb Pteb, Πιτοβ, island at Pathyris, v. p. 159, note 1. *t my P-ṭb* XXIX/6.

P·t·rs Ptorês, Upper Egypt, v. p. 65, note 2. *P-t-rs . . . n ṯ t rs rs n Mn-nfr ʿ Swn* IX. 5/14–15; *P-t-rs* IX. 1/2, 6/1, 3, 5, 8–9, 7/6.

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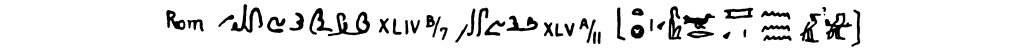
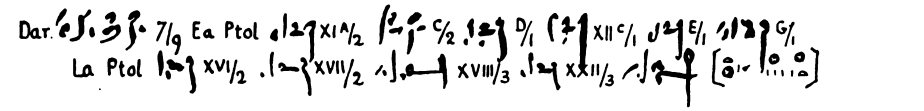


Me-wr Mewêr, Μοιρις, canal to Faiyûm, v. p. 170, note 3, p. 299, note 7.
t ḫny·t Me-wr XLIV/7, XLV. A/11.

Mn-nfr Menfi, Μεμφις, ⲙⲉⲗⲗⲉ. *Mn-nfr* IX. 3/4, 19/4; *T-rs-rs n Mn-nfr* 5/15.

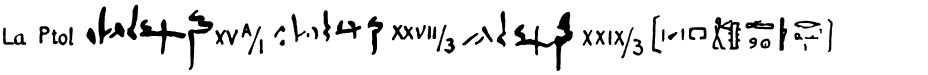
Mḥ Lower Egypt. v. **Šmᶜ-mḥ**, p. 425.



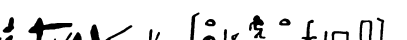
Ne Ne, -νης, Thebes, v. p. 228, note 5, and cf. Τσανανη= *t s·t n na Ne* Spieg., *Pap. Eleph.*, I, p. 8.
IX. 7/9, 9/5, 7, 9, 14, 11/2, 13, 12/13; *t ᵓwy·t mḫt·t Ne ḫn T-ḥ·t-n-t-ᵓḥ·t* XI/2, XII/1, XIII/1; *t ᵓwy·t mḫt·t Ne* XIV/1; *wn n ᵓMn-ᵓPy n p ᵓmnt Ne* XI/2, XII/2, XIII/2, XIV/1.
p ỉš n Ne = Θηβαις, v. p. 83, note 8, IX. 8/16; *P-sy nt n p ỉš n Ne* XVI/2, XVII/2, &c.; *sḫ n ỉš n Ne T-ỉ·t-rs* XVII/2.

Na-pa-Qm(?)-ḫwy at Pathyris, v. p. 280, note 3.
Na-pa-Qm(?)-ḫwy nt n t ᵓwe·t mḫt ybt n Pr-Ḥ·t-Ḥr XXIII/3.

N-ᵓr-f seat of Osiris at Hnês, v. p. 104, note 3, p. 246, note 10.
Wsr N-ᵓr-f IX. 20/10, 18.

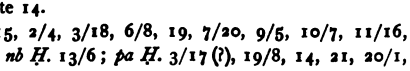


Ra-qṭ Rakoti, Ρακωτις, ⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ, Alexandria. *n nt smn n Ra-qṭ* XV/1, XVI/2, &c.



Ḥ-nn(?)-stn Hnês, ⲉⲛⲓⲥ, v. p. 66, note 8, p. 75, p. 220, note 14.
IX. 1/15, 2/4, 3/18, 6/8, 19, 7/20, 9/5, 10/7, 11/16, 12/1; *Ḥr nb Ḥ.* 13/6; *pa Ḥ.* 3/17(?), 19/8, 14, 21, 20/1, &c.; *ḫry n Ḥ.* 15/3, 4.
p ỉš n Ḥ. IX. 19/13.

Ḥb.
in ppr. n. *Nḫt-Ḥr-Ḥb*(?).



Hr-ṭy Hartai, Cynopolis, v. p. 88, note 2, p. 235, note 6.
Ḥr-ṭy IX. 13/1, 3; *ᵓNp nb Ḥr-ṭy* 13/6.
p ỉš n Ḥr-ṭy IX. 12/15, 21.

Ḥb Khebi, Χεμμις, -χηβις. in ppr. nn. *Ḥr-ḫb* and *Ḥr-ḫb-wsy-gm*(?).

Ḥmn Khmûn, Hermopolis Magna, ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ.
IX. 18/13, 19/2, 4, 5, 21/2: perhaps mistake for *ss* in 15/10, v. p. 239, note 9. *p ỉš n Ḥmn* IX. 12/21, 13/1.

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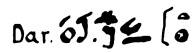
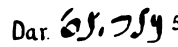
Dar. 

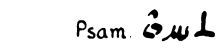
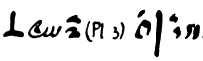
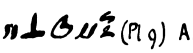
Ḫn-Mn Khmin, Χεμμις, ⲭⲁⲙⲓⲛ.
na Ḫn-Mn IX. 24/3.

Dar. 

Swn Suan, Συηνη, ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ, v. p. 78, note 3.
ỉˁ Swn (boundary of *P-ỉ-rs*) IX. 5/15, 18, 6/7.

La Ptol

T-ỉy(or **yḥ** ?)**-bỉn·t** Tiaboni or Tiahboni, Τιαβωνις at Gebelên, v. p. 132, n. 2, p. 265, note 13 (*yḥ* may have retained its original fem. gender: the difference in form from the group *yḥ* in the same document is very slight).
T-ỉy(?)*-bỉn·t* XV. B/2.

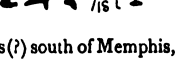
Psam.  (Pl 3) (Pl 9) Ahm.  VI F/1 
Dar. 1/3

Te·w·zy Teuzoi, El Hibeh.
IX. 1/2 et passim, fem. *Te-w-zy . . . ne-s rm a ḫn-s* 12/6.
Te-w-zy wˁ ỉy e-f rḫ n p ỉš n Ḥ-nn-sỉn IX. 17/10 described also 6/15, 8/13; *Pr-ỉMn Thn·ỉ n Te-w-zy* I, II (Pl. 3, 9); *wn n ỉMn n Te-w-zy* VI. F/1; *ỉMn Te-w-zy* IX. 1/3, 3/14; *16 n n nỉr·w n Te-w-zy* 3/15.
p ḥỉ Te-w-zy (?) VII/3; *ỉ mˁe n Te-w-zy* IX. 18/2; *p ẖn n Te-w-zy* 18/2, 3.

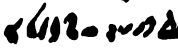
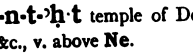
Ṯmy n Sbk Κωμη Σουχου, v. pp. 168–9. XLIV/6, XLV. A/10.
T-mrwt Τεμραυθις at Gebelên, v. p. 266, note 15. v. *mrwt* in Glossary.
T-mtn·t-pa-Ḥr-ỉGš village at Gebelên, v. *mtn·ỉ* in Glossary.

Dar

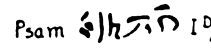
Tne Tin, Θις, Τιν, v. p. 230, note 14. *wˁb n ỉN-ḫr n Tne* IX. 8/20.

Dar 

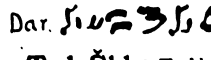
T-rs-rs Terserês(?) south of Memphis, north boundary of *P-ỉ-rs*, cf. p. 266, note 9.
T-rs-rs n Mn-nfr IX. 5/15; *T-rs-rs* 5/18, 6/7.

Ea. Ptol. XI A/2  B/1
C/1  XII A/2

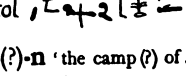
T-ḥ·t-n-t-ỉḥ·t temple of Deir el Bahri(?), v. p. 122, note 6.
XI/2, &c., v. above **Ne**.

Psam  I D/4

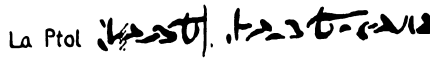
Ṯhn·t Tehni, Τεχνι, v. p. 203, note 19.
pr ỉMn Ṯhn·ỉ I, II (Pl. 3, 9, 10, 11).

Dar. 

T-sḥ-Škke Tsekhsh . . ., village near El Hibeh.
T-sḥ-Škke wˁ ỉy IX. 16/11.

La Ptol 

T-šṭ·t-n-šmˁ(?)-n 'the camp(?) of . . .'; for reading *šmˁ-n* see Sethe, *Ä. Z.*, 44/28.
Wynn . . . nỉ (var. *e-f*) *sḫ a T šṭ·t n Smˁ*(?)*-n* XV. A/3, B/4.

La Ptol 

T-šṭ-rs Tshetrês, the Thebais(?), v. p. 143, note 2, p. 273, note 2.
sḫ n ỉš n Ne T-šṭ-rs XVII/2, 5.

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La Ptol.

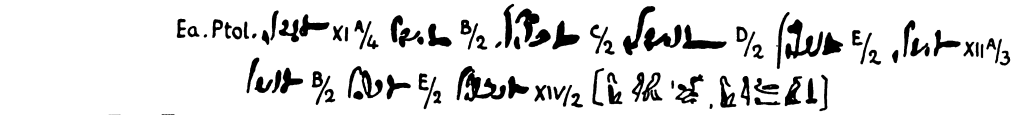
T-qy-ʾY- . . . at Gebelên. XXIV/7.

Dar

T-qhy Tkohi, on west bank near Teuzoi, v. p. 233, note 13.
n ʿy·w n T-qḥy IX. 11/10; *p ḥry Mzy n T.* 11/11, 12/2; *n . . . w n T.* 11/12; *p s·ḫne n T.* 12/3.

Dar.

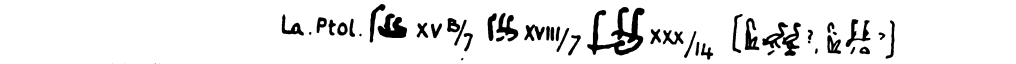
Šmʿ-Mḥ North and South Egypt. v. p. 237, note 6, and Sethe in *Ä. Z.*, 44/8–12.
n rḫy·w ʿy·w n Šmʿ-Mḥ IX. 14/17.

Ea. Ptol. 

Zm, Zmʿ Zêmi, -σημις (Θηβαι?) Μεμνονεια, ⲥⲏⲙⲉ, the west necropolis of Thebes, v. p. 123, note 2, p. 258, note 10.
t ḥs·t (*n*) *Zm* XI/3, 4, XII/3, XIII/3, XIV/2.

Dar

T-wz (?), seat of Osiris at or near Teuzoi, v. p. 81, note 7.
Wsr n T-wz (?) IX. 7/10.

La. Ptol. 

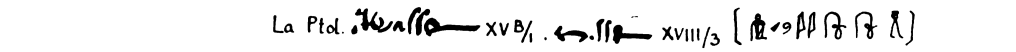
ʾN·t (?) *Rḫ·t* (?), *Sḫ·t* (?), *Mz·t* (cf. Brugsch, *Dict. Geogr.*, 314) (?), name of Gebelên as seat of worship of Hathor v. p. 260, note 2. [To be transcribed , A. H. Gardiner, from hieratic papyri.]
n wʿb·w Ḥ·t-Ḥr nb . . . XV. A/5, &c. in ppr. nn. *Ta-* . . ., *Ty-* . . ., and *Ta-p-ʿne-* . . .

 Mr-kk or **ʾY-kk** 'canal (or "island") of κίκι (?)' written in hieratic.
Seat of Osiris at or near Teuzoi IX. 22/7 = 23/9.

TITLES AND OCCUPATIONS

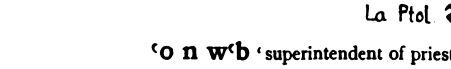
Many titles in hieratic from the stelae of Peteêsi, commented on on pp. 108–10 and p. 248, are not included in this list.

ʾm-wne, ʾm-wnt 'guard,' v. Glossary, p. 328.

La Ptol. 

ʾn wwy (= ωιωνομος), v. p. 131, note 5, p. 265, note 3.
ʾn wwy n t ʿby·ʾS XV/1; *t ʿb·t n ʾS* XVIII/3. v. ppr. n. *Ḥr-ʾn-wwy*.

ʾṯn 'wakil,' v. Glossary, p. 333.

La Ptol 

ʿo n wʿb 'superintendent of priests' (priesthood?) ⲁⲛ-, v. p. 225, note 15, p. 288, note 6.
ḥn-nỉr wrm·w (?) *ʿo-n-wʿb sḫ mz* (?) *Ḥ·t-Ḥr H.* XXXII/14.

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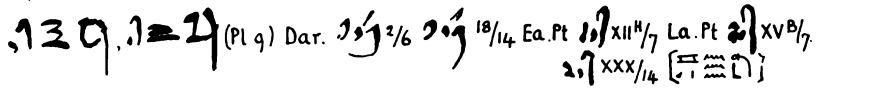
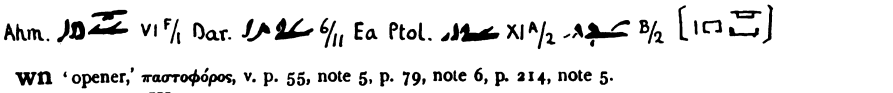
ʿo n mr 'superintendent of shipping,' v. p. 72 et seqq., p. 78, note 1, p. 225, note 15; spelt **ʿn-mr** 12/5, 10.
ʾr Pr-ʿo S. n ʿo n mr IX. 10/6.
p ʿo-n-mr IX. 7/2, 4, 5, 20, 8/2–3, 10/9, &c.; following name of Peteêsi 5/15, 18, 19, 6/6, 8, 19, 21, 8/1, Semtutefnakhti 10/7, 16, 11/1, 16, 20, 14/12.

ʿm 'herdsman' ⲁⲙⲉ, v. p. 285, note 2, and Glossary, p. 335. *ʿm bk Ḥr-sm-tw N.* XXVIII/3, XXX/4.

yt-ntr 'divine father,' v. p. 45, note 1.
wʿb·w ḫn-ntr·w yt-ntr·w n pr-ʾMn- II (Pl. 9).
before names of witnesses, &c., I, II (Pl. 1, 8, 10), XI. D/witness.



wʿb 'priest' ⲟⲩⲏϩ: the plural often written as sing., p. 240, note 1, once misspelt as 'Nile,' cf. p. 227, note 16.
wʿb·w ḫn-ntr·w yt-ntr·w n pr-ʾMn- II (Pl. 9); *n wʿb·w p mr šn* IX. 18/14.
ʾr wʿb IX. 5/16, 8/16 et seqq., 13/16, v. p. 226, note 5.
ny wʿb(·w) IX. 2/3, 6, 3/11; *p wʿb ʿo* 6/20; *n sn·w ʿy·w n n wʿb·w* 11/1–2; *ḫl·w wʿb·w* 11/7, v. p. 233, note 9.
wʿb s 20 p nt e-ỉn mḥ-f a s 1 < wʿ s n wʿb mte-f ʾr p r-5 n p ḥtp-ntr IX. 13/8.
šr n wʿb n ʾMn- 5/16; *n ḫrỉ·w n P. nt n wʿb n ʾMn* 15/12.
wʿb ʾMn Z-ḫr XII. H/7; *wʿb n ʾMn . . . n Ḥr-šf . . . n Sbk* IX. 5/16–17, cf. 8/16–17; *wʿb n ʾMn* 3/18.
n wʿb·w n Ḥtḥr nb . . . n ntr·w sn·w &c., (*n*) *p 5 s·w* scribe's formula, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXIII, XXIV; *n wʿb·w n Ḥtḥr nb . . . p 5 s·w* XXVII–XXX, XXXVII.
n wʿb·w n Sbk nb ʾMtr (*n*) *p 5 s·w* XVII, XX–XXII, XXXVIII.
p wʿb ʾLgsntrws &c. XVI/1, &c.; *wʿb Pt. P-Swtr*; *Pt. p mr mw·t*; *Pr-ʿo Pt.* [*pe-w*] *šr ʿo p ntr ʾWpỉr*; *Pt. p mr sn*; *Pt. p mnḫ*; *Pt. p mr yt-f*(?); *Pt. p ntr nt pr·w e-ʾr ʾr ne-*[*nfr·w*] XVI/2–4; *t wʿb ʾRsyne t mr yt-s* et sim. XVI/2, XVII/2, &c., to XXVII; *wʿb t Pr-ʿo-t Gl.*; *Gl. t mw·t t ntr nt pr·w* XVI/3.
v. also title **ʿo-n-wʿb**.



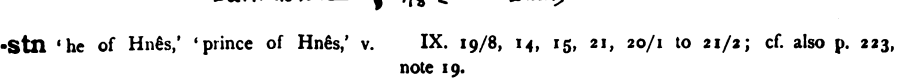
wn 'opener,' παστοφόρος, v. p. 55, note 5, p. 79, note 6, p. 214, note 5.
n wʿb·w n wn·w IX. 7/8, 13/3.
wʿ wn IX. 6/11, 11/16.
wn n ʾMn n Te-w-sy VI. F; *wn ʾMn-ʾPy* XI/2, XII, XIII, XIV; *wn ʾMn* XII. H/3, 9.
p wn n Ptḥ IX. 16/15, 17; *wn Mnt* XI. v/8.

wp, wpt 'judge,' v. Glossary, p. 341.

wrm chief priest of Re, deified, v. Divine names, p. 434.

wrš 'watcher,' 'guard,' v. Glossary, p. 342.

bk 'slave,' 'servant,' ϧωκ, v. Glossary, p. 346.
bk N. VII/1.
bk (*n*) *Ḥ-ỉ-Ḥr* XXXI/4; *ʿm bk Ḥr-sm-tw* XXVIII/3; cf. XXX/4, v. p. 158, note 1.



pa Ḥ-nn-stn 'he of Hnês,' 'prince of Hnês,' v. p. 103, note 5.
IX. 19/8, 14, 15, 21, 20/1 to 21/2; cf. also p. 223, note 19.

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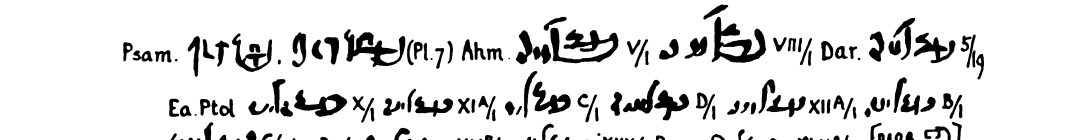
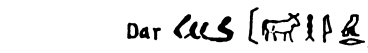


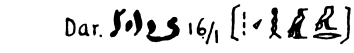
Pr-ʿo 'Pharaoh,' (π)ερο, v. p. 44, note 4, p. 201, note 2.
Pr-ʿo Psmṯk I, II (Pl. 1, 4, 9); *Psmṯk p ʿo* IX. 5/14; *Psmṯk Nfr-ʾb-Rʿ* 3/16, 14/17, 15/14; *Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ* 16/1, 18/11; *ʿḤ-ms* V/1, VI (Pl. 17), VII/1, VIII/1, IX. 16/1, 7, v. also *ḥn-ntr*; *Trʿwš* 1/1; *ʾLgsntrs, Ptwlmys*, &c., X et seqq.
fem. *t Pr-ʿo-t Gl.* XVII/1, &c.; pl. *n Pr-ʿo-w Pt. erme Gl.* XVI/1.
ʿnḫ Pr-ʿo I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 14), IX. 20/1; *ʿnḫ ḫr n Pr-ʿo* 17/13.
m-bḥ Pr-ʿo IX. 5/19, 20.
p ḫr Pr-ʿo IX. 5/16; *p ḫr n Pr-ʿo* 10/4, 15/8.
p ḫry (*ḫyr*) (*n*) *Pr-ʿo* XI/3, &c., v. **ḫyr**; *p myt Pr-ʿo* XV. A/2, B/3.
ꝑ Pr-ʿo IX. 3/17; *n gll·w n Pr-ʿo* XVII/5; *t mṯ Pr-ʿo* XLI/12; cf. p. 167, note 1.

fy qn nʿše *ἀθλοφόρος* of Berenike Euergetis *n Brnyge t mnḫ·t* XVI/2, &c., generally to XXX.

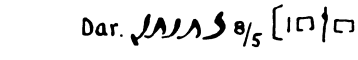
fy ṭnʾ nb *κανηφόρος* of Arsinoe Philadelphus *m-bḥ ʾRsyne t mr-sn* XVI/2 (at Psoi XVI/4), &c., generally to XXX.



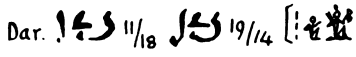
mr ʾḥ 'herdsman.'
ʿ-w n mr ʾḥ ʾt sms IX. 24/12.
in ppr. n. *P-mr-ʾḥ*.



mr yḥ 'superintendent of land.'
p mr yḥ IX. 16/1, 3–5, 9, 12, 17/2, 10, 12. 19, 20.



mr pr-ḥṭ 'superintendent of treasury.'
p mr pr-ḥṭ n ʾMn IX. 8/5, 6 (see duties explained there, in charge of cattle and geese pasturing in nome of Pemze).



mr mšʿ 'captain of the host,' 'captain' **Ле-ланище**, v. p. 234, note 6.
IX. 11/17, 18, 16/12, 13, 19/13, 14, 21, 20/5, 21/2.

mr ḥs 'superintendent of singing,' IX. 24/2.

mr šn 'superintendent of inquiry'(?) or 'of the seal'(?) = *ἀρχιερεύς*, cf. **Лашане**.
p mr šn IX. 1/4, 8, 2/12, 5/7, 10, 18/10, XXXII/2, 13, XLI. verso B/12; *e-f n mr šn* IX. 2/8.
mr šn n ʾMn IX. 1/2. *n wʿb-w p mr šn* IX. 18/14, cf. p. 102, note 6.

mr ʿ·t (?), v. uncertain, I (Pl. 2).

mr šnʿ (?), **mr ʿṯ** (?) a high official, v. p. 245, note 5.
IX. 19/1, 5, 6, to 21/1; *n ḫʿ·w n p mr ʿ·t*(?) 19/15.
n sḫ·w n p mr ʿ·t(?) IX. 19/5; *wʿ sḫ e-f ʾp ʾs* (var. *n*) *p mr ʿ·t*(?) 19/1, 3.

mḥ-2 'second' in command, v. *mḥ* ordinal prefix in Glossary, p. 355.

nb wʿb 'owner of purity'(?) *нвоанıς*, title or description of priest of Socnopaeus, v. p. 173, note 2, p. 301, note 2 (*a*).
XLV. A/2, 4.

nb eṭb ḥṭ 'owner of a writing for silver (mortgage ?),' v. p. 144, note 6.
title or description of a woman, XVII/5.

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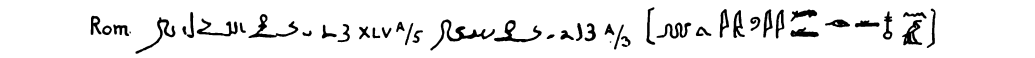
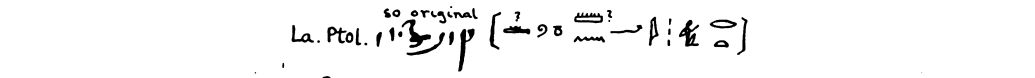


Rom. XLV A/5 A/3

nfr šty, ne-nfr-ʾr-šty νεφερσατει, title, or name (?), in titles of priest of Socnopaeus, v. p. 301, note 2 (*d*). XLV. A/3, 5, B/3.

nm, nmḥ 'tenant'(?), v. Glossary, p. 362.

nḥ 'measurer,' 'surveyor,' v. Glossary, p. 362. **rm, rm nm, rm e-f** ⲣⲉϥ-, &c., v. Glossary, s.v. *rm*, p. 365.

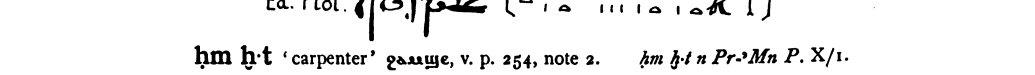


La. Ptol. so original

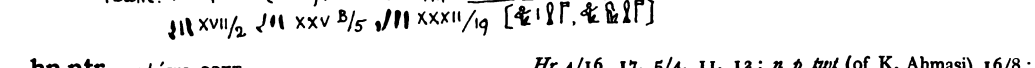
rm e-f mn 'herdsman'(?), cf. ⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲟⲛⲉ, v. p. 262, note 6. XII. H/12.

rṭ 'inspector,' 'agent,' v. Glossary, p. 367.

Ea. Ptol.



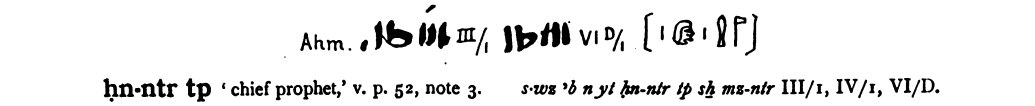
ḥm ḫ·t 'carpenter' ϩⲁⲙϣⲉ, v. p. 254, note 2. *ḥm ḫ·t n Pr-ʾMn P.* X/1.



Psam. (v. Pl. 9) Dar. 3/14 (ḥn-nfr n 16/8) Ea. Ptol. XV/1 La. Ptol. XV B/4 XVII/2 XXV B/5 XXXII/19

ḥn-ntr προφήτης, ϩⲟⲛⲧ.
ʾr ḥn-ntr IX. 1/3; *tʾ·w ḥn-ntr·w* 13/16.
ḥn-ntr P. XXVI/5; *ḥn-ntr sẖ n tš n N* XVII/2.
wʿb·w ḥn-ntr·w yt-ntr·w n pr ʾMn Ṯhn·t II (Pl. 9).
ḥn-ntr (n) ʾMn Te-w-zy IX. 1/3, 3/14.
tʾ ḥn-ntr n 16 n n ntr·w n Te-w-zy IX. 3/15; *ʾew hn-ntr n Ḥr-m-ʾḫ·t* I (Pl. 1).
p ḥn-ntr n Ḥr nb Ḥ-nn-stn p ḥ. n ʾNp nb Ḥr-ṭy IX. 13/6; *Ḥr* 4/16, 17, 5/4, 11, 12; *n p twt* (of K. Ahmasi) 16/8; *n ʾS* XXV/6.
ḥn-ntr Wrm·w ḥn-ntr Sm·w XV. A/3, B/4, XXV. B/1, &c., v. p. 139, note 9, p. 160, note 6; *ḥn-ntr Wrm·w ḥn-ntr 4-n n Ḥ·t-Ḥr* XXXII/12.
p hn-ntr Mʿ (Mw·t?) X. v/1.
in name (*P-*)*ḥn-ntr-Mw·t.*

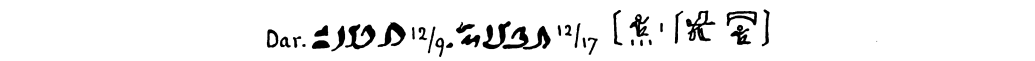
Ahm. III/1 VI D/1



ḥn-ntr tp 'chief prophet,' v. p. 52, note 3. *s·wz ʾb n yt ḥn-ntr tp sẖ mz-ntr* III/1, IV/1, VI/D.

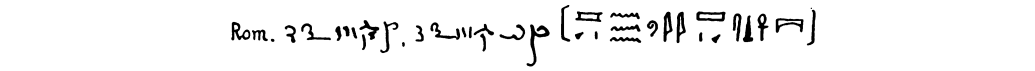
ḥry 'governor,' 'ruler,' v. Glossary, p. 374.

Dar. 12/9 12/17



ḥry Mzy 'chief of Mezai,' 'chief of police,' v. p. 233, note 16.
p ḥry Mzy n T-Qḥy IX. 11/11, 12/2; *p ḥry Mzy* 11/11, 14, 12/9–21.

Rom.



ḥry šy 'chief of lake,' title of the priests of Socnopaeus, ῥισηι, v. p. 301, note 2 (*b*), (*c*).
ḥry šy wṭ-wr XLV. A/3, 4 = ῥισιγετου.

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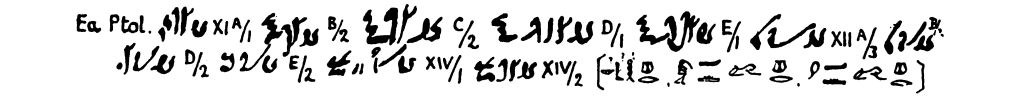
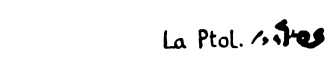


Ea Ptol. XI A/1 B/2 C/2 D/1 E/1 XII A/3 B/1 D/2 E/2 XIV/1 XIV/2

ẖr ḥb ('ritual-priest') ταριχευτής, v. p. 122, note 3, p. 260, note 3.
ẖr ḥb n t ḫs·t Zm XI/3, XII/3, XIII/3, XIV/1, 2; *n p ʿʿn* XI/1, 4.

ẖr(t)·ntr 'stone-mason,' v. Glossary, p. 381.



La Ptol.

ẖr . . . (*ẖr ḥb* ?). title of man XXII/3.

Psam.

syn 'physician,' v. the Glossary, p. 384.

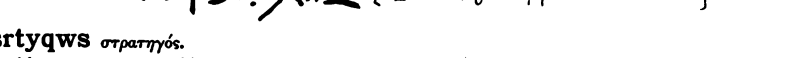
sy mr·f title of priest of Harshafe, &c., v. p. 48, note 4.

Ahm. IV/1 VI B/1 c mult. varr.

s·wz ʾb (n) yt title of priests at Teuzoi in time of Ahmasi, v. p. 52, note 2, p. 209, note 4.
III/1, IV/1, V/1, 6, VI (Pl. 17, 18), VII/1, 5, VIII/2.

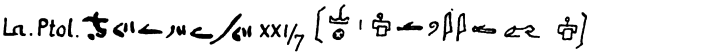
sm title of high-priest of Ptah, deified, v. div. names. **sry** 'officer,' 'magnate,' v. Glossary, p. 387.

La Ptol.



srtyqws στρατηγός.
in title or proper name (?), *P-srtyqws* XXXV/6, the article being written with the alphabetic *p*.

La. Ptol. XXI/7



srtyts στρατιώτης, v. p. 278, note 2.
(pl.) *Wynn n ms n Qmy ẖn n ẖrṭ·w n srtyts* XXI/7, v. p. 150, note 5.

s·ṇm·t n s·ʿnḫ description of a woman, v. p. 143, note 4.
s-ḥm·t n s·ʿnḫ nb eṭb ḥṭ XVII/2, 5.

s·ḥne in *p s·ḥne n T-Qḥy*, v. Glossary, p. 387.

sẖ 'scribe' ('teacher') ⲥⲁϫ(-ⲟ) : ⲥⲁϧ, v. Glossary, p. 388, for forms.
sẖ N. XI/2, XII. H/6, 11, 13, 17; XXIX/3; *n sẖ·w* IX. 17/15.
wʿ sẖ n ʿ-sb 'school-scribe' IX. 8/3, v. p. 82, note 6.
wʿ sẖ e-f ʾp ʾs p mr ʿ·t (?) IX. 19/1; *py sẖ nt ʾp n p mr ʿ·t* (?) 19/3, v. p. 245, note 4; *p sẖ n p mr ʿ·t* (?) 20/5; *n sẖ·w n p mr ʿ·t* (?) 19/5.
sẖ pr-ʿnḫ ἱερογραμματεύς, v. p. 81, note 13: *n sẖ·w pr ʿnḫ n sẖ·w qṭy* IX. 7/16, 13/19; *ẖr ʾr-k sẖ pr-ʿnḫ* 14/21.
sẖ mz(-ntr ?) πτεροφόρος, v. p. 52, note 4, p. 210, note 8, p. 288, note 7: *s·wz-ʾb-yt ḥn-ntr tp sẖ mz(-ntr ?)* IV/1, VI. D/1; *ḥn-ntr Wrm·w ʿo-n-wʿb sẖ mz* (?), XXXII/14.
py sẖ ḥ-ntr IX. 1/9; *sẖ ḥ-ntr N.* XII. H/2.
p sẖ n ẖr wḫ·w IX. 8/17.
te tʾ sẖ šn I (Pl. 2), v. p. 202, note 12.
sẖ qṭy ζωγλύφος, v. p. 81, note 13, p. 229, note 4; *n sẖ·w qṭy* IX. 7/16, 13/20; *sẖ qṭy N.* XII. H/8.
wʿ sẖ n tš IX. 16/3; *n sẖ·w n tš* 17/13; *n tš n Hnés* 16/2 and *n rṭ·w* 7/1; *ḥn-ntr sẖ n tš n Ne T-št-rs* XVII/2, 5.
sẖ, sẖy 'write' in *nt sẖ n rn n wʿb·w n Sbk* (*Ḥt-Ḥr* &c.) i.e. μονογραφος XV, &c.; cf. p. 145, note 10 ad fin.

sṭm 'servant,' v. Glossary, p. 391.

stn 'king,' v. Glossary, p. 391.

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šp ʿq (?) 'receive rations' (?) in descriptions of soldiers, v. p. 132, note 8 (= *μισθοφόρος*?), v. Glossary, pp. 393, 412.

Wynn e-f šp ʿq (?) *ḫn n rm·w ʾWmns nt sḫ a t šte·t n rs-ne* (?) XV. A/2, B/3.

rm e-f šp ʿq (?) *ḫn n rm·w n Lʾqhs e-f sḫ a t hʾpyirs n ʾMtr* XVII/2; id. *e-f sḫ a ʾMtr* XX/3; *rm e-f šp ʿq* (?) *e-f sḫ a ʾMwr* XXIII/2, XXIV/6; *rm e-f šp ʿq* (?) (fragment) XIX/3.

šms 'attendant,' v. Glossary, p. 396.

gy 'granite-mason,' v. Glossary, p. 397.

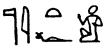
gršt, grše (?) 'club-man,' 'guard,' v. Glossary, p. 399.

tkr 'eunuch' (?), v. Glossary, p. 406.

t-bsn v. Glossary, s. v. *bsn*, p. 346.

Unread titles in the order of their occurrence in the papyri:—

Psam.

title of the son of a priest, hardly to be read

I. A/7, v. p. 205, note 35.

Ahm.

title of a man as a freeman in the document in which he sells himself as slave.

V/1, v. p. 211, note 6. It resembles a group in Berl. (Dar.) 3110/7, *Louvre Corpus* 14.

Dar.

Dar. title of governor or satrap in Egypt temp. Darius I, v. p. 61, p. 219, note 6, reading perhaps *pʿḥ*, cf. Aram. פחי, פחה 'governor.' The *p* □ is clear and hardly ambiguous: ʿ does not suit the proposed equation, and *n* or some other letter might be read: *ḥ* is rather obscurely written, but such slurrings often occur in writing titles and common words. The det. is that for a foreigner, and though the demotic is ambiguous there can be little doubt here. פרתרך of the Aramaic papyri or other words with פרת- might also be compared: *prṭ* would seem to be a conceivable reading.

IX. 1/3, 14, 16, 2/4, [16], 18, 3/4–6, 11–14, 4/1, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 20.

Ea. Ptol. XII H/4

XII. H/4. This and the next two are from the list of witnesses in XII.

Ea. Ptol. XII H/5 H/14

XII. H/5, 10, 14, possibly indicating a repetition of the titles of the person preceding. v. p. 262, note 2.

Ea. Ptol.

Iwl (?) *ʾpṭ Ḥr* XII. H/15, v. p. 262, note 7.

La. Ptol. XV A/3 B/4 XXV 2/5

title of priesthood of Ptolemies from Euergetes I onwards, held by priests of Hathor and Sobk at Pathyris.

ḫn-k (?) *n ntr·w mnḫ·w n ntr·w mr yt·w n ntr·w nt pr·w* XV. A/3, B/4; *ḫn-k* (?) *n ntr·w mnḫ* &c. to *n ntr·w mr-mw·t·w p Swtr* XXV. 2/1, 5, 8, 11, 14; v. p. 132, note 10, p. 266, note 12.

La. Ptol. XXV 2/9

title of priest, possibly indicating a repetition of the titles of the person preceding, cf. p. 283, note 3.

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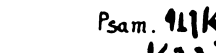
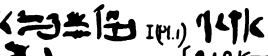
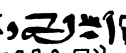
ROYAL NAMES

Ššq Σεσωγχις, Ass. Susinqu, Heb. שישק. v. ppr. nn. *Šš-q*, *ʿNḫ-Ššq*.

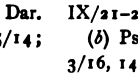
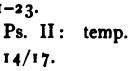
Psam.  I(Pl.1)  II/b(Pl.9) Dar  5/14 8/14

Psmṯk Psammêṯik, Ψαμμητιχος. v. ppr. nn. *P-s-mṯk-*.

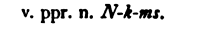
(*a*) Ps. I: *Pr-ʿo Psmṯk* I, II (Pl. 1, 4, 9); temp. Dar. IX. 5/19, 8/14, 9/20–10/1, 11–12; *Pr-ʿo Psmṯk ḥ ʿo* 5/14; also with full titles in the hieratic copies of the stelae in IX/21–23.

(*b*) Ps. II: temp. Darius *Pr-ʿo Psmṯk Nfr-ʾb-Rʿ* IX. 3/16, 14/17.

N-k Neko, Νεκως, Ass. Niku, Heb. נכו, v. p. 243, note 7. v. ppr. n. *N-k-ms*.

Dar.  3/16  14/17

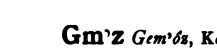
Nfr-ʾb-Rʿ Nefrebrêʿ. v. **Psmṯk** (*b*).

Dar.  16/1

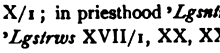
Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ Uahabreʿ, Ουαφρης, Απρις, v. p. 240, note 13. temp. Darius *Pr-ʿo Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ* IX. 16/1, 18/11. v. ppr. nn. *Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ-mr-Rʿ* (?), *Mʾ-n-n-Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ*.

Ahm. V/1 Dar. 16/7

ʿḤ-ms *Aḥmasi*, Αμασις, Αμωσις, v. also ppr. nn. *ʿḤ-ms-*. *Pr-ʿo ʿḤ-ms* V/1, VI. A/1, VII/1, VIII/1; IX. 16/1; *p ḥn-ntr n p twt n Pr-ʿo ʿḤ-ms* 16/7; *ḥ-sp 44 n* (*ʿḤ-ms*) IX. 21/7.

Dar.  21/7

Gmʾz *Gemʾóz*, Καμβυσης, Kambuzia, v. p. 247, note 4. temp. Darius *ḥ-sp* (*3*) (*4*) *n Gmʾz*, IX. 21/7, 9.

Dar. 

Trʾwš Dariawesh, Δαρειος, v. p. 218, note 4. *Pr-ʿo Trʾwš* IX. 1/1.

Alexander: temp. Alexander Aegus *ʾLgsntrs p ntr* X/1; in priesthood *ʾLgsntrws* XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXIII, &c. *ʾLgstrws* XVII/1, XX, XXII.

Alexander Aegus: *Pr-ʿo ʾLgsntrs sy ʾ Lgsntrs p ntr* X/1.

Ptolemy I Lagi: *Pr-ʿo Ptwlmys* (var. *Ptlwmys*, v. p. 265, note 1) XI/1; in priesthood *Ptwlmys P-Swtr* XVI/2.
with **Berenice:** in priesthood *n ntr·w nt lg ḥb* XVI/1; *n ntr w nt nḫm* XVII/1, XVIII/1, &c.

Ptolemy II Philadelphus: *Pr-ʿo Ptwlmys* (var. *Ptlwmys*) *sy Ptwlmys* XII/1, XIII/1, XIV/1. in priesthood *Ptwlmys p mr sn* XVI/3.
with **Arsinoe:** in priesthood *n ntr·w sn·w* XV. A/5, XVI/1, 10, XVII/1, &c.
Arsinoe: in canephory *ʾRsyne t mr sn* XVI/5, XVIII/2, &c.

Ptolemy III Euergetes: in priesthood *Ptwlmys p mnḫ* XVI/3.
with **Berenike II:** in priesthood *n ntr·w mnḫ·w* XV. A/5, XVI/1, 10, XVII/1, &c.
Berenike II: in athlophory *Brnyge t mnḫ·t* XVII/2, XVIII/2, &c.

Ptolemy IV Philopator: in priesthood *Ptwlmys p mr yt-f* XVI/3.
with **Arsinoe:** in priesthood *n ntr·w mr yt-w* XV. A/5, XVI/1, 10.
Arsinoe: in priesthood *ʾRsyne t mr yt-s* XVII/2, XVIII/3, XIX/3, &c.

Ptolemy V Epiphanes: in priesthood *Pr-ʿo Ptwlmys p ntr nt pr·w eʾr ʾr*(?) *n-*[*nfr*]*·w* XVI/4.
with **Cleopatra I** (posthumous): *Ptlwmys erme Glwptre n*

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nṯr·w nṯ pr·w e·ʾr ʾr nfr·w XV/1; *Ptlwmys erme Glwptre n nṯr·w nṯ pr·w* XVI/1. in priesthood *n nṯr·w nṯ pr* XV. A/5; *n nṯr·w nṯ pr·w* XVI/1, 10, XVII/1, &c.

Cleopatra I: in priesthood *Glwptre ṯ mw·ṯ ṯ nṯr nṯ pr·w* XVI/4.

Ptolemy VI Philometor:

Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys sy Ptlwmys erme Glwptre n nṯr·w nṯ pr·w e·ʾr ʾr nfr·w XV/1; in priesthood *Ptlwmys p mr mw·ṯ* XVI/2–3; *p nṯr mr mw·ṯ*, XVII/1, XVIII/1, 7, &c.

with **Cleopatra II** and **Eupator**: *n Pr-ᶜo·w Ptlwmys erme Glwptre ṯe-f snṯ n ḫrṯ·w Ptlwmys erme Glwptre n nṯr·w nṯ pr·w erm Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys pe-w* (?) *šr ᶜo p nṯr ʾWptr* XVI/1.

with **Cleopatra II**: in priesthood *n nṯr·w mr mw·ṯw* XVI/1, 10.

Cleopatra II: in priesthood *ṯ Pr-ᶜo·ṯ Glwptre* XVI/4.

Ptolemy VII Eupator (v. pp. 140–2):

associated *Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys pe-w* (?) *šr ᶜo p nṯr ʾWptr* (v. p. 139, note 1), XVI/1; do. in priesthood XVI/3; in priesthood *p nṯr ʾWptr* XVI/1, 10; *p nṯr a·ṯn yṯ-f* XVII/1, XVIII/2, &c.

Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

in priesthood *p nṯr mnḫ* XXV. B/2.

with **Cleopatra II, III**, &c.: *Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys p mnḫ sy Ptlwmys erme Glwptre n nṯr·w nṯ pr·w erme ṯ Pr-ᶜo·ṯ Glwptre ṯe-f snṯ erme ṯ Pr-ᶜo·ṯ Glwptre ṯe-f ḥm·ṯ n nṯr·w mnḫ·w erme ne-w ḫrṯ·w* XVII/1; sim. but *p nṯr mnḫ* XVIII/1; in priesthood *n nṯr·w mnḫ·w* XVIII/2, XIX/2, 10, XX/1.

Ptolemy IX Philopator II: in Alexandrine priesthood *p nṯr mr yṯ-f* XVIII/2 (not in XIX); *p nṯr ḫwn mr yṯ-f* (misplaced?) XXI/3; in priesthood XXII/2, XXIII/1, 6, &c.

(Philopator II must have been one of the children associated with Euergetes II in or shortly before his 52nd year, and must have died in that year: having died in the lifetime of the 'Euergetes gods' he precedes them in the lists of deified kings. v. p. 145, note 3.)

Cleopatra II, see Ptolemy VIII.

with **Cleopatra III** and **Ptolemy X Soter II**: *ṯ Pr-ᶜo·ṯ Glwptre erme ṯ Pr-ᶜo·ṯ Glwptre erme Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys pe-s šr p mr mw·ṯ p Swtr* XX/1; in priesthood *n nṯr·w mnḫ·w p mr mw·ṯ nṯ* (?) *p Swtr* XX/2.

Cleopatra III, see Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II.

with **Ptolemy X Soter II**: *ṯ Pr-ᶜo Glwptre erme Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys n nṯr·w mr mw·ṯw* ⟨⟨*p nṯr ḫwn mr yṯ-f*⟩⟩ (sic) *p Swtr* XXI/1; *ṯ Pr-ᶜo·ṯ Glwptre erme Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys pe-s šr n nṯr·w mr mw·ṯw p Swtr* XXII/1; *ṯ Pr-ᶜo Glwptre* ⟨⟨*n nṯr·w nṯ pr·w*⟩⟩ (sic) *erme Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys p mr mw·ṯ p Swtr* XXIV/1. in priesthood *n nṯr·w mr mw·ṯw p Swtr* XXII/2, XXV. B/2; as associated with Ptolemy XI, &c. *n nṯr·w mr mw·ṯ nṯ nḥm* (misplaced) XXVI/3, XXVII/2.

with **Ptolemy XI Alexander I** (and **Ptolemy X**, &c.?): *ṯ Pr-ᶜo·ṯ Glwptre erme Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys pe-s šr nṯ e-w z n-f ʾLgstrws erme n nṯr·w mr mw·ṯ nṯ nḥm* XXVI/1, XXVII/1.

Ptolemy XI Alexander I (see the last).

with **Berenike III** (and **Ptolemy X**, &c.?): *Pr-ᶜo Ptlwmys nṯ e-w z n-f ʾLygstrs erme ṯ Pr-ᶜo·ṯ Brnyge ṯe-f snṯ ṯe-f ḥm·ṯ erme n nṯr·w mr-mw·ṯw nṯ nḥm* XXVIII/1, XXIX/1; id. but *ṯ Pr-ᶜo·ṯ Gplwn* (sic) XXX/1 (v. p. 159. note 3).

Tiberius: *Tybrwys Qysrws Sbsṯ p nṯr p šr p nṯr* XLIV/1.

Claudius: *Tbers Qrwts* [*Qysrs*] *Sbsts Qrmnqs e·ʾr ʾr* (?) *mḫ p nṯr p šr p nṯr* XLV/1.

DIVINE NAMES

ʾY-m-ḥtp Imhôtep, Ιμουθης, v. Proper names s. v.

Psam (Pl. 7) Ahm VI F/1 VIII ᵛ/7 Dar. IX 1/4 Ea Ptol X/1 XI A/2

[ ]

La Ptol XXIII/2

ʾMn Amûn, Αμμων, αμογπ.

(1) at Teuzoi (El Hîbeh), cf. p. 38 and hieratic stelae in IX, cols. 21, 22:—

Pr-ʾMn Ṯnn·ṯ II (Pl. 11); do. *n Te-w-zy* I (Pl. 3); *ḥ-nṯr n Pr ʾMn Ṯnn·ṯ* II (Pl. 10); *ṯ qnḫ n ʾMn* IX. 7/19; *ṯ gᵊ n ʾMn ḫry-s-wry* 7/8; *twṯ n ʾMn* 7/17–18; *ʾMn Te-w-zy ḥnᶜ psḏ-nṯr·w-f* 8/1, &c.; *p ᶜnḫ* (flower) *n ʾMn* 3/16–17, &c.

p mr šn n ʾMn IX. 1/2; *ḥn-nṯr ʾMn Te-w-zy* 1/3 (*n Te-w-zy*, p. 229, note 14); *ḥnᶜ psḏ-nṯr·w-f* 8/1; *wn n ʾMn n Te-w-zy* VI. F (Pl. 17).

ᶜnḫ ʾMn (asseveration) IX. 1/4; *ḏe ʾMn qy pe-k ᶜḥ* 1/1; 5/13; *ʾMn a ṯy ᶜnḫ-k* 12/13–14.

(2) of Thebes: *wᶜ wᶜb n ʾMn* IX. 3/18, 5/16; *wᶜb ʾMn* XII. H/7; *wn ʾMn* H/3, 9; *mr pr-ḥṯ n ʾMn* IX. 8/5, 6; *ḥm-ḫ·ṯ n pr ʾMn* X/1.

ᶜnḫ ʾMn ʾnḫ Pr-ᶜo I (Pl. 7), II (Pl. 14).

v. also ppr. nn. *ʾMn, ʾMn-, Wsy-ʾMn, P-šr-ʾMn, Pa-ʾMn, Nḫṯ-ʾMn, T-šr-ṯ-ʾMn.*

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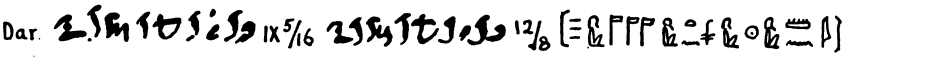
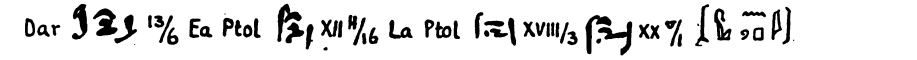
ʾMn-ʾPy Amenopi, Αμενωφις. Ammon of Opi, v. p. 122, note 7.
wn n ʾMn-ʾPy n p ʾmnt N. XI/2, XII/2, XIII/2, XIV/1, v. p. 122, note 8.
v. ppr. n. *P-a-ḳe-ʾMn-ʾPy.*

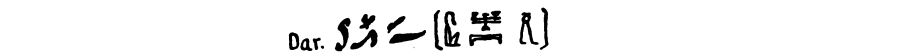


ʾMn-Rᶜ-stn-ntr-w Amenraᶜsentêr, 'Amenreᶜ, king of the gods,' Αμενρασονθηρ, properly supreme god of Thebes: (Teuzoi) *t s ḫw-t n ʾM. te* IX. 6/15; (Teuzoi) *ʿy e ḫr eᶜ-w ʾM. p ntr-ᶜo ar-f* 12/8.
wᶜb n ʾM. IX. 5/16, 6/13, 21, 8/4, 12.
ᶜnḫ ʾM. (asseveration) IX. 6/21.

ʾMn-stn-t-w, Eg. *ʾMn-nb-ns-t-ṗwy,* -εμεστους. v. ppr. n. *P-a-ḳe-ʾMn-stn-t-w.*

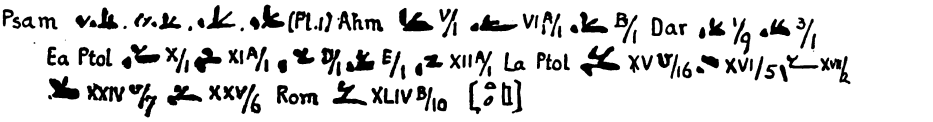


ʾNp Anûp, Ανουβις, ανογπ.
ḫn-ntr n ʾNp nb Ḥr-ty IX. 13/6.
v. ppr. nn. *P-hb-ʾNp, P-a-ḳe-ʾNp, Nḫt-s(?)-ʾNp, Hry-ʾNp, T-šr-t-ʾNp.*



ʾN-ḥr Enhûri, Ονουρις, επρογρε. *wᶜb n ʾN-ḫr n Tn* IX. 8/20; v. p. 230, note 14.

ʾR-ḥms-nfr, Αρσενουφις, v. p. 278, note 3. v. ppr. n. *P-a-ḳe-ʾR-ḥms-nfr.*

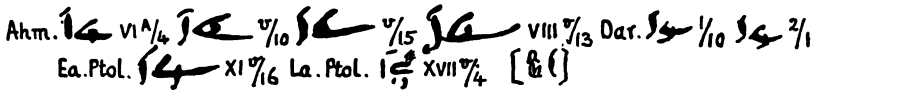


ʾS Êsi, Ισις, ηce.
ʾS n Mᶜ (Ισις Νεμης) XXXV/2.
p ḫn-ntr n ʾS XXV/6.
v. *ḫy (n) ʾS* = Ισειον in Glossary.
v. also ppr. nn. *ʾS-, P-šr-ʾS, P-a-ḳe-ʾS, Nḫm-s-ʾS, Ḥr-pa-ʾS, Ḥr-sy-ʾS, Šp-ʾS, Qᵉ-w-s-n-ʾS, Ta-ʾS.*

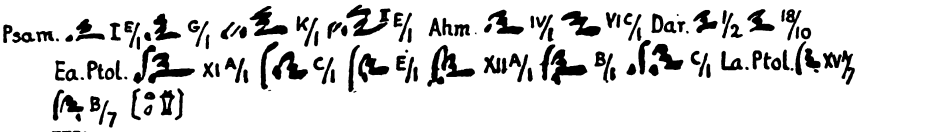
ʾS-wr-t Esweri, Εσουηρις, as ppr. n. spelt *Ns-wr-t* q.v.

ʾTm Etôm, -ετουμις, -ετωμ.
in ppr. n. *P-šr-ʾTm.*

ᶜO-pḥ-t ᶜApahte, -απαθης, απαρτε, v. p. 274, note 4.
in ppr. nn. *P-šr-ᶜO-pḥ-t, T-šr-t-ᶜO-pḥ-t.*



ᶜḤ ᶜOh, αϱ : ιοϱ. in ppr. nn. *ᶜḤ-, P-šr-ᶜḥ.*



Wbst Ubasti, Βουβαστις, ογβαστε, v. p. 206, note 47.
in ppr. nn. *P-šr-Wbst, Pe-f-tw-ᶜw-Wbst, Nḫt-Wbst, Hry-Wbst, Ta-Wbst, Z-Wbst-e-f-ᶜnḫ.*

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Wn-nfr Unnofri, Ουννοφρις, ογεπποφρι. in ppr. nn. *Wn-nfr* and *ʿNḫ-wn-nfr*.

La. Ptol. XV A/3 XXV B/5 (sic) XXXII

Wrm apparently title of high priests of Reʿ and Mnevis at Heliopolis, Eg. , as deified.
ḫn-ntr (*n*) *Wrm·w ḫn-ntr Sm·w* XV. A/3, B/4, XXV. B, title of priests of Hathor and Sobk; *ḫn-ntr Wrm·w* XXXII/12 et seqq., title of priests of Hathor at Pathyris: see below **Sm** and v. p. 132, note 9.

Ahm IV v/5 VIII v/9 7/10 Dar. 29/6 Ea. Ptol. X/4 v/8 XIV v/6 La. Ptol. XIX v/4

Wsr Usiri, Οσιρις, ογειρε, v. p. 206, note 47 ad fin.
Wsr nb ʾBṭ IX. 8/20; *Wsr N-ʾr-f* 20/10, 18; *Wsr n Yr-wz* (?) 7/10.
iwt n Wsr IX. 7/18, 18/22; *qnḫ n Wsr* 7/19, 18/21; *pr-Wsr* 18/21.
ʿnḫ Wsr (exclam.) IX. 20/6, 15, 19.
in ppr. nn. *Wsr-*, *P-šr-Wsr*, *P-a·ṯe-Wsr*, *Z-wsr-e-f-ʿnḫ*; place-n. *Pr Wsr e-ʾr. . . .*

Dar. 16/20

Wṭ Uto, Βουτω, -ογτο. v. place-n. *Pr-Wṭ*.
wʿb n Ḥr-n-P Wṭ IX. 16/20, see p. 321.

Psam. , (Pl 10) Ahm. VIII v/10 Dar. 19/8

Bs Bes, -Βησις. in ppr. nn. *Py-Bs*, *Ḥr-Bs*, *Ta-wn-Bs*.

Psṯ·ntr·w, v. Glossary.

Psam. I B/1 II M/1 Ahm. IV v/1 V v/13 VIII v/3 Dar. 4/7 16/17 La. Ptol. XVII/5

Pth Ptah, Φθας.
n pr-ḥṭ·w n Pth XVII/5.
p wn n Pth IX. 16/15, 17.
ʿnḫ Pth asseveration IX. 4/7.
in ppr. nn. *P-šr-Pth*, *P-a·ṯe-Pth*, *Pth-*, *Mr-ʾb-Pth*, *Z-Pth-e-f-ʿnḫ*.

Ea Ptol. (?) X v/1 La Ptol XVIII/3 XXXV/2

Mʿ Meʿ, μαε : μανι.
ʾS n Mʿ XXXV/2, Ισις Νεμης.
p ḫn-ntr Mʿ (?) X. v/1.
cf. ppr. n. (fem.) *Mʿ-Ṯḫwt*.

Psam (Pl. 11) La Ptol XXI/8 XXIX/6

Mwt Mût, Μουθις. *pr Mwt* II (Pl. 11).
in ppr. nn. (*P-*)*ḫn-ntr-Mwt*, *Pa-Mwt* (?), *T-šr·t-Mwt*.

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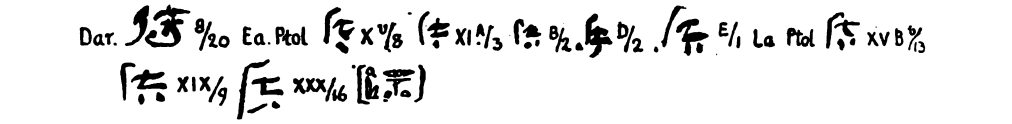
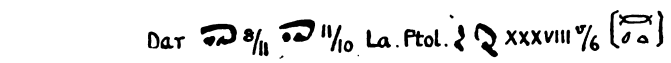


Mn Min, -μινις, -ⲙⲓⲛ.
wʿb n Mn IX. 8/20.
in ppr. nn. *Wn-Mn* (fem.), *P-šr-Mn*, *Pa-Mn*, *P-a-ṯe-Mn*, *Nḫt-Mn*, *Ns-Mn*, *Sbk-Mn*, *Šp-Mn*, *T-šr-t-Mn*, *Ta-Mn*: in place-n. *Ḥn-Mn*.

Mnt Mont, Μωνθ. *wn Mnt* XI. v/8.
v. ppr. nn. *P-šr-Mnt*, *Pa-Mnt*, *Mnt-m-ḥ*, *Nḫt-Mnt*.



Nyt Neit, Νηιθ, v. p. 230, note 2. v. ppr. nn. *P-s-n-mṯḳ-ʿ-Nyt*, *Nyt-m-ḥ*, *Sy-Nyt*.

Nb-ʿnḫ Nebônekh.
in ppr. n. *Ns-nb-ʿnḫ*.

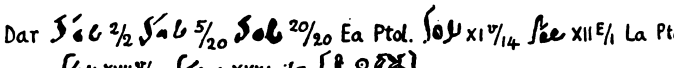
Nfr-ʾmy Neferemi, v. p. 300, note 2.
in ppr. nn. *Pa-nfr-ʾmy*, *Ta-nfr-ʾmy*.

Nfr-ḥtp Nefhotp, -νεφωτης.
in ppr. nn. *P-a-ṯe-nfr-ḥtp*; *T-a-ṯe-nfr-ḥtp*.

Nfr-šty perhaps a divine name, v. Titles s.v.

Nfr-tm Eſtem, Ιφθιμις, -ευτημις, v. p. 189, note 3, p. 260, note 1.
in ppr. n. *Šṯ-Nfr-tm*.

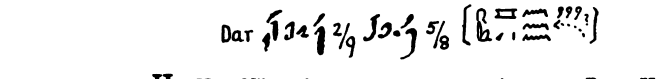
Nḫt Ekhôt, pl. Ekhati, -εχυτης, pl. -εχατις.
v. ppr. nn. *P-Nḫt*, *Pa-n-Nḫt-w*.



p-Rʿ (P)Rêʿ, (π)ρης, (π)ρʜ.
ʿnḫ p Rʿ (asseveration) IX. 2/2, 4/6, 13, 15, 11/3, 21, 20/20.
ʾy ʾr-f p ʿḥ n p Rʿ IX. 3/11, 5/20.
in **ʾMn-Rʿ-stn-ntr-w**, **Ḥr-p-Rʿ**: ppr. nn. *Wḥ-ʾb-Rʿ*, *P-šr-p-Rʿ*.

Rm-ʿo Remʿao, ⲣⲉⲙⲙⲁⲟ, pl. Boh. ⲣⲉⲙⲙⲁⲟⲓ, ⲣⲉⲙⲙⲁⲱⲩ, v. p. 161, note 6.
p rpy n Rm-ʿo-w (?) XXXV/5, for the *n* (𓈖) v. p. 289, note 5.

(T-)Rmwte (T)Ermûte, Τερμουθις, -τερμογτε.
in ppr. n. *T-rmwte*.



Ḥp Hap, Nile-god, v. p. 222, note 3. in ppr. n. *P-a-ṯe-Ḥp*.

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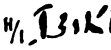
Psam I H/1 II D/1 Ea.Ptol  X V/8 certain X V/13

Ḥp Hapi, Απις, -ωφις, ϩαπε. in ppr. n. *Ḥp-mn*, cf. *ʿNḫ-Ḥp* (?).

Ḥr Hôr, Ωρος, ϩωρ: for the demotic forms see ppr. n. *Ḥr*.
p ḥn-ntr Ḥr IX. 4/16, 17, 5/4, 11, 12; *nb Ḥ-nn-sin* 13/6, v. p. 90, note 3.
wʿb n Ḥr n P IX. 16/20, 21.
in ppr. nn. *Ḥr-, Yr-Ḥr-r-w, P-ʾw-Ḥr, Pa-Ḥr-ʾGš, Pa-Ḥr-we, P-a-ṯe-Ḥr, Gm-n-f-Ḥr-bk, Ta-Ḥr, Ty-Ḥr, T-Ḥr-p-t, Ze-Ḥr-e-f-ʿnḫ*.

Ḥr-n-P. v. **Ḥr.**
in ppr. n. *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-n-P*.

Ḥr-sm-t-w Harsemtou, -αρσομθευς, -αρσονθευς.
ʿm bk Ḥr-sm-tw XXVIII/3, XXX/4.
in ppr. n. *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-sm-tw*.

Ḥr-Ṯḥwt Harthout, Αρθωτης.
in ppr. n. *Ns-Ḥr-Ṯḥwt*.

Ḥr-wr Harwêr, Αροηρις.
in ppr. n. *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-wr*.

Ḥr-ḫb (?) Harhêb (?).
in ppr. n. *Nḫt-Ḥr-ḫb* (?)

Ḥr-p-Rʿ Harprêʿ -αρπρης.
in ppr. n. *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ*.

Ḥr-ḫb Har-kheb, Αρχηβις.
v. ppr. n. *Ḥr-ḫb*.

Ḥr-m-ʾḫ-t Harmakhi Αρμαχις.
ḥn-ntr n Ḥr-m-ʾḫ-t I (Pl. 1).

Ḥr-sy-ʾS Harsiêsi, Αρσιησις.
v. ppr. n. *Ḥr-sy-ʾS*.

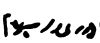
Ḥr-p-ḫrṭ Harpekhrat, Αρποχρατης.
in ppr. n. *Ns-Ḥr-p-ḫrṭ*.

Ḥr-...-ʿ (?).
in ppr. n. *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-...-ʿ* (?).

Ḥry-s-wry 'upon the great place' (in the shrine), title of deity, v. p. 81, note 2. *ʾMn-Ḥry-s-wry* IX. 7/8.

Dar. 8/1

Ḥr-š-f Harshafe, Αρσαφης, v. p. 226, note 6.
Ḥr-š-f Stn-tw (spelt *Sm-tw*) IX. 8/1, 12/6.
m-bḥ Ḥr-š-f ṃ-bḥ Wsr N-ʾr-f IX. 20/10, 18.
wʿb n Ḥr-š-f IX. 5/17, 8/17.
in ppr. n. *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-š-f*.

La.Ptol. XV B/7 XVIII/7  XXIV/8 XXX/4

Ḥ-t-Ḥr Hathôr Αθυρ, ϩαθωρ.
ḥtp-ntr n Ḥ-t-Ḥr nb ... XV/2, XXIV/8, XXVI/7; *wrḥ Ḥ-t-Ḥr* XXXII/5–7; *p mtg* (?) *Ḥ-t-Ḥr* XXXII/7.
ḥn-ntr 4-n n Ḥ-t-Ḥr XXXII/12; *wʿb-w Ḥ-t-Ḥr nb* ... XV/scribe, XVI, XVIII, XXIV, XXVIII–XXX [XXXII], XXXVII; *sḫ mn Ḥ-t-Ḥr* XXXII/14; *bk Ḥ-t-Ḥr* XXXI/4.
Cf. **Wrm**.
v. pl. n. *Pr-Ḥthr*.

Ḫnm Khnûm, Χνουμις. in ppr. n. *Pa-Ḫnm*.

Psam. I P/1 Ahm V/1 VI A/1 C/1 VII/1 Dar

9/17 Ea Ptol X/1 XI C/1 XIV V/2 La Ptol XVII/3 XXII/3

Ḫns Khon, Χων, -χωνς, ϣonc.
ḥn-ntr n Ḫns IX. 9/17 (twice).
in ppr. nn. *P-ḫl-Ḫns, Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Ḫns, P-a-ṯe-Ḫns, N-nfr-Ḫns, Nḥm-s*(?)*-Ḫns, Ḫns-..., Ḥr-Ḫns, Ta-Ḫns, Ty-Ḫns, Z-Ḫns-e-f-ʿnḫ*.

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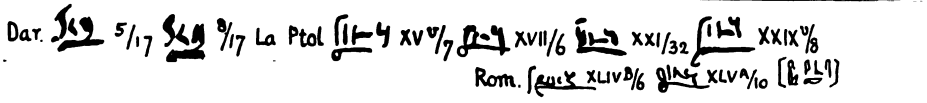
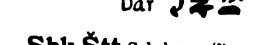
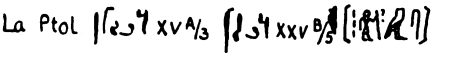


Sbk Sobk, Σονχις, Σχ-, v. p. 191.
as *nb-Bḥn*, v. p. 161, note 10.
ṯmy n Sbk t my Sbk nb Pa-y p ntr ᶜo XLIV. B/6, XLV. A/10.
n wᶜb·w n Sbk nb ʾMtr XVII/scribe et sim., XX–XXII, XXXVIII.
wᶜb n Sbk IX. 5/17, 8/17, 15/3, 15, 17/1.
Sbk erme-ỉn IX. 17/7 (a benediction).
ᶜnḫ Sbk XXXVI/3.
in ppr. nn. *P-a-ṯe-Sbk, Ḥip-Sbk, Sy-Sbk, Sbk-, T-šr-t-Sbk.*



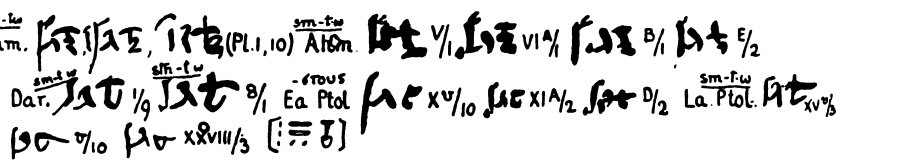
Sbk-Šṯt Sekshet . . (?), v. p. 230, note 12.
ʾr-f wᶜb n Sbk-Šṯt IX. 8/19.

Spṯ Sopti, Σωθις, v. p. 206, note 49.
in ppr. n. *Pe-f-tw-ᶜw-Spṯ.*



Sm apparently title of high priests of Ptah and Apis at Memphis, Eg. , as deified.

ḥn-ntr Wrm·w ḥn-ntr Sm·w XV. A/3, B/4, XXV. B title of priests of Hathor and Sobk at Pathyris and Krokodeilopolis; v. above, **Wrm**.

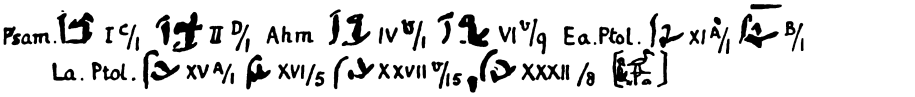


Sm·t·w Semteu (?), Σεμθευς, Σομτευς, &c., v. p. 191.
Ḥr-ỉ-f Sm-t-w IX. 8/1, 12/6, for *Stn-t-w*, v. p. 229, note 8.
in ppr. n. *Ns-Sm-t-w.* Cf. div. nn. **ʾMn-stn-t·w, Ḥr·sm·t·w**; the group *Sm-t-w* standing for Eg. title of Horus, title of Harshafe, and the title of Ammon at Karnak.

Šw Show, Σως. in ppr. n. *Ns-Šw.* v. also Glossary, s. v.

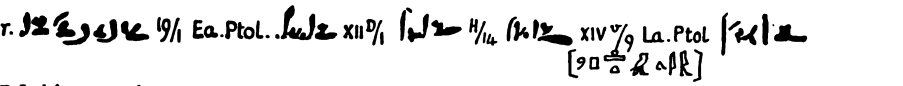
Gb Gêb, Κηβ, -κηβκις, v. p. 206, note 48, p. 267, note 7. in ppr. nn. *Pa-Gb, Ta-Gb*, cf. *ᶜNḫ-Ḥp* (?) (*ᶜNḫ-Gb* ?).

Tfn Tfeni -τφηνις, cf. p. 254, note 4. in ppr. n. *Ns-Tfn*, q.v.



Ṭḥwt Thowt, Θωθ, Θωογτ.
p mtg (?) *Ṭḥwt* XXXII/4; *nt ḥr Ṭḥwt* XXXII/7, 8.
in ppr. nn. *Mᶜ-Ṭḥwt* (f.), *Ns-Ḥr-Ṭḥwt, Ḥr-Ṭḥwt, Ḥns-Ṭḥwt, Ta-Ṭḥwt, Ṭḥwt- . . ., Ze-Ṭḥwt-e-f-ᶜnḫ.*

PROPER NAMES



ʾY-m-ḥtp Imhôtep, Ιμουθης.
(1) Ahm.: scribe of *mr ᶜ-ỉ* (?) s. of *P-šr-ʾS* IX. 19/1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 20/4.
(2) Thebes: f. of *Mnt-m-ḥ* XII. D/1, v/13, XIII. D/1, v/13 and s. of *Mnt-m-ḥ* XII. H/14.
(3) Thebes: s. of *Pa-ᶜw* XIV. v/9.
(4) Geb.: s. of *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-p-Rᶜ* XXI. v/2.
(5) „ s. of *Hry·w* XXXVII. v/6.

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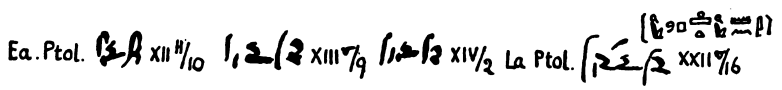
E-f-ʿnḫ Efôhekh, Απυγχις, Επωνυχος, ⲉⲫⲱⲛϩ (*Mumienetiketten*).
(1) Geb.: f. of *P-wr-ybt* XXVII. v/2.
(2) „ s. of *P-wr-ybt* XXXVIII. v/12.
(3) Rom.: s. of *Pa-nfr-ʾmy by Ta-nfr-ʾmy* XLV. A/5, C/8, D/36 = Απυγχις in Gk. text.
(4) „ s. of *Ḥr* XLV. A/16.
(5) Rom.: 'the elder' XLV. A/16, called *E-f-ʿnḫ* s. of *St-wt* in B/14.

ʾMn Amûn, ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ, v. p. 205, n. 46.
(1) Psam.: f. of *A-ḥr* I. D/1.
(2) „ f. of *Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* I. E/1.

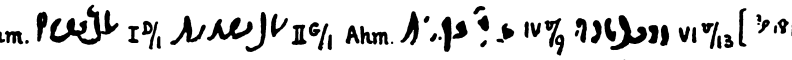
Ahm. [illegible]

ʾMn-ʾw Amenêu, Αμεννευς. Ahm.: f. of *ʿḤ-e-ʾr-ṭy-s* VIII. v/7.

Ea. Ptol. [illegible] XII H/10 [illegible] XIII v/9 [illegible] XIV/2 La Ptol. [illegible] XXII v/16

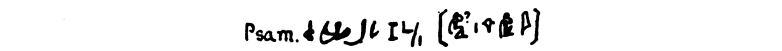


ʾMn-ḥtp Amenhotp, Αμενωθης.
(1) Thebes: s. of *P-šr-ʾMn* XII. H/10, v/9, XIII. v/9.
(2) „ s. of *Yr-rz* and f. of *Ta-hb* XIV/1, 2 = *P-a-ṭe-nfr-ḥtp* in XI, XII.
(3) Geb.: f. of *Ḥr* XXII. v/16, XXXVII. v/7.



Psam. [illegible] I D/1 [illegible] II G/1 Ahm. [illegible] IV v/9 [illegible] VI v/13 [illegible]

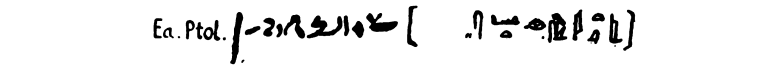
A-ḥr Aho, v. p. 205, note 36.
(1) Psam.: s. of *ʾMn* (or *Ḥr*?) I. D/1.
(2) „ f. of *P-sn-ke* II. G/1.
(3) Ahm.: f. of *Ze-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* VI. v/8 (cf. IX. 18/9?).
(4) „ s. of *P-sn-ke* IV. v/9, V. v/3.
(5) Ahm.: s. of *Ḥr-wz* V. v/16, VI. v/13.
(6) „ f. of *P-ʾme* VI. v/12, VII/5.
(7) „ s. of *Z-ḥr* VI. v/18.
(8) „ f. of *Ḥr* VII. v/6.



Psam. [illegible] I L/1 [illegible]

A-ḥr-ms (?) (or **A-ḥr**?).
(1) Psam.: s. of *Ḥr* the son of *P-ʾm* I. A/7, II. C/1.
(2) „ f. of *Ḥr-wz* I. L/1.
(3) Psam.: f. of *ʿNḫ-p-ḫrṭ* I. N/1.
(4) Ahm.: s. of *P-ʾm* (?) V. v/2.

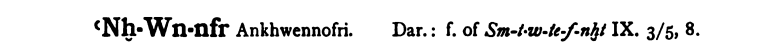
Ea. Ptol. [illegible]



ʾS-e-ʾr-ṭy-s fem. Eserteis, Εσορταις, v. pp. 190, 193 for the ending.
Thebes: m. of *Ta-ʾS* by *P-a-ṭe-ʾMn-ʾpy* X/1.

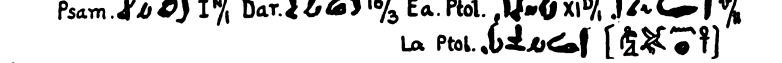
ʾS-wre-t. v. *Ns-wre-t* fem.

Dar. [illegible] 3/5 [illegible]



ʿNḫ-Wn-nfr Ankhwennofri. Dar.: f. of *Sm-t-w-te-f-nḫt* IX. 3/5, 8.

Psam. [illegible] I N/1 Dar. [illegible] 16/3 Ea. Ptol. [illegible] XI D/1 [illegible] v/11
La Ptol. [illegible]



ʿNḫ-p-ḫrṭ Khepekhrat Χαποχρατης, v. p. 206, note 53.
(1) Psam.: s. of *A-ḥr* I. N/1.
(2) „ f. of *Z-Ḫns-e-f-ʿnḫ* I. P/1.
(3) Ahm.: f. of nome-scribe *Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst* IX. 16/3.
(4) Thebes: pr., s. of *P-a-te-ʾMn-ʾPy* by *St-yr-bʾn* XI. D/1, v/11.
(5) Geb.: s. of *Tḥwt-m-ḥb* XXXII/18.

ʿNḫ-pe-f-ḥry Ankhpefhrai, v. p. 213, note 1. Ahm.: s. of *Z-ḥr* V. v/19.

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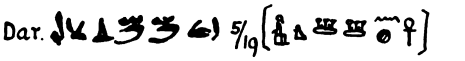
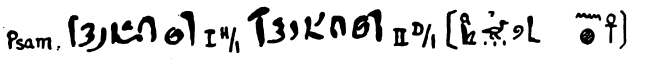
La. Ptol.

ʿNḫ-n-hb·w Ankhenhib (?).
Geb.: f. of *Ḥr-ʿo-ṗḥ·t* XV/2.

Dar. 

ʿNḫ-Šsq Ankhsheshonk, v. p. 225, note 14.
Psam.: pr. of Amenrasonther (cf. IX. 5/16), f. of *P-a·ṯe-ʾS the ʿo-n-mr* IX. 5/14, 15, 19, 6/8.

Psam. 

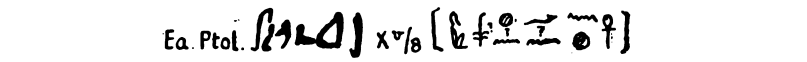
ʿNḫ-Ḥp (?) Αγχωφις, v. p. 206, note 48.
Psam.: f. of *Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* I. H/1.
„ f. of *Z-Ṯḥwt-e-f-ʿnḫ* II. D/1.

Ahm.

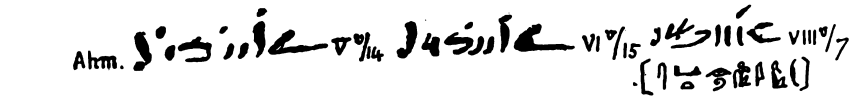
ʿNḫ-ʾMn (?) (*ʿNḫ-t·w*?).
Ahm.: f. of *ʿḤ-ṯe-f-nḫṯ* VIII. v/13.

Ea. Ptol.

ʿNḫ- . . .
Thebes: f. of *P-a·ṯe-ʾMn-sṯn-ṯ·w*, the father of *P-ḫl-Ḥns* X. v/3.

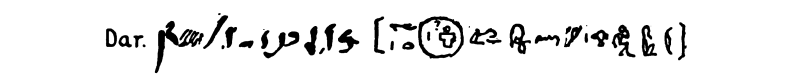
Ea. Ptol. 

ʿNḫ-Ḥp (?). Thebes: s. of *Wsr-wr*, the son of *Pa*(?)*-Mn* X. v/8.

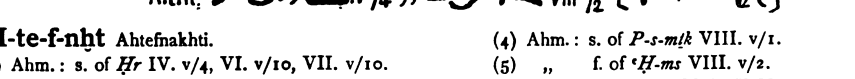
Ahm. 

ʿḤ-eʾr-ṭy-s Ahertais, v. pp. 190, 193 for the ending, see *Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ṭy-s* for type.
(1) (2) Ahm.: s. of *Ḥr* IV. v/6, V. v/14, VI. v/15, VII/7, 9.
(3) Ahm.: s. of *P-sn-ke* IV. v/7.
(4) „ s. of *Yr·ṯ-Ḥr-r-w* VI. v/2.
(5) „ s. of *ʾMn-ʾw* VIII. v/7.

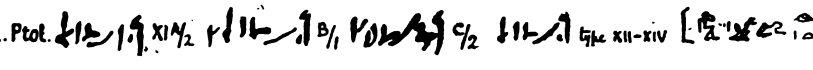
ʿḤ-ms Ahmosi, Αμωσις, Αμασις.
(1) Ahm.: s. of *ʿḤ-ṯe-f-nḫṯ* VIII. v/2.
(2) Dar.: s. of *P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-n-P* IX. 1/1, 7, 10, 12, 17, 2/1, 2, 4, 6, 5/2, 3.
(3) Dar.: prophet of Hôr IX. 4/16, 17, 5/4, 10–12; perhaps same as (2), v. p. 65, note 1.
(4) Thebes: s. of *Wz- . . .* XI. v/16.

Dar. 

ʿḤ-ms-ḥr-n-wrs (?) Ahmeshenuras (?). Ahm.: IX. 4/18.

Ahm. 

ʿḤ-te-f-nḫt Ahtefnakhti.
(1) Ahm.: s. of *Ḥr* IV. v/4, VI. v/10, VII. v/10.
(2) „ s. of . . . . IV. v/10.
(3) „ s. of *Yr·ṯ-Ḥr-r-w* VI/4, VII. v/3.
(4) Ahm.: s. of *P-s-mṯḳ* VIII. v/1.
(5) „ f. of *ʿḤ-ms* VIII. v/2.
(6) „ s. of *ʿNḫ-ʾMn* (?) VIII. v/13.

Ea. Ptol. 

Yr-w-rz, Yr-rz, v. p. 258, note 6.
Thebes: f. of *P-a·ṯe-nfr-ḥtp* or *ʾMn-ḥtp* XI/2, XII/2, XIII/2, XIV/1.

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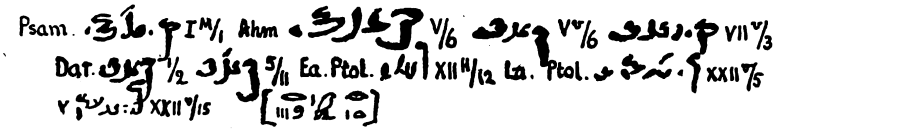
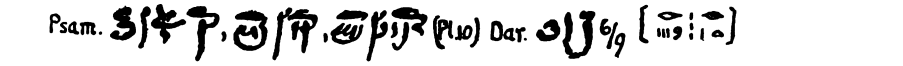
Psam. I M/1 Ahm V/6 V v/6 VII v/3
Dar. 1/2 5/11 Ea. Ptol. XII H/12 La. Ptol. XXII v/5
v XXII v/15



Yr-Ḥr-r-w Ienharow, Ιναρως, v. p. 206, n. 52; see now Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.*, 28/198.

(1) Psam.: f. of *Ḥr* I. M/1.
(2) „ s. of *P-f-tw* I. Q/13, II. A/8, written in hieroglyphs (Pl. 8).
(3) Ahm.: s. of *P-ʾme* IV. v/2, V. v/8.
(4) „ f. of *S-w-f-Ḫns* V/6.
(5) „ f. of *P-ʾme* V. v/6, VIII. v/6.
(6) „ s. of *Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* V. v/9.
(7) „ f. of *Mnt-m-ḥ* V. v/12.
(8) Ahm.: s. of *P-šr-Ptḥ* V. v/13, VII. v/11.
(9) „ f. of *ʿḤ-te-f-nḫt* VI. A/4, VII. v/3.
(10) „ f. of *ʿH-e-ʾr-ṭy-s* VI. v/2.
(11) „ s. of *Mnt-ms* (?) VII. v/4.
(12) Dar.: f. of *Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* IX. 1/2, 4, 2/8, 11.
(13) „ chief priest, s. of *P-a-ṭe-Hp* IX. 2/9, 12, 5/7–12.
(14) Thebes: f. of *Ṯ-Ḥr-p-t*, the father of *Pa-Mnt* XII. H/12.
(15) Geb.: s. of *Ṭḥwt-e-ʾr-ṭy-s* XXII. v/5.
(16) „ f. of *P-* . . . . . XXII. v/15.
(17) „ f. of *Ṭḥwt-e-ʾr-ṭy-s* XXXVII. v/4.

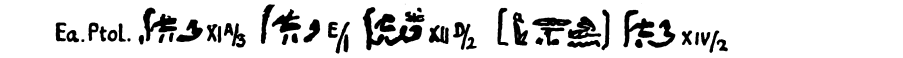
Psam. (Pl. 10) Dar. 6/9



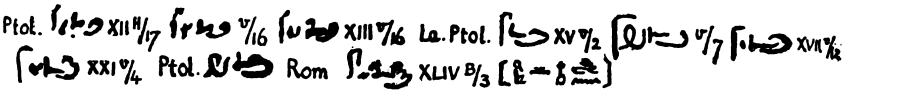
Yr-t-w-r-w Ieturau, Ιθορως, v. p. 207, note 1.

(1) Psam.: s. of *P-a-ṭe-ʾS* II (Pl. 10).
(2) „ pr. (cf. IX. 8/16–20), f. of *P-a-ṭe-ʾS* 5/17, 6/1, 3, 7, 9, 12, 19, 7/5–10/8, 13/1, 17, 14/1, 15/4, 12; in hieroglyphic, with wife *T-ṭbḥ-Nyt* 21/17, 22/15.
(3) Ahm.: f. of *Ḥr-Ḫb* IX. 17/8.

Ea. Ptol. XI A/3 E/1 XII D/2 XIV/2



Wn-Mn, fem. Wenmin.
Thebes: d. of *P-a-ṭe-ʾMn-ʾPy* or *Pa-ne* XI/3, XII/2, XIII/2, XIV/2.



Ea. Ptol. XII H/17 v/16 XIII v/16 La. Ptol. XV v/2 v/7 XVII v/12
XXI v/4 Ptol. Rom XLIV B/3

Wn-nfr Wennofri, Οννωφρις, ογεππαβρε, ογεπαβερ, ογεπαβρι.

(1) Thebes: s. of *P-hb*, the son of *P-a-ṭe-ʾMn-stn-t-w* XII. H/17, v/16, XIII. v/16.
(2) Geb.: s. of *P-šr-Mn* XV. v/2, XVI. v/15, XXXVII. v/16, XXXVIII. v/10.
(3) „ f. of *Ḥtp-Sbk* XV. v/7, XXI/32.
(4) (5) „ f. of *Sy-Sbk* XVII. v/12, XVIII. v/1, XIX. v/2, XXIII. v/1, XXIV. v/1, XXV. 2/7, 9.
(6) „ f. of *P-šr-Wsr* XIX. v/4.
(7) Geb.: f. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XXI. v/4.
(8) (9) „ s. of *Sy-Sbk* XXII. v/1, XXV. 2/7, XXVII. v/9, 16.
(10) „ f. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XXII. v/9.
(11) „ f. of *P-šr-Mn* XXV. 2/9.
(12) „ f. of *Ns-p-ntr* XXXIV/1.
(13) „ s. of *P-a-ṭe-Ḥr-sm-t-w* XXXVIII. v/7.
(14) Ptol.: XLI. verso A/5.
(15) Rom.: f. of *Hysrʿ* by *Hry-w* XLIV/3.

La. Ptol.

Wrš Wershe, Ορσης, v. p. 273, note 9.
Geb.: s. of *Ḥr* XVII/3.

Ptol.

Wrš-nfr Wershenûfi, Ορσενουφις, ϧερϣεπογϥε.

(1) Ptol.: XLI. verso A/3.
(2) „ s. of *P-a-ṭe-Mn* XLI. verso B/4.

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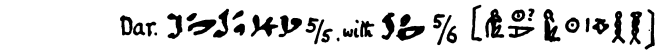
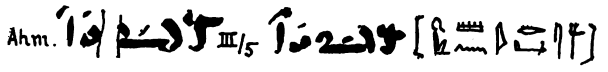


Wḥ-ʾb-Rᶜ-mr-Rᶜ (?) Wehebreᶜmirêᶜ, v. p. 225, note 9.
Dar.: *W. wᶜ brr* (?) IX. 5/5, 6.

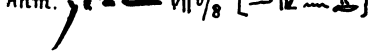


Wsy-ʾMn (or **Wsy-Pṯḥ** ?) Usiamûn, v. p. 210, note 7.
Ahm.: s. of *P-šr-Wȝst* III/5, V. v/5.

Wsr-wr Useruêr, Οσοροηρις.
(1) Thebes: f. of *P-* . . . . . X/4.
(2) „ s. of *Z-ḫr* X. v/2.
(3) „ f. of *ᶜNḫ-Ḥp* (?) and s. of *Pa-Mn* X. v/8.

Wsr-ms Usermosi.
Psam. II: IX. 15/2.

Wsr-nḫt Usirnakht.
Ahm.: s. of *P-šr-Wȝst* IV. v/5.

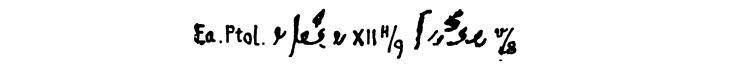


Bk-n-rn-f Bokerrinf, Βοχορινις, Βοκχωρις, v. p. 214, note 4.
Ahm.: f. of *Ḥr* VI. E/1, v/6, VII. v/8.

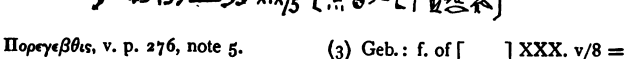
***P-ʾw-Ḥr** Pinhôr, Πινυρις, v. p. 277, note 2, and Spiegelberg, *Pap. Eleph.*, I. p. 9.
(1) Thebes: s. of *Ns-Mn* and *Z-wr* (?) XI. B/1, v/4, XII. A/1, XIII. A/1.
(2) Geb.: s. of *Pa-ỉ-w* XIX. v/9.

P-ʾme Pemû, Πεμους, πεαμογ, v. p. 202, note 6.
(1) Psam.: f. of *Ḥr* I (Pl. 1), A/9; gdf. of *ʾ-Ḥr-ms* (?) A/8.
(2) „ s. of *Ḥr* I Q/1, II B/1.
(3) Ahm.: f. of *Yr·ỉ-Ḥr-r-w* IV. v/2, V. v/8.
(4) Ahm.: s. of *Yr·ỉ-Ḥr-r-w* V. v/6, VIII. v/6.
(5) „ s. of *Ḥr* VI. B/1, v/14, VII. v/1.
(6) „ s. of *A-ḫr* VI. v/12, VII/5.

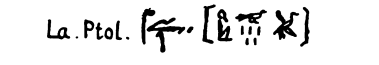
P-ʾŠwr Peshôr, Πεσυρις, v. p. 274, note 3. Geb.: f. of *T-šr·ỉ-ʾMn* by *T-šr·ỉ-ᶜo-pḫ·ỉ* XVII/5.



P-ᶜn Pᶜen, Πενις (?), π-εη, v. p. 262, note 5. Thebes: s. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾMn-ʾPy* XII. H/9, v/8, XIII. v/8.



P-wr-ybt Pueriebt, Πορεγεβθις, v. p. 276, note 5.
(1) Geb.: s. of [ ] XIX/5, XXIV/8 = (2)?.
(2) „ s. of *E-f-ᶜnḫ* XXVII. v/2.
(3) Geb.: f. of [ ] XXX. v/8 = (4)?.
(4) „ f. of *E-f-ᶜnḫ* XXXVIII. v/12.



P-wr-ṭy·w Pwertiu, Πορτις, Πογερτειογ, v. p. 156, note 2, p. 283, note 4.
Geb.: f. of *Ḥr-pa-ʾS* XXVI/5.

* All names beginning with the article **P·** are collected here: for **Pa-**, see pp. 445 et seqq., for **Py-**, **Pe-f-**, **P-a-ṭe-**, pp. 448 et seqq.

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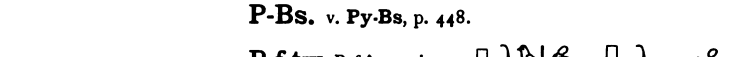
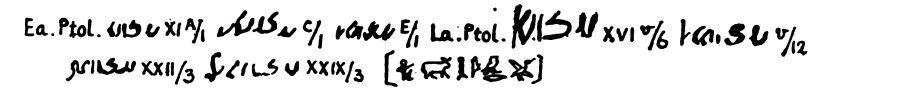
P-b-ʾw Pbaiêu. Ahm.: f. of *Gm-n-f-Ḥr-bk* VIII/10.

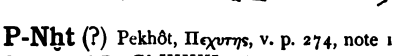
P-Bs. v. **Py-Bs**, p. 448.

P-f-tw Pefiêu, written  probably for *Pe-f-tw* 'his breath,' v. Lieblein, and Kamal, *Stèles*, v. also p. 206, note 54.
Psam.: f. of *Yr-t-Ḥr-r-w* I. Q/13, II. A/8.

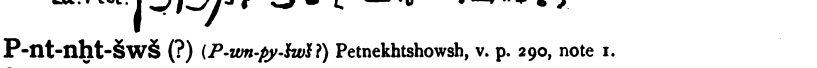


P-mr-ʾḥ Pleehe, Πελαιας, v. p. 158, note 2, p. 257, note 2.
(1) Thebes: Ταριχευτης of Apes, s. of *Ṯḥwt-e-ʾr-ṯy-s* by *T-šr-3-t* XI/1.
(2) Geb.: s. of *Ṯḥwt-e-ʾr-ṯy-s* XVI. v/6.
(3) „ s. of *Ns-nb-ᶜnḫ* XVI. v/12.
(4) „ s. of *P-a-ṯe-Sbk* XVII. v/1, XXVII. v/1.
(5) „ s. of *Pa-t-s-ᶜo-t* XVII. v/8, XIX. v/7, XXIII. v/6.
(6) „ f. of *Pa-n-Nḫt-w* XVII. v/11.
(7) „ f. of *Pa-t-w* XVII. v/14.
(8) „ f. of *Pa-Gb* XVIII. v/5, XX. v/5, XXX. v/2.
(9) „ f. of *Ns-Mn* XVIII. v/13.
(10) „ s. of *Sbk-ḥtp* XIX. v/5.
(11) „ s. of *Pa-t-w* XIX. v/14.
(12) Geb.: f. of *Sy-sbk* XX. v/15, XXV. 2/10.
(13) „ s. of *Wn-nfr* XXI. v/4.
(14)(15) „ f. and s. by *Z-ḫr*, (15) being h. of *T-Rmwtc* XXII/3.
(16) „ s. of *Sy-Sbk* XXIII. v/2, XXV. 2/10.
(17) „ s. of *P-a-ṯe-Sbk* (?) XXVII. v/1.
(18) „ s. of *ʾWnms* by *Ta-p-r-mḥt* and h. of *Ta-Gb* XXVIII/3, XXXVI/19.
(19) „ f. of *P-nfr-ḫr* by *Ns-wr-t* XXIX/3.
(20) „ f. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XXIX. v/3, XXX. v/12.
(21) „ s. of *P-šr-Mn* XXX. v/16.
(22) „ 'the less,' s. of *P-hb* XXXI/7.
(23) „ s. of *P-hb* XXXVII. v/12.

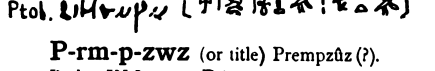
P-nfr-ḫr Pneferho, Πνεφερως.
Geb.: s. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* by *Ns-wre-t* XXIX/3.



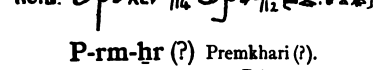
P-Nḫt (?) Pekhôt, Πεχυτης, v. p. 274, note 11.
Geb.: f. of *Pa-Gb* XXVII. v/4.



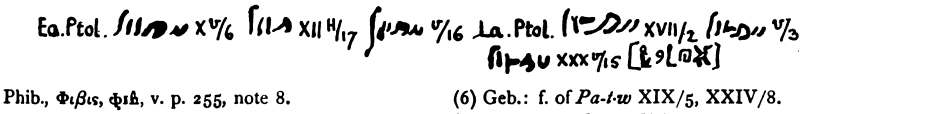
P-nt-nḫt-šwš (?) (*P-wn-py-šwš* ?) Petnekhtshowsh, v. p. 290, note 1.
Geb.: h. of *Ghwg* XXXVI/20.



P-rm-p-zwz (or title) Prempzûz (?).
Ptol.: XLI. verso D/1.



P-rm-ḫr (?) Premkhari (?).
Rom.: XLV. A/14, B/12.



P-hb Phib., Φιβις, Φιϧ, v. p. 255, note 8.
(1) Thebes: s. of . . . X. v/6.
(2) „ f. of *Wn-nfr* and s. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾMn-stn-t-w* XII. H/17, v/16, XIII. v/16.
(3) Geb.: f. of *Pa-t-s-ᶜo-t* by *T-šr-t-ʾS* XVII/2.
(4) „ f. of *Pa-t-s-ᶜo-t* XVII. v/3, XVIII. v/12, XX. v/7, XXI. v/1, XXX. v/13.
(5) „ f. of *Sy-Sbk* XVIII. v/9, XIX. v/10, XXVII. v/3.
(6) Geb.: f. of *Pa-t-w* XIX/5, XXIV/8.
(7) „ f. of *Qlwg* XXIV/9.
(8) „ s. of . . . XXVII. v/5.
(9) „ s. of *Pa-Gb* XXX. v/15.
(10) „ f. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* the less XXXI/7.
(11) „ s. of *Pa-n-nḫt-w* XXXVII. v/5.
(12) „ f. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XXXVII. v/12.

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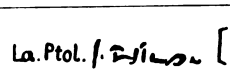
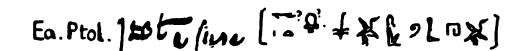
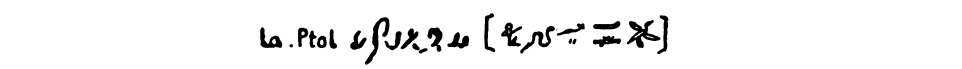
La. Ptol. 

P-hb-'Np (?) Phebanûp.
Geb.: s. of *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-sm-t-w* XIX. v/11.

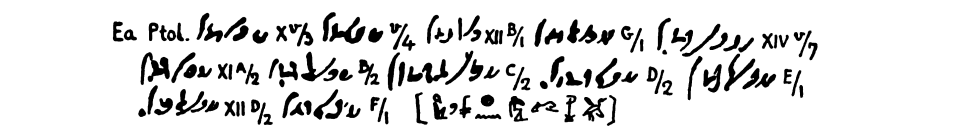
Ea. Ptol. 

P-hb-p-šm' (?) *p šm'* (?) may be a title.
Thebes: f. of *Pa-bk*, the father of *Šp-Mn* XII. H/3.

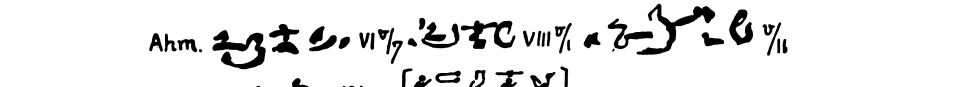
La. Ptol 

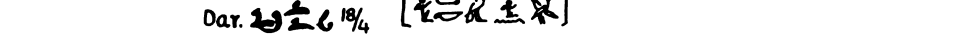
P-ḥf Phof, Φαφις, n-ḥoq, v. p. 279, note 3. Geb.: f. of *P-šr-Mnt* XXI. v/3.

(P-)ḥn-ntr-Mw·t, v. Ḥn-ntr-Mw·t.

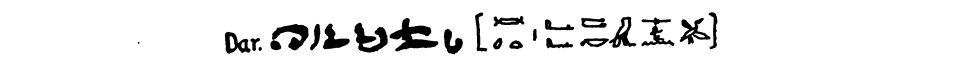
Ea. Ptol. 

P-ḥl-Ḥns Pkherkhons, Πχορχωνσις (*Paris Pap.*), v. p. 242, note 17.
(1) Thebes: s. of *P-a-ṯe-'Mn-stn-t-w*, the son of *'Nḫ* . . . X. v/3.
(2) „ do. do. *Ḥr* X. v/4.
(3) Thebes: f. of *P-a-ṯe-'Mn-stn-t-w* XI/2, XII/2, XIII/2.
(4) „ f. of *Hry* . . . XI. v/12 (doubtful).
(5) „ f. of *Twt* XII. B/1, v/10, XIII. B/1, v/10; s. of *Ns* . . . *nb-šm'* (?) XII. H/11; h. of *T-a-ṯe-nfr-ḫlp* G/1.
(6) „ s. of *Ḥr-ws* (?) XIV. v/7.

Ahm. 

Dar. 

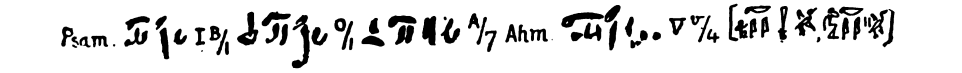
P-s-n-mṯk Psammêṯk, Ψαμμητιχος, v. p. 44, note 5, p. 201, note 3.
(1) Ahm.: f. of *'Ḥ-ṯe-f-nḫt* VIII. v/1.
(2) „ f. of *Z-ḥr* (?) VIII. v/11.

Dar. 

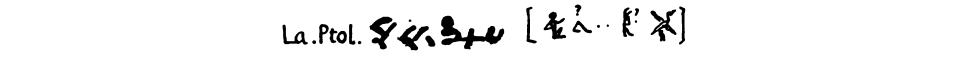
P-s-n-mṯk-'-Nyt Psammeṯkaneït, v. p. 245, note 10. Ahm.: captain of troops IX. 19/13.

P-s-n-mṯk-m-'ḥ·t Psammeṯkemakhi.
Ahm.: s. of *P-šr-Pṯḥ* VI. v/7.

P-s-n-mṯk-mn-n-P Psammeṯkmenemp . .
Ahm.: s. of *Ḥr*, br. of *Ḥl-Ḥns*, pr. of Ammon of Teuzoi IX. 17/8, 18/4–6, 12, 20/2, 21/6; f. of *Ḥr* who succeeded him 21/7.

Psam. 

P-sn-ke Psenke, v. p. 205, note 42.
(1) Psam.: pr., s. of *P-šr-Pṯḥ* I. B/1.
(2) „ f. of *Ḥr-ws* I. O/1, II. A/7.
(3) „ pr., s. of *A-ḥr* II. G/1.
(4) Psam.: f. of *Ḥr* II. H/1.
(5) „ f. of *P-šr-Pṯḥ* II. M/1.
(6) Ahm.: f. of *A-ḥr* IV. v/9, V. v/3.
(7) „ f. of *Z-ḥr* V. v/4.

La. Ptol. 

P-šms (?) (or title 'the attendant' (?)). Geb.: with the στρατηγός XXXV/8.

P-šr-'Mn Pshenamûn, Ψεναμουνις.
(1) Thebes: f. of *'Mn-ḥtp* XII. H/10, v/9, XIII. v/9.
(2) Thebes: s. of . . . . XIV. v/8.
(3) Geb.: f. of *T-šr·t-'Mn* by *T-šr·t-p-wr* XXIII/2.

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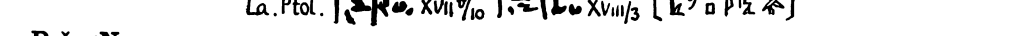
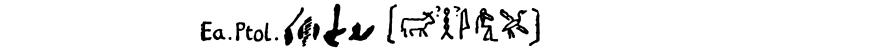
La. Ptol.  XVII v/10 XVIII/3

P-šr-ʾNp Pshenanûp, Ψενενουπις.
(1) Geb.: (or *P-šr-Ḥp*?, v. p. 274, note 10), s. of *ʾMnys* XVII. v/10, XIX. v/1.
(2) „ s. of *Ḥr* by *T-bʾr-rḫ-s* XVIII/3 = Ψενενουπις in docket, XXXI/5 (?).
(3) Geb.: f. of *Mᶜ-Ṯḥwt* by *Ṯ-šr-t-ʾMn* XVIII/3.
(4) „ f. of *Pa-t-s-ᶜo-t* XX. v/8.
(5) „ f. of bride by *T-* . . . . *-ʾS* (?) XXXVIII/1.

P-šr-ʾS Pshenêsi, Ψενησις.
(1) Ahm.: f. of *ʾY-m-ḥtp* IX. 19/1, 2, 4, 9.
(2) Thebes: s. of *Šrš* . . . XIV. v/11.
(3) Geb.: f. of *P-a-ḳe-Ḥr-sm-t-w* XVI. v/11, XXIX. v/4.
(4) Geb.: f. of *Pa-t-w* XVIII. v/2.
(5) „ s. of *Pa-t-w* XXIII. v/7, XXVII. v/6, XXXVI/2, 11, v/2.
(6) „ 'the elder,' s. of *Gyphln* (?) XXXIII/2.

Ahm.

P-šr-ʾTm Pshenetôm. Ahm.: s. of *P-šr-Wbst* VI. v/3.

Ea. Ptol. 

P-šr-ʾḥ (?) Pshenehe (?). Thebes: s. of *P-a-ḳe-ʾMn-stn-t-w* X. v/10.

P-šr-ᶜo-pḥ·t Pshenapahte Ψεναπαθης.
Geb.: f. of *P-a-ḳe-Ḥr-sm-t-w* XVIII. v/14, XXIII. v/5.

P-šr-ᶜḤ Pshenᶜoh.
(1) Cambyses: s. of *Yr-t-Ḥr-r-w*, br. of *Ḥr-ḫb-wsy-gm* (?), pr. of Ammon in Teuzoi IX. 21/9.
(2) Geb.: f. of *Pa-wn* XVII. v/4.

P-šr-Wbst Pshenubasti, Ψενοβαστις.
(1) Ahm.: f. of *Wsy-ʾMn* (?) III/5, V/5.
(2) „ f. of *Wsr-nḫt* IV. v/5.
(3) „ f. of *P-šr-ʾTm* VI. v/3.

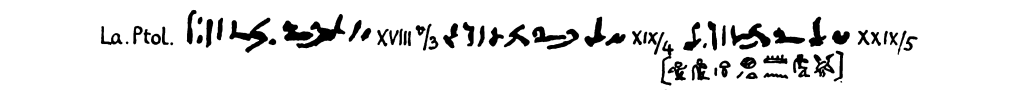
P-šr-Wsr Pshenusiri, Ψενοσιρις.
Geb.: s. of *Wn-nfr* XIX. v/4.

P-šr-p-wr Pshenpuêr, Ψενπωρις, v. p. 273, note 10.
Geb.: s. of Khensthowt XVII/3.

P-šr-p-Rᶜ Pshenprêᶜ.
Geb.: f. of *Sy-p-me* XXXI/5.

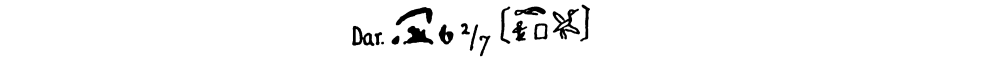
P-šr-Pth Pshenptah, Ψενεφθας.
(1) Psam.: f. of *P-sn-ke* I. B/1.
(2) „ s. of *P-sn-ke* II. M/1.
(3) Ahm.: f. of *Ns-Ḥr-Ṯḥwt* IV. v/1, VI. v/9.
(4) „ f. of *Yr-t-Ḥr-r-w* V. v/13, VII. v/11.
(5) „ f. of *P-s-n-mḳ-m-ʾḫ-t* VI. v/7.

P-šr-Mn Pshenmin, Ψεμμινις.
(1) Geb.: f. of *Wn-nfr* XV. v/2, XVI. v/15, XXXVII. v/16, XXXVIII. v/10.
(2) „ f. of *Hry-ʾNp* XXII. v/11.
(3) „ s. of *Wn-nfr* XXV. 2/9.
(4) „ f. of *Sy-Sbk* XXX. v/3, XXXVII. v/15.
(5) „ f. of *P-mr-ʾḫ* XXX. v/16.
(6) „ 'the younger' s. of *Pa-ne* XXXII/16.
(7) „ s. of *Nḫt-Mn* XXXII/17.
(8) „ f. of [. . . .] XXXVIII. v/5.

La. Ptol. 

P-šr-mnḫ Pshenmenkhe, Ψεμμενχης, v. p. 147, note 3, p. 276, note 3.
Geb.: s. of *Pa-n-Nḫt-w* XVIII. v/9, XXIV/6, XXIX/5, XXXIII/2 by *Qlwse* XIX/4.

P-šr-Mnt Pshenmont, Ψεμμωνθης.
(1) Geb.: f. of *Pa-t-w* XV. v/12.
(2) Geb.: s. of *P-ḫf* XXI. v/3.

Dar. 

P-kp Pkoïp, Φχωιφις, v. p. 221, note 16. Dar.: s. of *Pe-f-tw-ᶜ-w-ʾMn* IX. 2/5, 7, 3/4.

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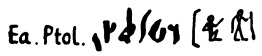
Ptol.

P-trtl Pteltile (?).
(1) Ptol.: XLI. verso A/8. (2) Ptol.: s. of *Pa-n-Nḫt-w* XLI. verso B/3.

Pa-ʾMn Paamûn, Παμουνις. Geb.: s. of *Pa-Ḫnm* XV. A/2, B/3.

Ea. Ptol. 

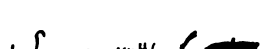
Pa-ʿw Paôw, Παως (?).
Thebes: f. of *ʾY-m-ḥtp* XIV. v/9.

Ea. Ptol.

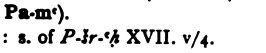
Pa-yr Paiôr (?).
Thebes: surn. of *Nḫt-Wbst* s. of *Pa-Ws* (?) XII. H/5.

La. Ptol.

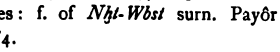
Pa-wn Pawon, Φαγωνις, Παγανις, v. p. 274, note 8 (v. also **Pa-mʿ**).
Geb.: s. of *P-ỉr-ʿḥ* XVII. v/4.

Ea. Ptol. 

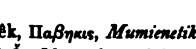
Pa-Ws (?) Pawesi (?), v. p. 262, note 3.
Thebes: f. of *Nḫt-Wbst* surn. Payôr XII. H/5, v/4, XIII. v/4.

Ea. Ptol. 

Pa-bk Pabêk, Παβηκις, *Mumienetiketten*, ⲡⲁ-ϧⲏϭ.
Thebes: f. of *Šp-Mn* and s. of *P-ḥb-p-ỉmʿ* (?) XII. H/3, v/2, XIII. v/2.

La. Ptol. 

Pa-p-mʾ Papmui (?).
Geb.: f. of *Ḥr-p-ḫpš* XV. v/5.

La. Ptol. 

Pa-mʿ (or **Pa-wn** ?) Pame (?) (hardly ⲡⲁⲙⲉ, p. 264, note 4).
Thebes: f. of *Ḥr-Ṯḥwt* XIV. v/15.

Pa-Mw·t (?) v. **Pa-t·w** and p. 272, note 4.

Pa-Mn Pamin, Φαμινις (*Paris Pap.*), ⲡⲁⲙⲓⲛ, v. p. 255, note 9.
Thebes: f. of *Wsr-wr* the father of *ʿNḫ-Ḥp* (?) X. v/8.

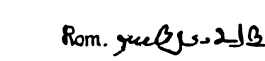
Pa-Mnt Pamont, Παμωνθης (*Paris Pap.*).
Thebes: s. of *T-Ḥr-p-t* the son of *Yr·t-Ḥr-r-w* XII. H/12, v/11, XIII. v/11.

Ea. Ptol.

Pa-ne Pana, Πανας, Πανα, v. p. 263, note 1.
(1) Thebes: = *P-a·ṯe-ʾMn-ʾPy* f. of fem. *Wn-Mn* and *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* XIV/2.
(2) Geb.: f. of *P-ỉr-Mn* 'the less' XXXII/16.

La. Ptol.

Pa-nb-ḫn Panebkhôn (?), Πανοβχουνις (?), v. p. 278, note 5.
Geb.: f. of *P-a·ṯe* XXI/12–13.

Rom. 

Pa-nfr-ʾmy Paneferemi, Πανεφερεμμις, v. p. 300, note 2.
(1) Rom.: f. of *Ta-s·t* XLIV. B/12.
(2) Rom.: f. by *Ta-nfr-ʾmy* of *St-w-t-wt* XLV. A/3 and of *E-f-ʿnḫ* A/5, B/5, C/8, D/36 = Πανεφρυμις in Gk. text C.

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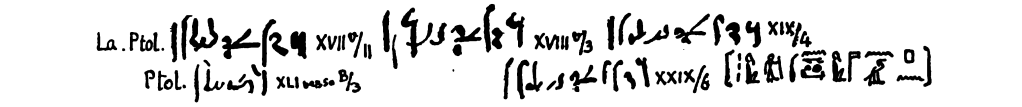
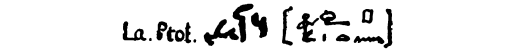
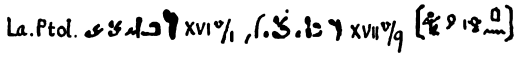


Pa-n-Nḫt·w Panekhati, Πανεχατης, v. p. 147, note 3, p. 274, note 11.
(1) Geb.: s. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XVII. v/11.
(2) „ f. of *P-šr-mnḫ* XVIII. v/3, XXIV/6, XXIX/5, XXXIII/2, by *Qiwse* XIX/4.
(3) Geb.: f. of *Twt* XIX. v/12.
(4) „ f. of *Ḥr-pa-ʾS* and *Ne-nḫt-f* XXIX/6 = (2)?
(5) „ f. of *P-ḥb* XXXVII. v/5.
(6) Ptol.: f. of *P-illl* XLI. verso B/3.

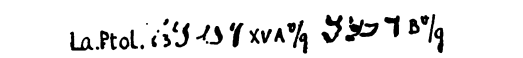


Pa-ḥ Pahê, Παης (Tebt.). Geb.: f. of [ ] the prophet of Isis, XXV. 1/6.

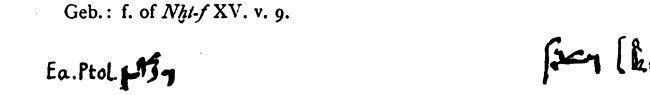


Pa-ḫr Paho, Παως, v. p. 272, note 3. v. also **Pa-Ḥr·we.**
(1) Geb.: s. of *ʿNḫ-Sny* (?) XVI. v/1. (2) Geb.: f. of *Pa-gne* (*Sgne*?) XVII. v/9.

Pa-Ḥr-ʾGš (? ppr. n.) v. place-n. *T-mtne-i-P.*



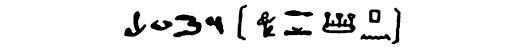
Pa-Ḥr-we (?) or **Pa-ḫr**, Paharu . . (?), or Paho, v. p. 267, note 4.
Geb.: f. of *Nḫt-f* XV. v. 9.



Pa-ḫs (?).
Thebes: f. of *Ṯḥwt-ʾr-rḫ-s*, the father of *Ṯḥwt-ʾw* XII. H/4.

Pa-Ḫnm Pakhnûm, Παχνουμις.
Geb.: f. of *Pa-ʾMn* XV. A/2, B/3.

Pa-ḫrṭ Pakhrat, Παχρατης, v. p. 275, note 1.
(1) Geb.: s. of *Ṯḥwt-cʾr-ỉy-s* XVII. v/15, XXXIII/1, cf. XXVII. v/15.
(2) Geb.: s. of *Ḥr* XX. v/4.
(3) „ s. of *P-a-ỉe-Ḥr-sm-ỉ-w* XXXIII/1.



Pa-šʿ Pasho, Πασας, Πασως, v. p. 150, note 6. Geb.: f. of *P-a-ỉe-Sbk* XXI/9.

Pa-Gb Pakêb, Πακοιβις, Πακηβκις, v. p. 158, note 5, p. 267, note 7.
(1) Geb.: s. of *P-a-ỉe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ* XV. v/15.
(2) „ f. of *P-a-ỉe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ* XVII. v/13, XXV. 2/6.
(3) „ s. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XVIII. v/5, XX. v/5, XXX. v/2.
(4) (5) „ s. of *P-a-ỉe-ḫr-sm-ỉ-w* XIX. v/3, 15, XX. v/3, XXV. 2/7, cf. XXVII. v/12.
(6) „ s. of *Pa-ỉ-w* XX. v/2.
(7) Geb.: s. of *Sbk-ḥtp* XXIII. v/3, XXIV. v/2, XXIX. v/8, XXX. v/6, XXXVI/17.
(8) „ f. of *Ṯḥwt-sṯm* XXIV. v/6, XXV. 2/6.
(9) „ s. of *P-nḫt* (?) XXVII. v/4.
(10) „ s. of *Ṯḥwt-sṯm* XXVII. v/10.
(11) „ f. of *P-a-ỉe-Ḥr-sm-ỉ-w*, scribe of XXVIII/10; XXIX/13, XXX/14, v/10.
(12) „ f. of *P-ḥb* XXX. v/15.

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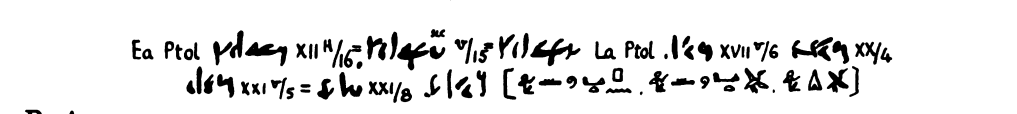
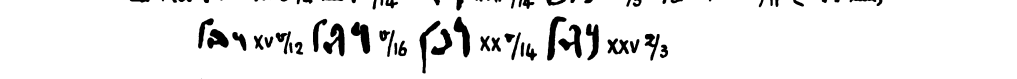
Pa-Gne or **Sgne** (?) or **Sgns** (?), cf. Greek n. Σωγενης.
Geb.: f. of *Pa-ḫr* XVII. v/9.



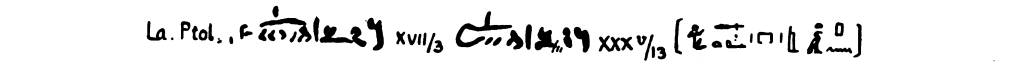
Pa-ṭe (var. **P-ṭe**, **P-a-ṭe**) Patei (?), Πατης, v. p. 262, note 9.

(1) Thebes: f. and s. of *P-a-ṭe-ʾNp* XII. H/16; spelt *P-ṭe* v/15, XIII. v/15.
(2) Geb.: s. of *Qrwr* XVII. v/6, XVIII. v/15, XX. v/10.
(3) „ f. of *Pa-i-s-ʿo·t* XVIII. v/16, XIX. v/6.
(4) „ f. of *Ta-p-r-mḫt* by *Nḫm-s-ʾS* XX/4.
(5) Geb.: f. of *P-a-ṭe-ʾr-ḥms-nfr* by *T-šr·t-Mw·t* XXI/8, (*P-a-ṭe*) v/5 (*Pa-ṭe*), s. of *P-nb-ḫn* XXI/12.
(6) „ f. of *Ḥr* XXIII. v/8, XXVII. v/14.
(7) „ f. of pr. *P-a-ṭe-Ḥr* XXVI/5.
(8) „ f. of *Ns-wre·t* by *Ty-Ḥr* XXIX/4.
(9) „ f. of *Ne-nḫt-s* by *Nḫm-s-ʾS* XXIX/4, XXXVI/1.



Pa-t·w Patu, Πατους, although some are transliterated *Pa-Mw·t* (?) in the text, all the following should be read *Pa-t·w*; cf. the form of *t·w* in *Sm-t·w*, *Stn-t·w*, and their compounds. See also the varying forms of (11) and (16).

(1) Geb.: s. of *P-a-ṭe-Ḥr-p-ḫrṭ* XV. v/4.
(2) „ s. of *P-šr-Mnt* XV. v/12.
(3) „ s. of *Hry·w* XV. v/14.
(4) „ s. of *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* XV. v/16.
(5) „ s. of *Z-ḫr* XVI. v/5.
(6) „ f. of *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* XVI. v/8.
(7) „ s. of *Ḥr* XVII. v/7, XXIV. v/5, XXVI/11.
(8) „ s. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XVII. v/14.
(9) „ s. of *P-šr-ʾS* XVIII. v/2.
(10) „ f. of *Ḥr* XIX/5.
(11) Geb.: s. of *P-ḥb* XIX/5, XXIV/8.
(12) „ f. of *P-ʾw-Ḥr* XIX. v/9.
(13) „ f. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XIX. v/14, XXVII. v/7.
(14) „ f. of *Pa-i-s-ʿo·t* XIX. v/16, XXIII. v/4.
(15) „ f. of *Pa-Gb* XX. v/2.
(16) „ f. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XX. v/14, XXV. 2/3.
(17) „ f. of *P-a-ṭe-Ḥr-sm-t·w* XX. v/16, XXIV. v/4.
(18) „ f. of *P-šr-ʾS* XXIII. v/7, XXVII. v/6, XXXVI/2, 11, v/2.
(19) „ f. of *P-a-ṭe-Ḥr-wr* XXV. 2/10.
(20) „ f. of *Sy-Sbk* XXX. v/14.
(21) „ pr., s. of *Ṯḥwt-stm* XXXII/15.
(22) „ f. of *Hry* XXXVII. v/9.



Pa-t-s-ʿo·t Patseʿô, Πατσεους, v. p. 143, note 8.

(1) Geb.: s. of *P-ḥb* by *T-šr·t-ʾS* XVII/2; h. of *T-šr·t-ʾMn* (?) XVII/5, v. p. 143, note 3, cf. (4).
(2) „ f. of *Ne-nḫt-f* called *ʾWnws* (*ʾWnms*) XVII/3, 6, XX/3, XXV/9, XXXIV/1 = Πατσεους in docket.
(3) „ f. of *Nḫt-ʾNp* (?) XVII. v/2.
(4) „ s. of *P-ḥb* XVII. v/3, XVIII. v/12, XX. v/7, XXI. v/1, XXX. v/13, cf. (1).
(5) „ f. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XVII. v/8, XIX. v/7, XXIII. v/6.
(6) Geb.: s. of *Pa-ṭe* XVIII. v/16, XIX. v/6.
(7) „ s. of *Pa-t·w* XIX. v/16, XXIII. v/4.
(8) „ s. of *P-šr-ʾNp* XX. v/8.
(9) „ f. of *T-Rmwṭe* by *Ty-Ḫns* XXII/3.
(10) „ s. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XXII. v/12.
(11) „ s. of *Sy-Sbk* XXV. 2/10.
(12) „ f. of [ ] XXVI/9.
(13) „ s. of [ ] XXVII. v/13.

Pa-Km (? ppr. n.), v. place-n. *Na-pa-Km-ḫwy*, and below **Pa-km** (?), p. 448.

Pa-sn (?), Thebes: s. of . . . XIV. v/16.

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Ea Ptol.

Pa-. . . Thebes: f. of *Ns-Mn* XI. v/15.

La Ptol

Pa-Km (?) Pakêmi, Πακημις. *p ʿy Pa-Km* (?) XXIII/3.

Py-Bs (once written **P·Bs**). Psam.: pr., s. of *P-a·ḫ-ʾS* II (Pl. 10).

Pe-f-tw. v. **P-f-tw**, p. 442. For the form **Pe-f-tw-ʿw-N.**, v. p. 206, note 49.

Ahm. IV v/3 Dar. 3/5

Pe-f-tw-ʿw-ʾMn Peftuʿuamûn.
(1) Ahm.: s. of *Ḥr-wz* IV. v/3. (2) Dar.: f. of *P-kp* IX. 2/5, 3/5.

Psam. I K/1 Ahm VIII v/5 Dar. 8/5

Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst Peftuʿuubasti.
(1) Psam.: f. of *Ḥr-bʾ* (*Ḥr-wz*?) I. K/1 (cf. II. E/1 for the form of *Wbst*).
(2) Psam.: priest of Ammon of Teuzoi IX. 9/3, cf. 8/10; f. of steward *Ḥr-wz* 8/5–9, 9/1–9, 18, 10/2, 11/6–11.
(3) Ahm.: f. of *Ḫns-eʾr-ṯy-s* VIII. v/5.
(4) „ nome-scribe, s. of *ʿNḫ-p-ḫrṭ* IX. 16/3, 5.

Ahm. IV/2 VII/1

Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Ḫns Peftuʿukhons.
Ahm.: s. of *Hry-Wbst* by *Qʿ-w-s-n-ʾS* IV/2, V/1, VI (Pl. 17), VII/1.

Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Spṭ Peftuʿusopti. Psam.: f. of *Ḥr* I. J/1, II. J/1 (v. Pl. 8).

Ahm

Pe-k-yt Pekiôt. Ahm.: f. of *Ššq-ʿnḫ* (?) V. v/11.

P-a·ṭe. v. **Pa-ṭe**, p. 447.

P-a·ṭe-Mn-ʾPy Peteamenopi, Πετεμενωφις (Wilcken, *Ostr.*).
(1) Thebes: f. of *Ta-ʾS* by *ʾS-eʾr-ṯy-s* X/1.
(2) „ s. of *Nḫm-s-Ḫns* X. v/15.
(3) Thebes: f. of *ʿNḫ-p-ḫrṭ* by *St-yr-bʾn* XI. D/1, v/11.
(4) „ s. of *Ns-Mn* XI/3, XII/2, XIII/2.
(5) „ f. of *Wn-Mn* and *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* XI/3, XII/2, 3, XIII/2; called *Pa-ne-* XIV/2.
(6) „ f. of *P-ʿn* XII. H/9, v/8, XIII. v/8.

Ea. Ptol. X v/3 XI 1/2 XII H/17 XIV v/13

P-a·ṭe-ʾMn-stn-t·w Petemestow, Πετεμεστους.
(1) Thebes: f. of *P-ḫl-Ḫns* and s. of *ʿNḫ-* . . . X. v/3.
(2) „ „ „ *Ḥr* X. v/4.
(3) „ s. of *Ns-* . . . X. v/5.
(4) „ f. of *P-šr-ʿḤ* X. v/10.
(5) „ f. of *Ḥr-mʿ-ḫrw* X. v/14.
(6) Thebes: s. of *P-ḫl-Ḫns* XI/2, XII/2, XIII/2.
(7) „ f. of *P-hb*, the father of *Wn-nfr* XII. H/17, v/16, XIII. v/16.
(8) „ s. of *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* XIV. v/3.
(9) „ s. of *Nḫt-Mnt* (?) XIV. v/4.
(10) „ f. of *Nḫt-Mnt* XIV. v/13.

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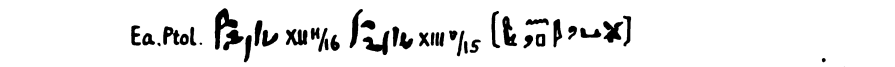
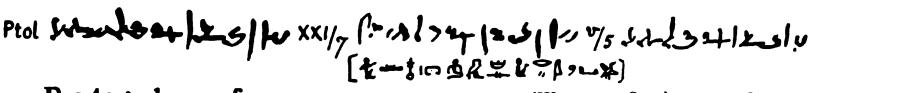
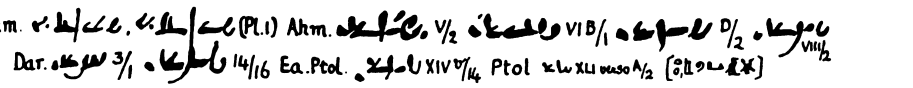


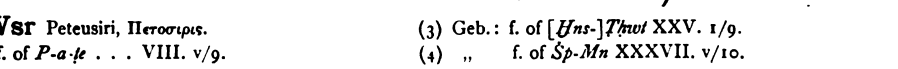
P-a·ṭe-ʾNp Peteanûp, Πετεανουπις.
(1) (2) Thebes: f. and s. of *Pa-ṯe* XII. H/16, v/15, XIII. v/15.



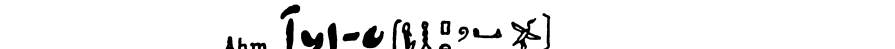
P-a·ṭe-ʾr-ḥms-nfr Petearhemsenûfi, Πατραενσνουφις (WILCKEN, *Ostr.*), v. p. 278, note 3.
(1) Geb.: s. of *Pa-ṯe* or *P-a·ṯe* by *T-šr·t-Mw·t* XXI/7–8, v/5.
(2) ,, f. of *Ta-Gb* by *Ta-fet*(?) XXVIII/3, XXX/4.



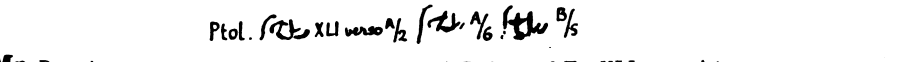
P-a·ṭe-ʾS Peteêsi, Πετεησις, v. p. 202, note 8. For (1)–(6) and (8) see the genealogy on p. 43.
(1) Psam.: f. of pr. *Ns-sm-t·w* I (Pl. 1) and of *Yr-t-w-r-w* and *Ḥr-Bs* II (Pl. 10), cf. (3).
(2) ,, *ʿ-n-mr*, s. of *ʿNḫ-Šnq* IX. 5/14, 15, 18, 19, 6/6, 8, 19, 21, 8/1, 10/1, 4, 18/18; f. of *Sm-t·w-te-f-nḫt* 10/4: in hieroglyphic 21/15, 22/11.
(3) ,, (Peteêsi I) assistant of (2), s. of *Yr-t-w-r-w* IX. 5/17, 20, 6/3, 7, 9, 11, 19, 7/5, 6, 19, 8/3, &c., to 14/12; 15/4, 18/15: f. of *Nyt-m-ḥ* 8/8, 9/4, 14, 11/10, 14/2, and of pr. *Ns-sm-t·w* 14/8–14: titles, &c. 8/19; in hieroglyphic 21/17, 22/12–15, cf. (1).
(4) Psam. II, etc.: (Peteêsi II), pr. of Ammon at Teuzoi, s. of *Ns-sm-t·w* and grandson of (3) IX. 14/16, 20, 15/1–19, 18/10: f. of *Ns-sm-t·w* 18/11, 22, cf. (5)?.
(5) Ahm.: f. of *Ns-sm-t·w* by *T-šr-n-t-eʾr-nᶜ* or *T-šr-t-nᶜ·t* V/2, VI (Pl. 17), VII/2, cf. (4)?.
(6) ,, s. of *Ns-sm-t·w* by *Šp-ʾS* VIII/2, cf. (8)?.
(7) ,, s. of *Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* VIII. v/8.
(8) Dar.: (Peteêsi III) s. of *Ns-sm-t·w* IX. 19/2, and writer of Pap. IX. 1/9, 3/1, 4/6, 19, 5/3, 5, 8, 19/4, 8, 11, 19, 20/1, 2, cf. (6)?.
(9) ,, f. of . . . IX. 2/15, 4/18.
(10) Thebes: f. of *Hry* . . . XIV. v/14.
(11) Ptol.: f. of *P-a·ṯe-Mn* (?) XLI. verso A/2.



P-a·ṭe-Wsr Peteusiri, Πετοσιρις.
(1) Ahm.: f. of *P-a·ṯe* . . . VIII. v/9.
(2) Thebes: s. of *Ns-Mn* XIV. v/6.
(3) Geb.: f. of [*Ḥns-*]*Ṯḥwt* XXV. 1/9.
(4) ,, f. of *Šp-Mn* XXXVII. v/10.



P-a·ṭe-Pṯḥ Peteptah. Ahm.: f. of *Z-Pṯḥ-e-f-ʿnḫ* by *T-b-ʾy·t* VIII/1.



P-a·ṭe-Mn Petemin, Πετεμινις.
(1) Ptol.: s. of *P-a·ṯe-ʾS* XLI. verso A/2.
(2) ,, f. of *Ḥwn* XLI. verso A/6.
(3) Ptol.: s. of *Twt* XLI. verso A/12.
(4) ,, f. of *Wrš-nfr* XLI. verso B/4.
(5) ,, s. of . . . XLI. verso B/4.

P-a·ṭe-nfr-ḥtp Petenefhotp, Πετενεφωτης.
Thebes: s. of *Yr·tw-rs* XI/2, XII/2, XIII/2, and f. of *Ta-ḥb* XI/3, XII/3, XIII/3; called *ʾMn-ḥtp* in XIV/1, 2.

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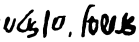
Dar.

P-a·ṭe-Ḥp Petehap. Dar.: f. of the chief priest *Yr·t-Ḥr-r-w* IX. 2/9, 12, 5/7, 8, 10, 11.

P-a·ṭe-Ḥr Petehôr, Πετευρις.
(1) Geb.: f. of *Ḥr* by *Nḫt-w-s* XXIII/2.
(2) „ s. of *Pa-ṭe* XXVI/5.

P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-wr Peteharuêr, Πετεαρωηρις.
(1) Geb.: s. of *Nḫt-Mn* XV. v/1.
(2) „ f. of [*St*]-*w-wt* XXV. 1/5.
(3) „ s. of *Pa-t·w* XXV. 2/10.
(4) „ pr., s. of *P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-t·w* XXXII/12.

P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rᶜ Peteharpreᶜ, Πετεαρφρης.
(1) Thebes: s. of *Ḥr* XI. v/14.
(2)(3) „ f. and s. of *Ns-Mn* XII. H/2, v/1, XIII. v/1, by *T-šr-ᵓMn* XII. E/1, cf. XIII. E/1.
(4) Geb.: f. of *Pa-Gb* XV. v/15.
(5) „ s. of *Pa-Gb* XVII. v/13, XXV. 2/6.
(6) „ f. of *ᵓY-m-ḫtp* XXI. v/2.

La. Ptol. , 

P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-ḫrṭ Peteharpekhrat.
Geb.: f. of *Pa-t·w* XV. v/4.

P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-n-P Peteharemp . .
Dar.: f. of *ᶜḤ-ms* IX. 1/1, 5/2.

La. Ptol.

P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-t·w Peteharsemteu, Πετεαρσεμθευς.
(1) Geb.: s. of *Sy-p-me* XV. v/10, XVI. v/7.
(2) „ s. of *P-šr-ᵓŠ* XVI. v/11, XXIX. v/4.
(3) „ s. of *Pa-* . . . . XVI. v/13.
(4)(5) „ ss. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XVIII. v/4, 7, XXIX. v/5, XXX. v/4.
(6) „ s. of *P-šr-ᶜO-ṗḥ·t* XVIII. v/14, XXIII. v/5.
(7)(8) „ ff. of *Pa-Gb* XIX. v/3, 15, XX. v/3, XXV. 2/7.
(9) „ s. of *Ns-Mn* XIX. v/8.
(10) „ f. of *P-ḥb-ᵓNp* (?) XIX. v/11.
(11) „ f. of *Ḥry-ᵓNp* XX. v/1.
(12)(13) Geb.: f. and s. XX. v/11.
(14) „ s. of *Sbk-ḥtp* XX. v/12.
(15) „ s. of *Pa-t·w* XX. v/16, XXIV. v/4.
(16) „ f. of [. . .] XXII. v/14.
(17) „ f. of *Ḫns-Tḥwt* XXV. 2/7.
(18) „ f. of *Sy-Sbk* XXV. 2/7.
(19)(20) „ s. of *Pa-Gb* XXVIII/10, XXIX/12, XXX/14, v/10.
(21) „ s. of *P-a·ṭe-Sbk* by *T-šrt-Sbk* XXX/4.
(22) „ f. of *Pa-ḫrṭ* XXXIII/1.
(23) „ f. of *P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-wr* XXXII/12.
(24) „ f. of *Wn-nfr* XXXVIII. v/7.

La. Ptol.

P-a·ṭe (?)-Ḥr-p-ᶜw (?) or **P-šr-Ḥr-p-Rᶜ (?)**. Geb.: f. of *Nḫt-Ḥr-Ḫns* (?) XVI. v/16.

P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-š-f Peteharshafe, Πετεαρσαφης.
Ahm.: attendant IX. 19/17.

P-a·ṭe-Ḫns Petekhons, Πετεχων (Tebt.).
(1) Thebes: s. of *Zwf-ᶜḫy* by *Ns-Tfn·t*, h. of *Ta-ᵓS* X/1.
(2) „ s. of *Kls* by *Ns-Ḥr-p-ḫrṭ* XI. C/1, v/3.
(3) „ f. of *Ḥr* XIV. v/10.

P-a·ṭe-Sbk Petesobk, Πετεσουχος, v. p. 150, note 6.
(1) Geb.: f. of *P-mr-ᵓḥ* XVII. v/1, XXVII. v/1.
(2) Geb.: f. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XVIII. v/11.
(3) „ s. of *Pa-ᵏ* XXI/9.
(4) „ s. of *Sbk-ḥtp* XXII. v/4.
(5) „ s. of *Nḫt-Mn* XXV. 2/4, XXX. v/5.
(6) „ s. of *Hry-ᵓNp* XXIX. v/1.
(7) „ f. of *P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-t·w* by *T-šr·t-Sbk* XXX/4.
(8)? „ s. of *Šp-Mn* (?) XXXVII. v/13.

Ahm.

P-a·ṭe (?) . . .
Ahm.: s. of *P-a·ṭe-Wsr* VIII. v/9.

La. Ptol.

P-a·ṭe . . .
Geb.: f. of *Pa-t·w* XX. v/9.

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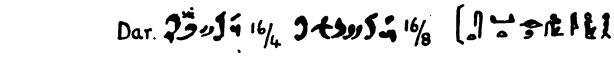
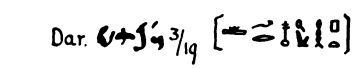
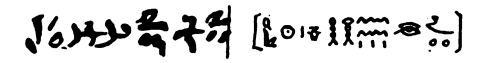


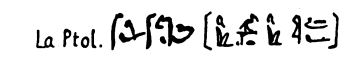
Pṯḥ-e·ʾr-ṭy-s Ptahertais.
(1) Ahm.: f. of *Ḥr-mᶜ-ḫrw* IX. 16/2, 4.
(2) „ s. of *Mr-ʾb-Pṯḥ*, pr. of K. Ahmasi at Teuzoi IX. 16/8.



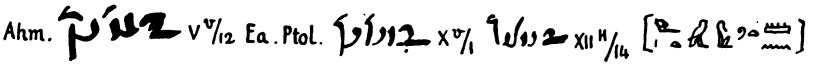
Pṯḥ-nfr Ptahnûfi.
Ahm.: pr., s. of *Ḥr-wz* the governor of Hnês IX. 3/19, 15/5-11, 20, 17/4, and f. of *N-k-ms* 17/1, 6.



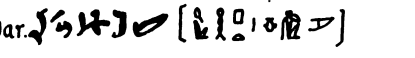
Mʾ-n-n-Wḥ-ʾb-Rᶜ Menanwhebreᶜ, v. p. 242, note 11.
Ahm.: *p mr mᵏ Mʾ* IX. 16/12.



Mᶜ-Ṭḥwt fem. Maithowt, Μαιθωτις, v. p. 275, note 6.
Geb.: d. of *P-šr-ʾNp* by *T-šr·t-ʾMn* XVIII/3.

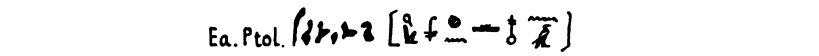


Mnt-m-ḥ Mentemhê, Μεντεμης (*Paris Pap.*), v. p. 212, note 4.
(1) Ahm.: f. of *Yr·t-w-r-w* V. v/10.
(2) „ s. of *Yr·t-Ḥr-r-w* V. v/12.
(3) Thebes: f. of *P-sš* (?) X. v/1.
(4) „ s. of *ʾY-m-ḥtp* XII. D/1, v/13, XIII. D/1, v/13.
(5) „ f. of *ʾY-m-ḥtp* XII. H/14.

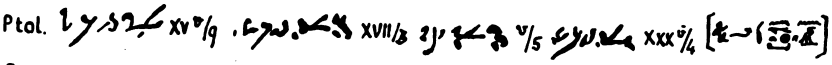


Mr-ʾb-Pṯḥ Merenebptah, Βερενεβθις (?), Spieg., *Pap Eleph.*, I. p. 9.
Ahm.: f. of *Pṯḥ-e·ʾr-ṭy-s* IX. 16/8.

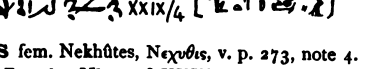
Ms Mosi, name, Cr., *Ostr.*
Thebes: s. of *Rṭ-p* . . . XIV/4.



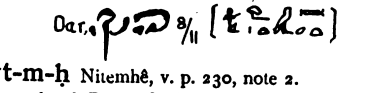
Ne-nfr-Ḥns Neferkhons. Thebes: f. of *Ns-Mn* XIV. v/2.



Ne-nḫt-f (earlier Nḫt-f in XV) Nekhûtef, Νεχουτης, v. p. 273, note 4.
(1) Geb.: s. of *Pa-Ḥr-w* (?) XV. v/9 (spelt *Nḫt-f*).
(2) „ surn. *ʾWnws* (*ʾWnms*), s. of *Pa-t-s-ᶜo·t* by *Ta-Ḥns* XVII/3, 5 = Νεχουτης in docket, XXXIII/3.
(3) „ s. of *Pthwmys* XVII. v/5, XXII. v/7.
(4)(5) „ f. of *P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-t·w* XVIII. v/4, 7, XXIX. v/5, XXX. v/4.
(6) „ s. of *P-a·ṭe-Sbk* XVIII. v/11.
(7) „ s. of *Sbk-ḥtp* XX. v/13, XXIV. v/3.
(8) „ s. of *Pa-t·w* XX. v/14, XXV. 2/3.
(9) „ f. of *Ḥr-pa-ʾS* XXII. v/8.
(10) „ s. of *Wn-nfr* XXII. v/9.
(11) Geb.: f. of *Pa-t-s-ᶜo·t* XXII. v/12.
(12) „ f. of *T-šr·t-ʾMn* by *T-šr·t-ʾNp* XXVII/4.
(13) „ s. of *Pa-n-Nḫt·w* XXIX/6.
(14) „ s. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XXIX. v/3, XXX. v/12.
(15) „ f. of *Thrsn* XXIX. v/7.
(16) „ f. of *P-šr* . . . XXXIII/9.
(17) „ *P-srṯyqws* (the στρατηγός) XXXV/6-7.
(18) „ s. of *Sy-Nyt* (?) XXXVIII. v/6.
(19) „ f. of *Ḥr* XXXVIII. v/8.
(20) „ 'the black' (?), s. of *Sy-Sbk* XXXVIII. v/9.
(21) „ s. of *Šp-Mn* XXXVIII. v/11.
(22) „ s. of *Klz* XXXVIII. v/16.



Ne-nḫt-s fem. Nekhûtes, Νεχυθις, v. p. 273, note 4.
Geb.: d. of *Pa-ṭe* by *Nḥm-s-ʾS* XXIX/4, XXXVI/1.



Nyt-m-ḥ Nitemhê, v. p. 230, note 2.
Psam.: d. of *P-a·ṭe-ʾS* (I) and w. of *Ḥr-wz* IX. 8/8, 11, 9/4, 14, 18, 11/10, 13, 15, 14/2, 5, 7, and sister of *Ns-sm-t·w* 14/10.

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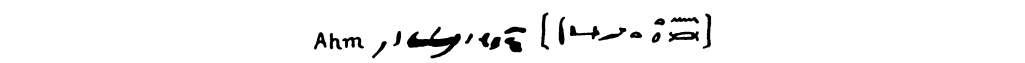
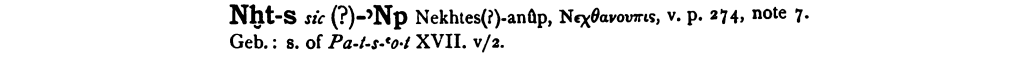


Nyt-te-f-nḫt Nittefnakhti. Ahm.: s. of *Sw* . . . VI. v/16.

Nḥm-s-ʾS fem. (abbr. to **Nḥm-s** in XXXVI/12) Nahmesêsi, Ναμεσησις, &c., v. p. 277, note 6, p. 289, note 9. Geb.: w. of *Pa-ṯe* and m. of *Ta-p-r-mḥt* XX/4, and of *Ne-nḫt-s* XXIX/4, XXXVI/5.

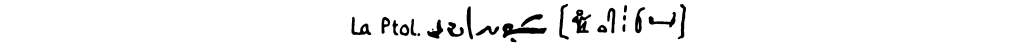
Nḥm-s(or f?)**-Hns** Nahmeskhons.
Thebes: f. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾMn-ʾPy* X. v/15.

Nḫt-ʾMn (?) Nekhtamûn.
Geb.: f. of *Ṯḫwt-eʿr-ṯy-s*, the scribe of Pap. XVI; cf. **Nḫt-Wbst**, with which, however, it cannot be identical.



Nḫt-s *sic* (?)**-ʾNp** Nekhtes(?)-anûp, Νεχθανουπις, v. p. 274, note 7.
Geb.: s. of *Pa-ỉ-s-ʿo-ỉ* XVII. v/2.

Nḫt-Wbst (?) Nekhtubasti.
(1) Thebes: surn. *Pa-yr-ỉ*, s. of *Pa-Ws* (?) XII. H/5, v/4, XIII. v/4.
(2) Geb.: f. of *Ṯḫwt-eʿr-ṯy-s*, scribe of XV (cf. *Nḫt-ʾMn* ?).

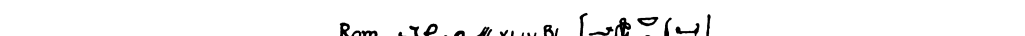


Nḫt-w-s fem. Nekhtaus, Νεχθαυς (Cas. 48/2 by facsim.). Geb.: m. of *Ḥr* by *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr* XXIII/2.

Nḫt-f earlier spelling of **Ne-nḫt-f** q.v.

Nḫt-Mn Nekhtmin, Νεχθμινις.
(1) Geb.: f. of *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-wr* XV. v/1.
(2) „ s. of *Ṯḫwt-eʿr-ṯy-s* XV. v/8, XVI. v/3, XXV. 2/2, XXXVII. v/11.
(3) „ f. of *Ns-Mn* XVI. v/14.
(4)(5) „ f. and s. XVIII/7, XIX/9, XXV. 2/3.
(6) „ f. of *Hry-w* XXV. 2/4, XXVII. v/8.
(7) Geb.: f. of *P-a-ṯe-Sbk* XXV. 2/4, XXX. v/5.
(8) „ proph. of Hathor and *mr-šn*, s. of *Ns-Mn*, XXXII/2, 13, XXXVII. v/8.
(9) „ f. of *P-šr-Mn* XXXII/17.
(10) „ f. of *Ṯḫwt-eʿr-ṯy-s* XXXVII/4.

Nḫt-Mnt Nekhtmont, Νεχθμωνθης (Paris).
Thebes: s. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾMn-stn-ỉ-w* XIV. v/13.



Nḫt-nb-f Nekhtenêbf, Νεκτενιβις (Rom. Νεστνηφις), v. p. 300, note 4.
Rom.: f. of *Tꜣ* XLIV. A/12, B/13.

Nḫt-Ḥr-Ḥb (?) (or **Nḫt-Ḥns** ?) Nekhtharhbo (?).
Geb.: s. of *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-p-ʿw* (?) XVI. v/16.

Nḫt-ʾN-ḥr (?), **Nḫt- . . . -Mnt** (?), Nekhtanhûri.
Thebes: f. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾMn-stn-ỉ-w* XIV. v/4.

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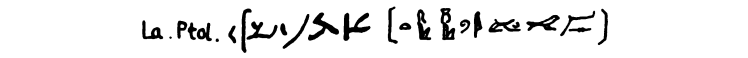


La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs]

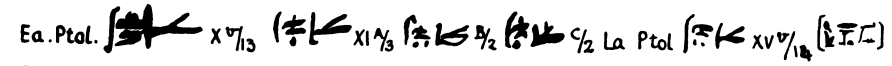
Ns-wre·t fem. (for *'S-wre·t*) Esweri, ecoγepe, *Mumienetiketten*, v. p. 286, note 2.

Geb.: m. of *P-nfr-ḥr* by *P-mr-'ḥ*, and d. of *Pa-ṭe* by *Ty-Ḥr* XXIX/3–4.

Ns-p-ntr Espnûti, Εσπνουθις, v. p. 144, note 10.

(1) Geb.: s. of *Z-ḥr*, scribe of XVII, XX, XXII.
(2) „ f. of *Šp-Mn* XXII. v/3, XXXVIII/8.
(3) Geb.: s. of *Wn-nfr* XXXIV/1.
(4) „ f. of *Z-ḥr* XXXVIII. v/15.

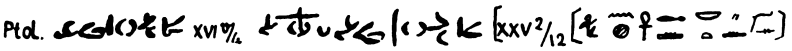
Ea. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] X v/13 [hieroglyphs] XI A/3 [hieroglyphs] B/2 [hieroglyphs] C/2 La Ptol [hieroglyphs] XV v/14 [hieroglyphs]



Ns-Mn Esmin, Ζμινις.

(1) Thebes: s. of *Ḥr* and f. of *Ḥr* X. v/12.
(2) „ s. of *Ḥp-mn* X. v/13.
(3) „ f. of *P-'w-Ḥr* by *Z-wr* XI. B/1, v/4, scribe of XII, XIII.
(4) „ f. of *P-a·ṭe-'Mn-'Py* XI/3, XII/2, XIII/2.
(5) „ f. of . . . *Ṭḥwt* (?) XI. v/1.
(6) „ s. of *P-* . . . XI. v/6.
(7) „ s. of *Pa-* . . . XI. v/15.
(8) „ f. of *P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rᶜ* by *T-šr·t-'Mn* XII. E/1, XIII. E/1, and s. of *P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-p-Rᶜ* XII. H/2, v/1, XIII. v/1.
(9) Thebes: s. of *Ṭḥwt-e·'r-ṭy-s*, the s. of *Ṭḥwt-mn* XII. H/6, v/5, XIII. v/5.
(10) „ s. of *N-nfr-Ḫns* XIV. v/2.
(11) „ f. of *P-a·ṭe-Wsr* XIV. v/6.
(12) Geb.: s. of *Ṭḥwt-e·'r-ṭy-s* by *Ta-wn-Bs* XV. A/3, B/4.
(13) „ f. of *Ṭḥwt-e·'r-ṭy-s* XV. v/14.
(14) „ s. of *Nḫt-Mn* XVI. v/14.
(15) „ s. of *P-mr-'ḥ* XVIII. v/13.
(16) „ f. of *P-a·ṭe-Ḥr-sm-t·w* XIX. v/8.
(17) „ s. of [. . .] XXV. 2/12.
(18) „ f. of the leshoni *Nḫt-Mn* XXXII/2, 13, XXXVII. v/8.

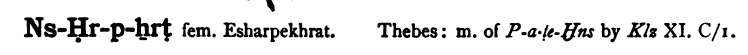
La. Ptol. [hieroglyphs] XVI v/4 [hieroglyphs] XXV 2/12 [hieroglyphs]



Ns-nb-ᶜnḫ Esnebônekh.

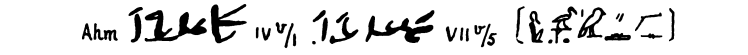
(1) Geb.: s. of *Ṭḥwt-m-ḥb* XVI. v/4.
(2) „ f. of *P-mr-'ḥ* XVI. v/12.
(3) Geb.: f. of *Sbk-Mn* XXV. 2/12.
(4) „ 'the elder,' XXV. 2/12, XXXVII. v/14.

Ea. Ptol. [hieroglyphs]



Ns-Ḥr-p-ḫrṭ fem. Esharpekhrat. Thebes: m. of *P-a·ṭe-Ḫns* by *Klz* XI. C/1.

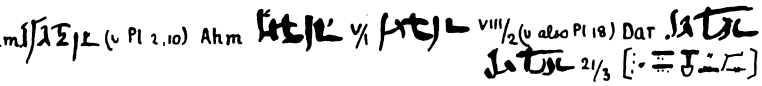
Ahm [hieroglyphs] IV v/1 [hieroglyphs] VII v/5 [hieroglyphs]



Ns-Ḥr-Ṭḥwt Esharthowt; cf. **Ḥr-Ṭḥwt.**

(1) Ahm.: s. of *P-šr Pth* IV. v/1, VI. v/9, v. p. 215, note 1.
(2) „ f. of *Z-ḥr* VII. v/5.

Psam [hieroglyphs] (v Pl 2, 10) Ahm [hieroglyphs] V/1 [hieroglyphs] VIII/2 (v also Pl 18) Dar [hieroglyphs] 14/7 [hieroglyphs] 21/3 [hieroglyphs]



Ns-Sm-t·w Essemteu, v. p. 202, note 7, and see the genealogy on p. 43.

(1) Psam.: pr., elder s. of *P-a·ṭe-'S* I (Pl. 1), II (Pl. 10) = (2)?.
(2) „ pr., s. of *P-a·ṭe-'S* (Peteêsi I) IX. 14/7–15, and f. of *P-a·ṭe-'S* (II) 14/16 = (1)?.
(3) Ahm.: pr. s. of *P-a·ṭe-'S* by *T-šr-n-t-e·'r-nᶜ* or *T-šr·t-nᶜ* V/1, VI (Pl. 17), VII/2 = (4), (5)?.
(4) „ f. of *P-a·ṭe-'S* by *Šp-'S* VIII/2 = (5)?.
(5) „ s. of *P-a·ṭe-'S* (Peteêsi II) IX. 18/11, 12, 22; f. of *P-a·ṭe-'S* (Peteêsi III) the writer of Pap. IX, 19/2, 21/3, also 1/9.

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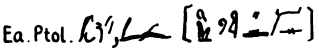
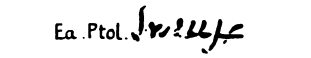
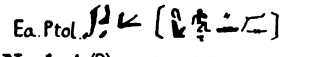


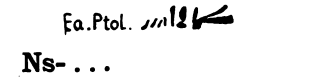
Ns-Šw (?) Esshow.
Thebes: s. of *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* XIV. v/5.



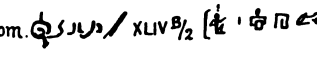
Ns- . . . .
Thebes: f. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾMn-stn-t-w* X. v/5.



Ns-ḫrṭ (?) Eskhrat (cf. *Pa-ḫrṭ*).
Thebes: f. of *Šṯ-Nfr-tm* XI. v/10.

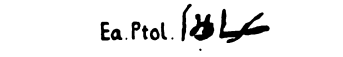


Ns- . . .
Thebes: s. of . . . XIV. v/12.

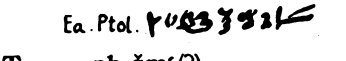


Rhs (Lhs ?) Rahôs or Lahôs, v. p. 299, note 1.
Rom.: f. of *Hry-w* by *Ta-P-a-ṯe-Sbk* XLIV. A/2, B/2 = Λαουσις in Greek text.

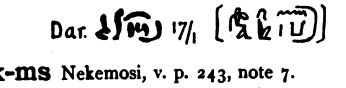
Ns-Tfn fem. Estefêni, v. p. 254, note 4. Cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Pap. Eleph.*, I. p. 8.
Thebes: m. of *P-a-ṯe-Ḫns* by *Zwf-ʿḥy* X/1.



Ns-Ḫns (or **-Sm-tw** or **-Mn** ?) Eskhons.
Thebes: f. of *Ṯḫwi-* . . . X. v/11.

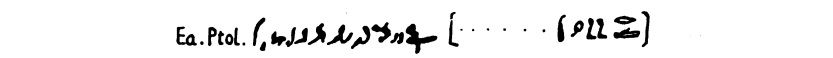


Ns-T- . . . **-nb-šmʿ** (?).
Thebes: f. of *P-ḫl-Ḫns*, the father of [*Twi*] XII. H/11.

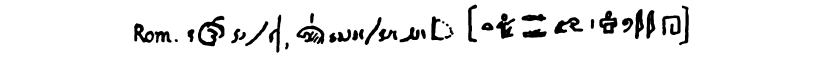


N-k-ms Nekemosi, v. p. 243, note 7.
Ahm.: pr. of Sobk, s. of *Pṯḥ-nfr* IX. 17/1, 2, 6.

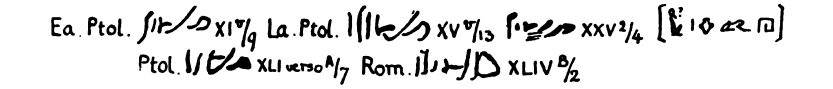
Rš (?) Rashi.
Ahm.: f. of . . . VI. v/1.



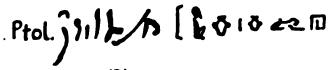
Rṯ-p- . . . Thebes: f. of *Ms* XIV/4.



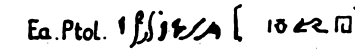
Hysr(y)ʿ fem. Hisarô, v. p. 299, note 2.
Rom.: d. of *Wn-nfr* by *Hry-w* XLIV/3 = Εἰσαρους in Greek text.



Hry(·w) (or **Hry-ʾb** ?) masc. and fem. Herieu, Ἐριευς, v. p. 191, 195, 209, note 2, 267, note 6.
(1) Thebes: s. of . . . *-Ḫns* XI. v/9.
(2) Geb.: f. of *Pa-t-w* XV. v/13.
(3) „ s. of *Nḫt-Mn* XXV. 2/4, XXVII. v/8.
(4) Geb.: f. of *ʾY-m-ḥtp* (?) XXXVII. v/6.
(5) „ s. of *Pa-t-w* XXXVII. v/9.
(6) Ptol.: XLI. verso A/7.
(7) Rom.: d. of *Rhs* by *Ta-P-a-ṯe-Sbk* XLIV. B/2, and m. of *Hysrʿ* by *Wn-nfr* A/3, B/3 = Ἐριευς in Greek text.



Hry-ʾb (?) as the last (?).
Thebes: s. of *P-ḫl-Ḫns* XI. v/12.



Hry- . . . as the last (?).
Thebes: s. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾS* XIV. v/14.

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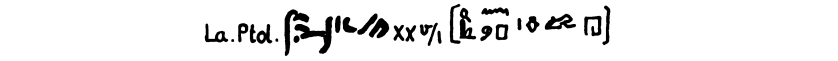
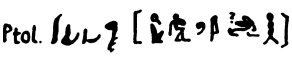
La. Ptol. 

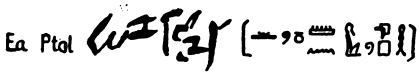
Hry-ʾNp *Herieanûp*, Ἑριανουπις, v. p. 209, note 2, p. 278, note 1.
(1) Geb.: s. of *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-sm-t-w* XX. v/1.
(2) Geb.: s. of *P-šr-Mn* XXII. v/11.
(3) „ f. of *P-a-ṯe-Sbk* XXIX. v/1.
(4) „ f. of *Ḥr* XXXVIII. v/13.

Ahm.

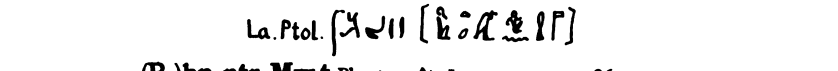
Hry-Wbst Herieubasti.
Ahm.: f. of *P-* . . . III/1, and of *Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Ḥns* by *Qʿ-w-s-n-ʾS* IV/2, V/1, VI (Pl. 17), VII/1.

Ptol. 

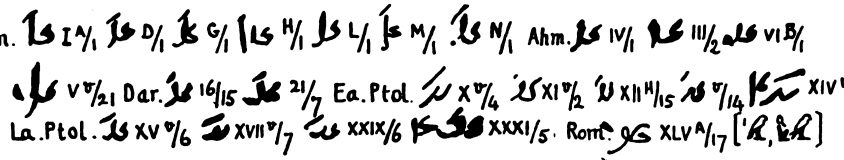
Ḥwn Hune, Ουης, v. p. 297, note 6.
Ptol.: s. of *P-a-ṯe-Mn* XLI. verso A/6.

Ea. Ptol 

Ḥp-mn Hapimên, v. p. 255, note 10.
Thebes: f. of *Ns-Mn* X. v/13.

La. Ptol. 

(P-)ḥn-ntr-Mw·t Phentenmût, Φεντενμουθ, v. p. 286, note 3.
Geb.: f. of *Ḥr* XXIX/6.

Psam. 

Ḥr Hôr, Ωρως, ϱωρ. [The two names given above as **ʾMn** from Psam. may in reality belong here: see the writing of *Ḥr* in I. H/1.]
(1) Psam.: pr., s. of *P-ʾm* I (Pl. 1), A/9, f. of *ʾ-Ḥr* A/8, II. C/1.
(2) „ pr., s. of *Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* I. F/1, II. F/1.
(3) „ f. of *Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* I. G/1, II. E/1.
(4) „ pr. s. of *Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Spṯ* I. J/1, II. J/1.
(5) „ s. of *Yr-t-Ḥr-r-w* I. M/1.
(6) „ f. of *P-ʾm* I. Q/1, II. B/1.
(7) „ pr., s. of *P-sn-ke* II. H/1.
(8) „ pr., s. of *Hr-ws* II. L/1.
(9) Ahm.: f. of ch. pr. *Ze-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* III/2, IV/1, 7 = (13)?
(10) „ f. of *ʿḤ-ṯe-f-nḫṯ* IV. v/4, VI. v/10, VII. v/10.
(11) „ f. of *ʿḤ-eʾr-ṯy-s* IV. v/6, V. v/14, VI. v/15, VII. v/7.
(12) „ f. of *Ze-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* IV. v/8, V. v/21, VI. A/5 = (11)?.
(13)(14) „ ch. pr. and another, s. of *Ze-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* IV. v/14, V. v/1, 17, VI. D/1, v/19.
(15) „ s. of *Z-ḫr* V. v/18, VI. v/4.
(16) „ f. of *Z-ḫr* V. v/20, VI. v/11.
(17) Ahm.: f. of *P-ʾm* VI. B/1, v/14, VII. v/1.
(18) „ s. of *Bk-n-rn-f* VI. E/1, v/6, VII. v/8.
(19) „ s. of *Ḫns-ṯe-f-nḫṯ* VI. v/17.
(20) „ s. of *A-ḫr* VII. v/6.
(21) „ f. of *Ḥl-Ḫns* IX. 16/15, 17/9, 19/16, 21/5, and of *P-s-n-mṯk-mn-n-P* 17/8, 18/4, 20/2, 21/6.
(22) „ pr. of Ammon, s. of above *P-s-n-mṯk-mn-n-P* IX. 21/7.
(23) Thebes: f. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾMn-stn-t-w*, the father of *P-ḥl-Ḫns* X. v/4.
(24)(25) „ f. and s. of *Ns-Mn* X. v/12.
(26) „ s. of *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* XI. v/2.
(27) „ f. of *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ* XI. v/14.
(28) „ s. of *Qlz* XII. H/15, v/14, XIII. v/14.
(29) „ s. of *P-a-ṯe-Ḫns* XIV. v/10.
(30) Geb.: s. of *Tḥwṯ-eʾr-ṯy-s* XV. v/6, XVI. v/2.
(31) „ f. of *Wrše* XVII/3.
(32) „ f. of *Pa-t-w* XVII. v/7, XXIV. v/5, XXVI/11.
(33) „ f. of *P-šr-ʾNp* by *T-b-ʾrrḫ-s* XVIII/3 = Ωρος in docket, XXXI/5 (?).
(34) „ s. of *Pa-t-w* and f. by *T-ʾq* (?) of *Ḥr-m-ḥb* and *Šlh* XIX/4, 5, and of *T-šr-t-mnḫ-t* and *T-ḥtr-t* XXIV/5, 7.
(35) „ f. of *Pa-ḫrṭ* XX. v/4. [*continued over.*

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(36) Geb.: s. of *ʾMn-ḥtp* XXII. v/16, XXXVII. v/7.
(37) „ s. of *P-a-ṭe-Ḥr* by *Nḫt-w-s* XXIII/2.
(38) „ s. of *Pa-ṭe* XXIII. v/8, XXVII. v/14.
(39) „ s. of *(P)-ḥn-ntr-Mw-t* XXIX/6.
(40) „ s. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XXXVIII. v/8.
(41) Geb.: s. of *Hry-ʾNp* XXXVIII. v/13.
(42) Rom.: f. of *E-f-ʿnḫ* XLV. A/16, B/14.
(43) „ f. of *St-t-wt* XLV. A/17, B/15.
See also **Ḥr-wz**, nos. (10), (11) below.

Ḥr-e-ʾr-ʿw Hararôw, v. p. 217, note 9.
Ahm.: s. of *Z-Ptḥ-e-f-ʿnḫ* VIII. v/3.

Ḥr-ʾn-wwy Haromwow, v. p. 131, note 7.
Geb.: f. of *Sy-p-me* by *Ta-Ṭḥwt* XV/1 = Ἁρομγους in docket.

La. Ptol. XX v/6 XXII v/2 [, and det ?]

Ḥr-ʾGš Harekôs, Ἁρεκυσις. (1) Geb.: f. of . . . XX. v/6. (2) Geb.: s. of *Z-ḥr* XXII. v/2.

La. Ptol. XV B/2 [ ]

Ḥr-ʿo-pḥ·t Harapahte.
(1) Geb.: f. of *Gl-hb* 'the elder' by *T-bl·t* XV/1 = Ἁραπαθης in docket.
(2) „ s. of *ʿNḫ-n-hb·w* XV/2 = (1)?.

Psam. I C/1 II L/1 Ahm VI v/13 VII v/2 Dar. 3/17 8/5 17/4 [ ]

Ḥr-wz Haruoz, Ἁρυωτης, ϩερογοϫ, v. p. 205, note 45.
(1) Psam.: f. of *Z-Ṭḥwt-e-f-ʿnḫ* I. C/1.
(2) „ pr. s. of *A-ḥr* I. L/1.
(3) „ pr. s. of *P-sn-ke* I. O/1, II. A/7.
(4) „ f. of *Ḥr* II. L/1.
(5) „ *mr-pr* of Ammon, s. of *Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst* IX. 8/5–8, 14, 9/6–9, 16, 18, 10/20, 21, 11/6–13, 12/1, 14/10; pr. of Teuzoi and h. of *Nyt-m-ḥ* 9/4. (Cf. *Ḥr-by*.)
(6) Psam. II: gov. of Hnês, pr. of Sobk, s. of *Ḥr-Ḫb* IX. 3/17, 15/3–5, 17/5, and f. of *Ptḥ-nfr* 3/19, 15/5–7, 9, 11, 17/4.
(7) Ahm.: f. of *Pe-f-tw-ʿw-ʾMn* IV. v/3.
(8) „ f. of *Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ* V. v/7, VII. v/2.
(9) „ f. of *A-ḥr* V. v/16, VI. v/13.
(10)? Thebes: f. of *P-ḫl-Ḫns* XIV. v/7 } or *Ḥr* (?) spelt [ ] cf. **Ḥr** (33).
(11)? Geb.: f. of *P-šr-ʾNp* XXXI/5 }

Psam. [ ]

Ḥr-by (or **Ḥr-wz**?) cf. **Ḥr-wz**, no. (5) and p. 206, note 50.
Ahm.: pr. s. of *Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wbst*(?) I. K/1.

Ahm. VIII/10 Dar. 19/8 [ ]

Ḥr-Bs Helbes (?), cf. φελβες = *Pr-Ḥr-Bs* (?), and Χαλβης in Busiris legend.
(1) Ahm.: f. of *Sm-tw-te-f-nḫt* VIII. v/10.
(2) „ gov. of Hnês, s. of *Ḥr* (?)-*nfr-ʾw* IX. 19/8, 15, 20/11.

La. Ptol. XV B/4 [ ]

Ḥr-pa-ʾS Harpaêsi, Ἁρπαησις, v. p. 156, note 2.
(1) Geb.: surn. of *ʾMnys* s. of *Ptrn* (= *P-hb*) by *T-šr·t-ʾS* XV. A/3, B/4.
(2) „ f. of *Ḫns-Ṭḥwt* by *T-šr-p-wr* XVI/5.
(3) „ s. of *Ṭḥwt-mne* XVI. v/10.
(4) Geb.: s. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XXII. v/8.
(5) „ s. of *P-Wr-tyw* XXVI/5.
(6) „ s. of *Pa-n-Nḫt·w* XXIX/6.
(7) „ s. of *Ṭḥwt-e-ʾr-ty-s* (?) XXXII/10.

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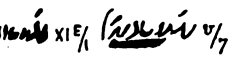
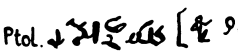
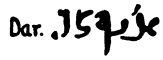
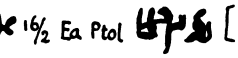
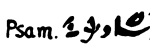
Ea Ptol.  La. Ptol. 

Ḥr-p-bk Harpbêk, Ἁρφεβηχις,
Thebes: s. of *Z-ḥr* by *Ta-P-a·le-nfr-ḥtp* (?) XI. E/1, v/7.

Ḥr-p-ḫpš Harpkhôpesh, cf. Ἁρχιψις, v. p. 267, note 2.
Geb.: s. of *Pa-p-mˀ* XV. v/5.

Dar.  Ea Ptol 

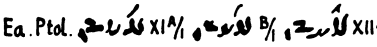
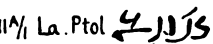
Ḥr-mˀ-ḫrw Harmakhor, Ἁρμαχορος, v. p. 242, note 2.
(1) Ahm.: s. of *Pṯḥ-eˀr-ỉy-s* IX. 16/2–6. (2) Thebes: s. of *P-a·le-ˀMn-stn-ỉ·w* X. v/15.

Psam.  Dar.

Ḥr-ḫb Harkhêbi, Ἁρχηβις, v. p. 209, note 1, p. 223, note 18.
(1) Psam.: *sy-mr-f* s. of *Ḥr-sy-ˀS* II. K/1.
(2) Psam.: f. of *Ḥr-wꜥ* IX. 3/17, 15/3.
(3) Ahm.: *tkr* IX. 16/17, 19; s. of *Yr-Ḥr-r-w* 17/7.

Dar.

Ḥr-ḫb-wsy-gm (?).
Cambyses: br. of *P-šr-cḤ* and s. of *Yr·ỉ-Ḥr-r-w* IX. 21/9.

Psam. Ea. Ptol.  La. Ptol 

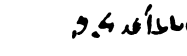
Ḥr-sy-ˀS Harsiêsi, Ἁρσιησις, v. p. 257, note 5, p. 275, note 2.
(1) Psam.: f. of *Ḥr-ḫb* II. K/1.
(2) Thebes: f. of *Ty-Ḥr* or *Ta-Ḥr* by *Ta-Wbst* XI/1, XII/1, XIII/1, XIV/2; s. of *P-a·le-ˀMn-ˀPy* or *Pa-ne* XI/3, XII/3, XIII/3, by *Ta-ḥb* XIV/1.
(3) „ f. of *Ḥr* XI. v/2.
(4) „ f. of *P-a·le-ˀMn-stn-ỉ·w* XIV. v/3.
(5) „ f. of *Ns-Šw* (?) XIV. v/5.
(6) Geb.: f. of *Pa-ỉ·w* XV. v/16.
(7) „ f. of *Šbytyt* by *Ta-ˀS* XVI/5.
(8) „ s. of *Pa-ỉ·w* XVI. v/8.
(9) „ s. of *Sbk-ḥtp* XVII. v/16, XXX. v/1, XXXVIII. v/14.
(10) „ s. of . . . XXII. v/6.
(11) „ f. of [ ] XXV/7.
(12) „ f. of *Sbk-ḥtp* XXIX. v/2.
(13) „ f. of *P-a·le-Wsr* (?) XXX. v/7.

Ḥr-Ṯḥwt Harthowt, Ἁρθωυτης. Thebes: s. of *Pa-mᶜ* (?) XIV. v/15.

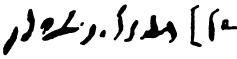
Ea. Ptol. La. Ptol.

Ḥr-m-ḫb (?) Ἁρμαις.
Thebes: s. of *Z-ḥr* XII. H/8, v/7, XIII. v/7.
[Geb.: s. of *Ḥr* by *Tˀ-q* XIX/4.] See the Greek docket.

Ḥtp-Sbk Hetpesobk Ἑτπεσουχος, v. p. 267, note 3.
Geb.: s. of *Wn-nfr* XV. v/7, XXI/32.



Ḥns-eˀr-ṭy-s Khensartais.
Ahm.: s. of *Pe-f-tw-ᶜ-Wbst* VIII. v/5.

Ahm. 

Ḥns-te-f-nḫt Khenstefnakhti.
Ahm.: s. of *Ḥr* VI. v/17.

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La.Ptol. XVII/3 XXV 2/10

Ḥns-Ṭḥwt Khensthowt, Χενσθωτης.
(1) Geb.: s. of *Ḥr-pa-ʾS* by *T-šr·t-p-wr*, h. of *Šbyt* XVI/5.
(2) „ f. of *P-šr-p-wr* XVII/3.
(3) Geb.: s. of *Sy-Sbk* XVIII. v/8 (XXIV. v/7 ?), XXV. 2/10.
(4) „ s. of *P-a·ṯe-Wsr* XXV. 1/9.
(5) „ s. of *P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-sm-t·w* XXV. 2/7.

Dar. 16/19 18/5

Ḥl-Ḥns Khelkhons, cf. Κελεχωνσις, v. p. 242, note 17.
Ahm.: courtier, s. of *Ḥr* IX. 16/15. pr. of Horus in Buto 16/20, br. of *P-s-n-mṯk-mn-n-P* 17/8, 18/4, cf. 16/17, 19, 17/8, 9, 19, 20, 18/5, 19/16, 20/7, 21/1, 5.

Rom.

Ḫtb Khatbu, Σαταβους, v. p. 302, note 6. Rom.: XLV. A/15, B/13 = Σεταβους in Greek text.

La.Ptol. XVB/1

Sy-p-me Siepmû, Σιεφμους, v. p. 131, note 7, p. 265, note 6.
(1) Geb.: s. of *Ḥr-ʾn-wwy* by *Ta-Ṭḥwt*, and h. of *Gl-hb* 'the elder' XV/1 = Σιεπμους in docket.
(2) „ f. of *P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-sm-t·w* XV. v/10, XVI. v/7.
(3) „ s. of *P-šr-p-Rᶜ* XXXI/4.

La.Ptol.

Sy-Nyt Sineyt, *-σινηιτ*, v. p. 230, note 2. Geb.: f. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XXXVIII. v/6.

La.Ptol. XVII v/12 XXV 2/10

Sy-Sbk Sisobk, Σισουχος.
(1)(2) Geb.: s. of *Wn-nfr* XVII. v/12, XVIII. v/1, XIX. v/2, XXIII. v/1, XXIV. v/1, XXV. 2/7, 9.
(3) „ f. of *Ḥns-Ṭḥwt* XVIII. v/8, XXV. 2/10.
(4) „ s. of *P-hb* XVIII. v/9. XIX. v/10, XXVII. v/3.
(5) „ f. of *T-bw-Ṭḥwt* (?) XIX. v/13.
(6) „ s. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XX. v/15, XXV. 2/10.
(7)(8) „ f. of *Wn-nfr* XXII. v/1, XXV. 2/7, XXVII. v/9, 16.
(9) Geb.: f. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XXIII. v/2, XXV. 2/10.
(10) „ s. of *P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-sm-t·w* XXV. 2/7.
(11) „ XXV. 2/9.
(12) „ f. of *Pa-t-s-ᶜo·t* XXV. 2/10.
(13) „ s. of *P-Ṭḥwt-* . . . (sic ?) XXV. 2/10.
(14) „ f. of *Z-ḥr* XXIX. v/6, XXX. v/11.
(15) „ s. of *P-šr-Mn* XXX. v/3, XXXVII. v/15.
(16) „ s. of *Pa-t·w* XXX. v/14.
(17) „ f. of *Ne-nḫt-f* 'the black' XXXVIII. v/9.

La.Ptol

Sbk-Mn Sekmin, Σοκομινις, Mah.-Sm., v. p. 191. Geb.: s. of *Ns-nb-ᶜnḫ* XXV. 2/12.

La.Ptol. XVII v/16 XX v/13

Sbk-ḥtp Sekhotp, Σχωτης, Ϩοχωτης, v. p. 191 and p. 275, note 2.
(1) Geb.: f. of *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* XVII. v/16, XXX. v/1, XXXVIII. v/14.
(2) „ f. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XIX. v/5.
(3) „ f. of *P-a·ṯe-Ḥr-sm-t·w* (?) XX. v/12.
(4) Geb.: f. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XX. v/13, XXIV. v/3.
(5) „ f. of *P-a·ṯe-Sbk* XXII. v/4.
(6) „ f. of *Pa-Gb* XXIII. v/3, XXIV. v/2, XXIX. v/8, XXX. v/6, XXXVI/17.
(7) „ s. of *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* XXIX. v/2.

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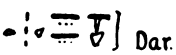
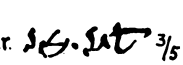
La. Ptol. XV v/11

Sm-t·w Semtew, Σενθευς, Σομτους, v. p. 202, note 7, p. 229, note 8: cf. **Ns-sm-t·w, P-a·ṯe-ʾMn·stn-t·w**; div. n. *Sm-t·w*.

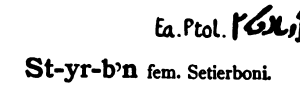
(1) (2) Geb.: f. and s. XV. v/3.
(3) Geb.: s. of *Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ty-s* XV. v/11.
(4) „ f. of *Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ty-s* XVI. v/9.

Ahm. Dar.  3/5  12/3

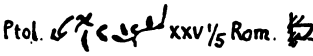
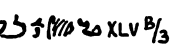
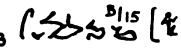
Sm-t·w-te-f-nḫt Semtutefnakhti.

(1) Psam.: *ʿo-n-mr* s. of *P-a·ṯe-ʾS* IX. 10/4–7, 16, 17, 11/1, 16, 12/3, 14/12: see pp. 72–4.
(2) Ahm.: s. of *Ḥr-Bs* VIII. v/10.
(3) Dar.: s. of *ʿNḫ-Wn-nfr* IX. 3/5, 8, 10, 11, 14, 4/2, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15.

Sgne (?), **Sgns** (?), v. **Pa·gne** (?).

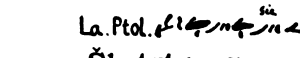
Ea. Ptol. 

St-yr-bʾn fem. Setierboni. Thebes: m. of *ʿNḫ-p-ḫrṭ* by *P-a·ṯe-ʾMn-ʾPy* XI. D/1.

La. Ptol.  XXV 1/5 Rom.  XLV B/3 

St-w-wt, St·wt, St·w·t·wt, Stu(t)weti, Στοτοητις, Στοητις, v. p. 191 and p. 282, note 3.

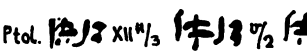
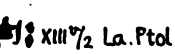
(1) Geb.: s. of *P-a·ṯe-Ḫr-wr* XXV. 1/5.
(2) Rom.: s. of *Pa-nfr-ʾmy* by *Ta-nfr-ʾmy* XLV. A/3, B/3.
(3) „ s. of *Ḥr* XLV. A/17, B/15.
(4) „ f. of *E-f-ʿnḫ* XLV. B/14.

La. Ptol. 

Šbytyt fem. Shebtit, Σεβτιτις, v. p. 139, note 13, p. 271, note 20.
Geb.: d. of *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* by *Ta-ʾS*, w. of *Ḫns-Ṭḥwt* XVI/5.

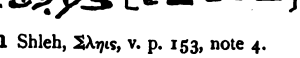
Ahm

Šp-ʾS fem. Shpenêsi, v. p. 216, note 4. Ahm.: m. of *P-a·ṯe-ʾS* by *Ns-sm-t·w* VIII/2.

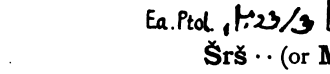
Ea. Ptol.  XII 11/3  XIII v/2 XIII v/2 La. Ptol XVIII v/6 XXII v/3

Šp-Mn Shpemmin, Σπεμμινις, v. p. 261, note 4.

(1) Thebes: s. of *Pa-ḥḳ*, the s. of *P-ḥḳ-p-šmʿ* (?) XII. H/3, v/2, XIII. v/2.
(2) Geb.: s. of *Z-ḫr* XVIII. v/6.
(3) „ s. of *Ns-p-nṯr* XXII. v/3, scribe of XXXVIII.
(4) Geb.: f. of *Ḥr-* . . . XXII. v/10.
(5) „ f. of [. . .] XXII. v/13.
(6) „ s. of *P-a·ṯe-Wsr* XXXVII. v/10.
(7) „ f. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XXXVIII. v/11.

La. Ptol. 

Šlh Shleh, Σληις, v. p. 153, note 4.
Geb.: s. of *Ḥr* by *Tʾ-q* (?) XXIV/7.

Ea. Ptol. 

Šrš · · (or **Mršn** ?).
Thebes: f. of *P-šr-ʾS* XIV. v/11.

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Ea. Ptol.

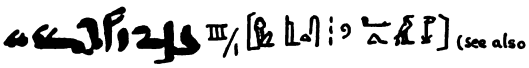
Ššq Sheshonk (Σεσωγχις in Man.), v. p. 225, note 14.
Thebes: s. of *P-* . . . XIV. v/1.

Ahm.

Ššq(-ʿnḫ).
Ahm.: s. of *Pe-k-yt* V. v/11.

Ea. Ptol.

Šṯ-Nfr-tm Sheteftem, v. p. 260, note 1. Thebes: s. of *Ns* (?)- . . . XI. v/10.

Ahm.  (see also Pl. 17)

Qʿ-w-s-n-ʾS fem. (var. **Qʿ-s-ʾS**, **Qʿ-w-n-ʾS**, **Qʿ-sw-n-ʾS**, **Qʿ-w-s-n** sic?), v. p. 209, note 3 Kausenêsi.
Ahm.: m. of *P-* . . . or *Pe-f-tw-ʿw-Wsṯ* III/1, V/1, VI (Pl. 17), VII/1.

Ahm.

Gm-(n)-f-Ḥr-bk Gmenafharbôk, v. p. 217, note 8.
Ahm.: s. of *P-ḥ-ʾw*, scribe of VIII.

La. Ptol.

Glwg fem., probably the same as the next.
Geb.: w. of *P-nt-nḫt-šwš* (?) XXXVI/20.

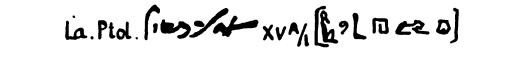
Qlwz. v. Qlz.

La. Ptol.

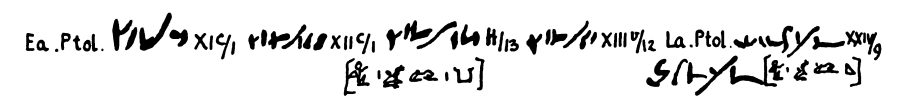
Qlwze fem. Κολλουθις, cf. **Qlz**.
Geb.: m. of *P-šr-mnḫ* by *Pa-n-nḫt-w* XIX/4.

La. Ptol

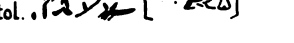
Qrr Krûr, Κρουρις, κρογρ, v. p. 274, note 9.
Geb.: f. of *Pa-ḥe* XVII. v/6, XVIII. v/15, XX. v/10.

La. Ptol. 

Gl-hb Kalhib, Καλιβις, v. p. 131, note 8, p. 265, note 7.
(1) Geb.: 'the elder' d. of *Ḥr-ʿo-ph-t* and *T-bl-t* XV/1 = Καλιβις πρεσβυτερα in the docket.
(2) ,, XXVI/9.

Ea. Ptol. 

Qlz (or **Klz**) **Qlwz** in (4), Klûz, Κολλουθης, κλογτε, κλογτε, v. p. 259, note 6.
(1) Thebes: f. of *P-a-ḥe-Ḥns* by *Ns-Ḥr-p-ḫrṯ* XI. C/1, v/3.
(2) ,, f. of *Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ty-s* XII. C/1, v/12, XIII. C/1, v/12, and s. of *Zwfʿḫy* XII. H/13, and h. of *T-šr-t-Mn* XII. F/1.
(3) Thebes: f. of *Ḥr* XII. H/15, v/14, XIII. v/14.
(4) Geb.: s. of *P-hb* XXIV/9.
(5) ,, f. of *Ne-nḫt-f* XXXVIII. v/16.

La. Ptol. 

Gl-t-w (?).
Geb.: s. of *Ṯḥwt-eʾr-ty-s* XXIV. v/8.

Ahm

***T-b-ʾy-t** fem. Tbaiayt [cf. Τβαιαις, Tur., Louvre].
Ahm.: m. of *Ze-Pṯḥ-e-f-ʿnḫ* by *P-a-ḥe-Pṯḥ* VIII/1.

* All names beginning with the article **T-** are here collected together: for **Ta-**, **Ty-**, **T-a-ṭe-**, see pp. 462, 463.

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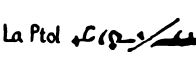
La.Ptol.

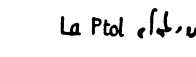
T-b-ʾrrḥ-s fem. Temekhas (?), v. p. 275, note 5.
Geb.: m. of *P-šr-ʾNḫ* by *Ḥr* XVIII/3.

La Ptol 

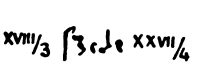
T-bl·t fem. Tbellê, Τβελλης, τ-ϧελλη, v. p. 265, note 8.
Geb.: m. of *Gl-ḥb* 'the elder' by *Ḥr-ʿo-ph·t* XV. A/1, B/2.

La. Ptol.

T-Rmwte fem. Termûti, Θερμουθις, -τερμογτε, v. p. 279, note 5.
Geb.: d. of *Pa-t-s-ʿo·t* by *Ty-Ḥns* XXII/3.

La Ptol 

T-ḥtr·t fem. Thatrê, Θατρης, Ostr.
Geb.: d. of *Ḥr* by *Tʾ-q* (?) and sister of *Ḥr*, &c. XXIV/5.

Ea. Ptol. La Ptol. 

T-šr·t-ʾMn fem. Tshenamûn, Σεναμουνις.
(1) Thebes: m. of *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-p-Rʿ* by *Ns-Mn* XII. E/1.
(2) Geb.: d. of *P-ʾŠr* by *T-šr-ʿo-ph·t* and w. of *Pa-t-s-ʿo·t* XVII/5.
(3) Geb.: m. of *Mʿ-Ṯḫwt* by *P-šr-ʾNḫ* XVIII/3.
(4) „ d. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XVIII/4.
(5) „ d. of *P-šr-ʾMn* by *T-šr·t-P-wr* XXIII/2.
(6) „ d. of *Ne-nḫt-f* by *T-šr·t-ʾNḫ* XXVII/4.

T-šr·t-ʾNp fem. Tshenenûp, Σενανουπις.
Geb.: m. of *T-šr·t-ʾMn* by *Ne-nḫt-f* XXVII/4.

T-šr·t-ʾS fem. Tshenêsi, Σεννησις.
Geb.: m. by *Ptrn* (= *P-ḥb*) of *ʾMnys* (= *Ḥr-pa-ʾS*) XV. B/4, and of *Pa-t-s-ʿo·t* XVII/2.

La. Ptol.

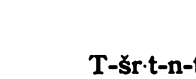
T-šr·t-ʿo-ph·t fem. Tshenᶜapahte, Σεναπαθις, v. p. 274, note 4.
Geb.: m. of *T-šr·t-ʾMn* by *P-ʾŠr* XVII/5.

T-šr t-P-wr fem. Tshenpwêr, Σεπτοηρις.
(1) Geb.: m. of *Ḥns-Ṯḫwt* by *Ḥr-pa-ʾS* XVI/5.
(2) „ m. of *T-šr-ʾMn* by *P-šr-ʾMn* XXIII/2.

T-šr·t-Mw·t fem. Tshenmût, Σενμουθις.
Geb.: m. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾR-ḥms-nfr* by *Pa-ṯe* XXI/8.

T-šr·t-Mn fem. Tshemmin, Σεμμινις.
Thebes: m. of *Ṯḫwt-e-ʾr-ṯy-s* by *Qlz* XII. F/1.

T-šr·t-mnḫ fem. Tshemmenkhe.
Geb.: d. of *Ḥr* by *Tʾ-q* (?) (and sister of *T-ḥtr·t*, &c.) XXIV/5.

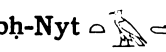
Ahm. 

T-šr·t-n-t-eʾr-nᶜ fem. varr. **T-šr·t-nᶜ·t**, **T-šr·t-nᶜ**, Tshentarna, Tshennaᶜût (?), v. p. 213, note 2.
Ahm.: m. of *Ns-sm-t-w* by *P-a-ṯe-ʾS* VI (Pl. 17), VII/2.

Ea. Ptol.

T-šr·t-ʒ·t fem. Tsherikhomti, v. p. 257, note 3: cf. Τσονισοντις (= *T-sn-t-ʒ-t?*), Ostr.
Thebes: m. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* by *Ṯḫwt-e-ʾr-ṯy-s* XI/1.

T-šr·t-Sbk fem. Tshensobk, Σενσουχος.
Geb.: m. of *P-a-ṯe-Ḥr-sm-t-w* by *P-a-ṯe-Sbk* XXX/4.

T-ṭbḥ-Nyt 
Psam.: m. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾS* by *Ỉr-t-w-r w* in hieroglyphic IX. 21/17, 22/15.

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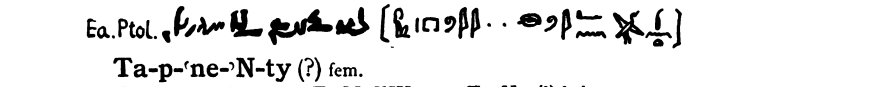
Ta-ˀS fem. Taêsi, Ταησις.
(1) Thebes: d. of *P-a-ṯe-ˀMn-ˀPy* and *ˀS-ḥ-ˀr-ṯy-s* X/1.
(2) Geb.: m. of *Šbytyt* by *Ḥr-sy-ˀS* XVI/5.
(3) Rom.: XLIV. A/10, B/10.

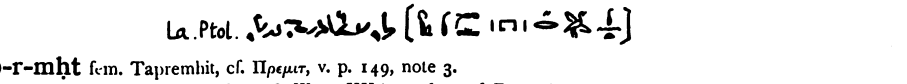
Ta-Wbst fem. Taubasti.
Thebes: m. of *Ty-Ḥr* by *Ḥr-sy-ˀS* XI/1, XII/1, XIII/1, XIV/2.

Ta-wn-Bs fem. Tawonbes, Ταγομβης, v. p. 266, note 13.
Geb.: m. of *Ns-Mn* by *Ṯḫwt-ḥ-ˀr-ṯy-s* XV. A/3, B/4.

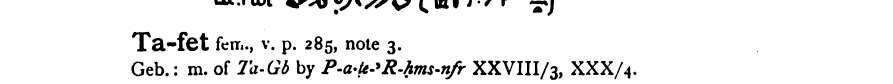
Ta-P-a·ṭe-Sbk fem. Tapatesobk.
Rom.: m. of *Hry·w* by *Rhs* XLIV/2 = Ταπετεσουχος in Greek text.



Ta-p-ˁne-ˀN-ty (?) fem.
Thebes: d. of *Z-ḥr* by *Ta-Mn* XIV/1, = *Ty-ˀN·ṯy* (?) below.



Ta-p-r-mḥt fem. Tapremhit, cf. Πρεμιτ, v. p. 149, note 3.
Geb.: d. of *Pa-ṯe* by *Nḫm-s-ˀS* and w. of *ˀWnws* XX/3, and m. of *P-mr-ˀḥ* by *ˀWnmws* = *ˀWnws* XXVIII/3.



Ta-fet fem., v. p. 285, note 3.
Geb.: m. of *Ta-Gb* by *P-a-ṯe-ˀR-ḫms-nfr* XXVIII/3, XXX/4.

Ta-Mn fem. Tamin, Θαμινις, Wilcken, *Ostr.*
Thebes: m. of *Ty-ˀN·ṯ* (?) or *Ta-p-ˁne-ˀN·ṯy* (?) by *Z-ḥr* XII/1, XIII/1, XIV/1.

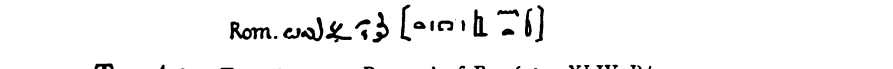
Ta-Ne-nfr-ˀr-ˀmy fem. Taneferemi, Ταναφερεμμις.
Rom.: m. of *St-w-ṯ-wṯ* and *E-f-ˁnḫ* by *Pa-Ne-nfr-ˀmy* XLV. A/4, 6, B/4, 5, D/8 = Ταναφρυμις in Greek text.

Ta-ḥb fem. Tahib.
(1) Thebes: d. of *P-a-ṯe-nfr-ḥtp* XI/3, XII/3, XIII/3; her father called *ˀMn-ḥtp* in XIV/2.
(2) Thebes: m. of *Ḥr-sy-ˀS* by *P-a-ṯe-ˀMn-ˀPy* XIV/1.

Ta-Ḥr fem. Tahôr, Ταυρις, v. *Ty-Ḥr*.

Ta-Ḫns fem. Takhons, v. *Ty-Ḫns*.

Ta-Gb fem. Takêb, Τακοιβις.
Geb.: d. of *P-a-ṯe-ˀR-ḫms-nfr* by *Ta-fet* (?) XXVIII/3, XXX/4.



Ta-s·t fem. Tase, Τασης.
Rom.: d. of *Pa-nfr-ˀmy* XLIV. B/12.

Ta-Ṯḫwt fem. Tathowt, Ταθωτις, Ταθωυθις.
Geb.: m. of *Sy-p-me* by *Ḥr-ˀn-wnwy* XV/1.

Ta-ˀN·t (?) fem. v. **Ty-ˀN·t** (?).

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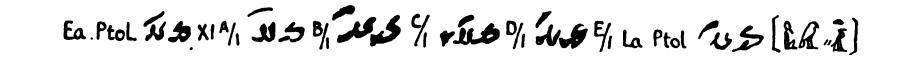
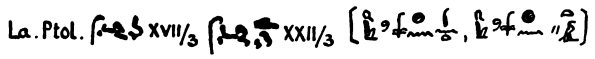
Ty- for this form of feminine name, v. p. 257, note 4.



Ty-Ḥr fem. Teihôr.
(1) Thebes: d. of *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* by *Ta-Wȝst* XI/1, XII/1, XIII/1 (with var. *Ta-Ḥr* in XII, XIII, and in XIV/2).
(2) Geb.: m. of *Ns-wre-t* by *P-a-ḏe* XXIX/4.



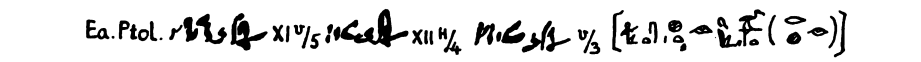
Ty-Ḥns Teikhons.
Geb.: m. by *Pa-ṯ-s-ʿo-ṯ* of *Ne-nḫt-f* or *ʾWnwṣ* XVII/3, 6, and of *T-Rmwṭe* XXII/3 (**Ta-Ḥns** in XVII).

Ty-ʾN·t (?) fem.
Thebes: d. of *Z-ḫr* and *Ta-Mn* XII/1, XIII/1, var. **Ta-ʾN·t** (?) (in XIV/1 named **Ta-p-ʿne-ʿN·t** (?).

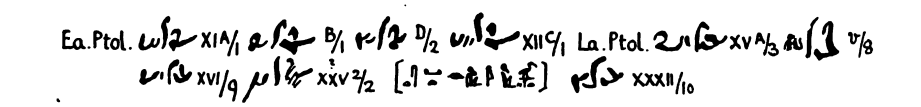
T-a·ṭe-Nfr-ḥtp fem. m. of *Twt* by *P-ḥl-Ḥns* XII. G/1.

Twt Twêt (?), Τοτοης, v. pp. 191, 195, 261, note 2, and cf. Assyr. Dudu in the El Amarna tablets.
(1) Thebes: s. of *P-ḥl-Ḥns* XII. B/1, v/10, XIII. B/1, v/10; by *T-a·ḏe-Nfr-ḥtp* XII. G/1 the son of *Ns-* . . . *nb-šmʿ* II/11.
(2) Geb.: s. of *Pa-n-Nḫt-w* XIX. v/12. (3) Ptol.: f. of *P-a·ḏe-Mn* XLI. verso A/12.

Ṭḥwt-ʾw Thetêu, Θοτευς, v. p. 262, note 1.
Thebes: s. of *Ṭḥwt-ʾrrḥ-s* the s. of *Pa-ḥ* XII. H/4, v/3, XIII. v/3.



Ṭḥwt-ʾrrḥ-s Thetarekhs (but cf. Θοτρωσις, Paris?).
(1) Thebes: s. of *Z-ḫr* (?) XI. v/5. (2) Thebes: f. of *Ṭḥwt-ʾw* and s. of *Pa-ḫs* (?) XII. H/4, v/3, XIII. v/3.



Ṭḥwt-eʾr-ṭy-s Thetartaas, Θοτορταις, v. pp. 190, 193, for the ending.
(1) Thebes: f. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* by *T-šr-3-t* XI/1 and s. of *Z-ḫr* XI/4.
(2) „ s. of *Kls* XII. C/1, v/12, XIII. C/1, v/12, by *T-šr-t-Mn* XII. F/1, and grds. of *Zwf-ʿḫy* H/13.
(3) „ f. of *Ns-Mn* and s. of *Ṭḥwt-mn* XII. H/6, v/5, XIII. v/5.
(4) Geb.: f. of *Ns-Mn* by *Ta-wn-Bs* XV. A/3, B/4.
(5) „ s. of *Nḫt-Wȝst* (?), scribe of XV.
(6) „ f. of *Ḥr* XV. v/6, XVI. v/2.
(7) „ f. of *Nḫt-Mn* XV. v/8, XVI. v/3, XXV. 2/2 (?).
(8) Geb.: f. of *Sm-t-w* XV. v/11.
(9) „ s. of *Ns-Mn* XV. v/14.
(10) „ f. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* XVI. v/6.
(11) „ s. of *Sm-t-w* XVI. v/9.
(12) „ f. of *Pa-ḫrṭ* XVII. v/15, XXVII. v/15, XXXIII. v/1.
(13) „ s. of *Yr-Ḥr-ar-w* XXII. v/5, XXXVII. v/4.
(14) „ s. of *Gl-t-w* (?) XXIV. v/8.
(15) „ f. of *Ḥr-pa-ʾS*? XXXII/10.
(16) „ s. of *Nḫt-Mn* XXXVII/4.
(17) „ f. of *Nḫt-Mn* XXXVII. v/11.

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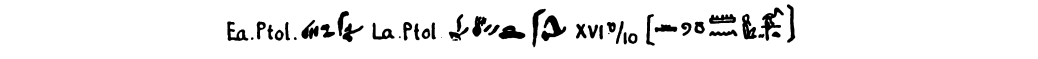
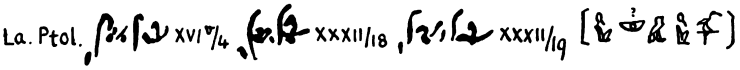


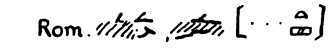
Ṯḥwt-mn Thetmên, Θοτμηνις.
(1) Thebes: f. of *Ṯḥwt-e·ʾr-ỉy-s* the f. of *Ns-ỉmn* XII. H/6. (2) Geb.: f. of *Ḥr-pa-ʾS* XVI. v/10, cf. XXXII/10?.



Ṯḥwt-m-ḥb.
(1) Geb.: f. of *Ns-nb-ᶜnḫ* XVI. v/4. (2) Geb.: f. of *ᶜNḫ-p-ḫrỉ* XXXII/18.
(3) „ s. of *Ṯḥwt-sṭm* XXXII/19.

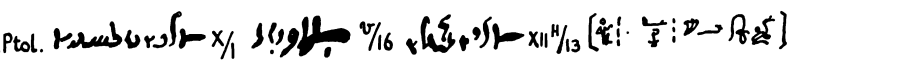
Ṯḥwt-sṭm Thetsô em, Θοτσυτομ, &c., v. p. 282, note 1.
(1) Geb.: s. of *Pa-Gb* XXIV. v/6, XXV. 2/6. (3) Geb.: f. of *Pa-ỉ·w* XXXII/15.
(2) „ f. of *Pa-Gb* XXVII. v/10. (4) „ f. of *Ṯḥwt-m-ḫb* XXXII/19.
(5) „ f. of [. . .] XXXVII. v/3.

Ṯḥwt-ms(?) . . .
Thebes: s. of *Ns-ỉmn* X. v/11.



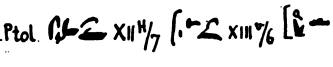
Tš Teshe, Τεσης, v. p. 300, note 3.
Rom.: s. of *Nḫt-nb-f* XLIV. A/12, B/13.

Tše-nfr Teshenûfi, Τεσενουφις, v. p. 300, note 7. Rom.: s. of *P-* . . . XLIV. B/10.

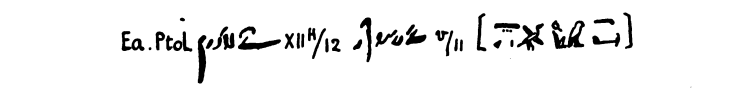


Zwf-ᶜḥy Zufᶜakhi (?), v. p. 254, note 3.
(1) Thebes: f. of *P-a·ỉe-Ḫns* by *Ns-Tfn* X/1. (2) Thebes: s. of *P-a·ỉe-Ḫr* X. v/16.
(3) „ f. of *Q-ỉz* the f. of *Ṯḥwt-e·ʾr-ỉy-s* XII. H/13.

Z-wr fem. Zeueri.
Thebes: m. of *P-ʾw-Ḥr* by *Ns-ỉmn* XI. B/1.



Ṯ-nfr Ṯainufi, v. p. 262, note 4.
Thebes: s. of *Ze-Ḫns-e-f-ᶜnḫ* and f. of *Z-ḥr* XII. H/7, v/6, XIII. v/6.



Ṯ-Ḥr-p-t Ṯieharpto. Thebes: f. of *Pa-ỉmn* and s. of *Yr·ỉ-Ḥr-r-w* XII. H/12, v/11, XIII. v/11.

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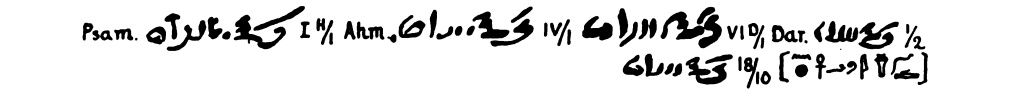
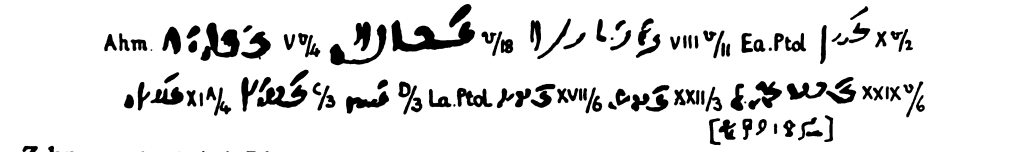
Z-N.-e-f-ʿnḫ: for the form see p. 192.



Z-Wbst-e-f-ʿnḫ Zeubasteſônekh, v. p. 206, note 47.
(1) Psam.: pr., s. of *ʾMn* (?) I. E/1.
(2) „ f. of *Ḥr* II. F/1.
(3) „ pr., s. of *Ḥr* I. G/1, II. E/1.
(4) „ pr., s. of *ʿNḫ-Ḥp* (?) I. H/1.
(5) (6) Ahm.: pr., s. of *Ḥr* IV/1, 7, v/8, V. v/21, VI. A/5.
(7) (8) „ f. of ch. pr. *Ḥr* and another IV. v/14, V. v/1, 17, VI. D/1, v/19.
(9) Ahm.: s. of *Ḥr-wz* V. v/7, VII. v/2.
(10) „ f. of *Yr-t-Ḥr-r-w* V. v/9.
(11) „ f. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾMn-* . . . V. v/15.
(12) „ s. of *A-ḫr* VI. v/8.
(13) „ *mr-šn* s. of *A-ḫr* (?) IX. 18/10, 19/6, 9, 15, 20, 20/3, 19.
(14) Dar.: s. of *Yr-t-Ḥr-r-w* IX. 1/2, 3, 8, 2/8, 10, 11.

Z-Wsr-e-f-ʿnḫ Zeusireſônekh.
Ahm.: f. of *P-a-ṯe-ʾS* VIII. v/8.

Z-Pṯḥ-e-f-ʿnḫ Zeptaheſônekh.
(1) Ahm.: s. of *P-a-ṯe-Pṯḥ* by *T-b-ʾy-t* VIII/1.
(2) „ f. of *Ḥr-e-ʾr-ʿw* VIII. v/3.



Z-ḥr masc., fem. in (20), Zeho, Τεως.
(1) Ahm.: s. of *Yr-t-Ḥr-r-w* IV. v/11.
(2) „ s. of *P-sn-ke* V. v/4.
(3) „ f. of *Ḥr.* V. v/18, VI. v/4.
(4) „ f. of *ʿNḫ-pe-f-ḫry* V. v/19.
(5) (6) „ s. of *Ḥr* V. v/20, VI. v/5, 11.
(7) „ f. of *A-ḫr* VI. v/18.
(8) „ s. of *Ns-Ḥr-Ṯḥwt* VII. v/5.
(9) „ s. of *P-s-n-mṯk* VIII. v/11.
(10) Thebes: f. of *Wsr-wr* X. v/2.
(11) „ f. of *Ṯḥwt-e-ʾr-ty-s* XI/4.
(12) „ f. of *Ḥr-p-bk* by *Ta-Pa-ṯe-Nfr-ḥtp* (?) XI. E/1, v/7.
(13) Thebes: f. of *Ṯḥwt-ʾrrḫ-s* XI. v/5.
(14) „ f. of *Ta-ʾN-t* (?) or *Ta-p-ʿne-ʾN-t* (?) by *Ta-ʾMn* XII/1, XIII/1, XIV/1.
(15) „ s. of *T-nfr* the s. of *Z-Ḫns-e-f-ʿnḫ* XII. H/7, v/6, XIII. v/6.
(16) „ f. of *Ḥr-* . . . . XII. H/8, v/7, XIII. v/7.
(17) Geb.: f. of *Pa-t-w* XVI. v/5.
(18) „ f. of *Ns-p-ntr* the scribe of XVII, XX, XXII.
(19) „ f. of *Šp-Mn* XVIII. v/6.
(20) „ m. of *P-mr-ʾḥ* by *P-mr-ʾḥ* XXII/3.
(21) „ f. of *Ḥr-ʾGš* XXII. v/2.
(22) „ s. of *Sy-Sbk* XXIX. v/6, XXX. v/11.
(23) „ s. of *Ns-p-ntr* XXXVIII. v/15.

Z-Ḥr-e-f-ʿnḫ Zehareſônekh.
Ahm.: f. of . . . VIII. v/4.

Ze-Ḫns-e-f-ʿnḫ Zekhenseſônekh.
(1) Psam.: s. of *ʿNḫ-p-ḫrṭ* I. P/1.
(2) Thebes: f. of *T-nfr* the father of *Z-ḫr* XII. H/7.

Ze-Ṭḥwt-e-f-ʿnḫ.
(1) Psam.: pr., s. of *Ḥr-wz* I. C/1.
(2) „ pr., s. of *ʿNḫ-Ḥp* (?) II. D/1.

The following names of uncertain reading are printed in order of their occurrence in the papyri. Most of those names of which the first element is certain are given above in the alphabetic list:—

f. of *Yr-* . . . *-r-w* IV. v/12, reading perhaps *ʾT-le-f-nḫt*, v. p. 211, note 5.

s. of *Yr-t-Ḥr-r-w* V/6, probably to be read *Sʾ-w-f-Ḫns*, v. p. 212, note 2, and cf. VI. v/16.

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Ahm. V v/2

f. of *A-ḫr*(?) V. v/2: the last part resembles *P-ˀme*. Perhaps the line may be read *P-ḫr-(n-)ḫrt sy P-ˀme*

Ahm. V v/15

s. of *Z-Wbst-e-f-ˁnḫ*: the at the end suggests that the name of *Nfr-tm* may be written here in abbreviated fashion: if so, read *P-a-ṯe-Nfr-tm*.

Ahm. VI 1/1

f. of *Rš* VI. v/1, the first sign is written over an erasure.

Ahm. VI v/16

f. of *Nyt-ṯe-f-nḫt* VI. v/16, read perhaps , cf. V/6.

Ahm. VII v/4

f. of *Yr-i-Ḫr-r-w* VII. v/4, perhaps *Mnt-ms*, *Ḥns-ms*.

Ahm. VIII v/4

s. of *Z-Ḫr-e-f-ˁnḫ* VIII. v/4.

Dar. 2/15 4/18

Dar. s. of *P-a-ṯe-ˀS* IX. 2/15, 4/18.

Dar. 18/10 19/6 19/9

Ahm. f. of *Z-wbst-e-f-ˁnḫ* IX. 18/10, 19/6, 9: probably to be read *A-ḫ*, and equated with *A-ḫr* (*Aho*) f. of *Z-Wbst-e-f-ˁnh* in VI. v/8.

Dar. 19/8

Ahm. f. of *Ḫr-Bs* IX. 19/8: read *Ḫr*(?)-*nfr-ˀw*.

Ea. Ptol. X/4

Thebes: s. of *Wsr-wr* X/4.

Ea. Ptol. X v/1

Thebes: s. of *Mnt-m-ḫ* X. v/1: read *P-sš*(?).

Ea. Ptol. X v/6

Thebes: f. of *P-ḥb* X. v/6.

X v/7 X v/7

Thebes: son and father X. v/7.

XI A/7 XI A/7

Thebes: son and father XI. A/7; the initial sign of the former may represent *ˁnḫ*, cf. *ˁNḫ-p-ḫrṭ* in XI. D/1.

Ea. Ptol. XI E/1

Thebes: m. of *Ḫr-p-ḥḳ* by *Z-ḫr* XI. E/1, reading *Ta-*, followed perhaps by *P-a-ṯe-Nfr-ḥtp*.

Ea. Ptol. XI v/1

Thebes: s. of *Ns-Mn* XI. v/1.

Ea. Ptol. XI v/6

Thebes: f. of *Ns-Mn* XI. v/6: read *P-ḥb*(?).

Ea. Ptol. XI v/8

Thebes: names of pastophorus of Mont and his father XI. v/8.

Ea. Ptol. XI v/9

Thebes: f. of *Hry* XI. v/9: read *P-ḫl*(?)-*Ḥns*(?).

XI v/13 XI v/13

Thebes: s. *Pa-r* . . and f. *Trtr*(?) XI. v/13.

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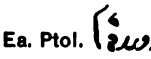
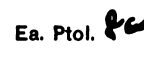
Ea. Ptol.  XI v/16

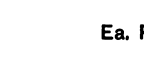
Thebes: f. of *ʿḤ-ms* XI. v/16: read *Wsr* (?)- . . .

Ea. Ptol. XIV v/1

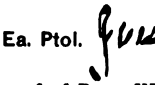
Thebes: f. of *Ššnq* XIV. v/1: read *P-wrḥ* (?).

Ea. Ptol.  XIV v/3

Thebes: f. of *P-šr-Mn* XIV. v/8: read *P*- . . .

Ea. Ptol.  XIV v/12

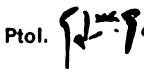
Thebes: f. of *Ns*- . . . XIV. v/12.

Ea. Ptol.  XIV v/16

Thebes: f. of *Pa-ỉ-w* XIV. v/16: read *Pa-ḥỉ* (?).

La. Ptol. XVI v/1

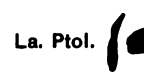
Geb.: f. of *Pa-ḥr* XVI. v/1: read . . . *-šny* (?).

La. Ptol.  XVI v/13

Geb.: f. of *P-a-ỉe-Ḥr-sm-ỉ-w* XVI. v/13: read *Pa*- . . .

La. Ptol. XIX v/13

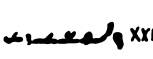
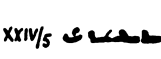
Geb.: s. of *Sy-Sbk* XIX. v/13: read *Ḫns* (?)-*Ṯḥwỉ*.

La. Ptol.  XX v/6

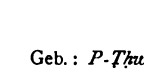
Geb.: s. of *Ḥr-ʾGỉ* XX. v/6.

La. Ptol. XXII v/6

Geb.: f. of *Ḥr-sy-ʾS* XXII. v/6.

La. Ptol.  XXIV/5  /7

Geb.: m. of *T-šr-mnḫ*, *T-ḥtr-ỉ*, *Šlḥ* and *Ḥr-m-ḫb* by *Ḥr* XXIV/5, 7, cf. XIX: read *T-ʾq* (?).

La. Ptol.  XXV 2/12

Geb.: f. of *Ns-Mn* XXV. 2/12: read *P-ḫb* (?).

Ptol. XLI verso A/11

Ptol.: f. of . . . XLI. verso A/11: read *Pa* (?)- . . .

Rom. XLIV B/10

Rom.: f. of *Tỉ-nfr* XLIV. B/10: read *P-Rʿ* (?)-*mn* (?).

GREEK PROPER NAMES

ʾWmns Ευμενης.
military officer: *n rm·w ʾWmns* XV. A/2, B/3, v. p. 132, note 8.

ʾWnws Ευνους.
soldier, also called *ʾWnwmws* q.v., name of Nekhôtf (*Neḫt-f* q.v.), s. of Patseʿô by Takhons, m. Tapremhit XVII/3, 6, XX/3, XXV/9, XXXIV/1.

ʾWnwmws Ευνομος.
same as Ευνους q. v., v. p. 143, note 8, f. of Pleehe (*P-mr-ʾḥ*) by Tapremhit XXVIII/3.

ʾMwnys Αμμωνιος.
f. of Pshenenûp (?) XVII. v/10, XIX. v/1.

ʾMnys Αμμωνιος.
soldier, (=Harpaêsi) s. of Patron (Phib), by Tshenêsi XV. B/4.

ʾPwlʿnys Απολλωνιος.
f. of pr. Didymus XVI/4.

ʾSnws, cf. Ασινευς.
s. of Lycophron, pr. of Ptol. Philopator at Ptolemais XVI/3.

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Pilwmys Πτολεμαιος.
(1) s. of Ptolemy, priest of Philometor at Ptolemais XVI/2.
(2) f. of last, ibid.
(3) f. of Nekhôtf XVII. v/5, XXII. v/7.

Ptrn Πατρων.
(Phib) f. of Ammonius (Harpaêsi), by Tshenêsi XV. B/4.

Nygnr Νικανωρ.
f. of priestess Trophonias (?), and s. of Tryphon XVI/4.

Nygntrs Νικανδρος.
f. of pr. Socrates XVI/3.

L'qhs Λοχος, v. p. 143, note 5 (Λιχας, Λαχης?).
a military officer: *n rm·w n L'qhs* XVII/2, XX/3, v. p. 132, note 8.

Lys[mq]ws Λυσιμαχος, v. p. 271, note 16.
f. of priestess Demetria XVI/4.

Lwsny's Λυσινιας.
s. of Hieronymus, pr. of the heir Pt. Eupator, at Ptolemais XVI/3.

Lqwprn Λυκοφρων.
f. of pr. *'Snws* XVI/3.

Hyrnwmws Ιερωνυμος.
f. of pr. Lysinias, XVI/3.

Hyrqy (sic), *Hyrqrts* Ηρακλειδης.
eponym of μερος in Arsinoite nome: *t p·t Hyrqrts* XLV. A/11, B/10, cf. XLIV. B/7.

Hrms (?) Ερμας (?), Ερμης (?), v. p. 271, note 12.
s. of Demetrius, pr. of Pt. Euergetes at Ptolemais XVI/3.

Hrmyps Ερμιππος.
s. of Kriton, pr. of Pt. Soter at Ptolemais XVI/2.

Gyphln (?) Κεφαλων (?).
father of Pshenêsi the elder XXXIII/2.

Gly' Κλειω.
d. of Ktesion, priestess of Cleopatra II XVI/4.

Gryln Κριτων.
f. of pr. Hermippus XVI/2.

Gtsy'n Κτησιων.
f. of priestess Kleio XVI/4.

Sgns (?) Σωγενης, v. ppr. n. *Pa-Gne* (?).

Swgrts Σωκρατης.
s. of Nikandros, pr. of Ptol. Philadelphus at Ptolemais XVI/3.

Tytwmws Διδυμος.
s. of Apollonius, pr. of Ptol. Epiphanes at Ptolemais XVI/3.

Tmtry' Δημητρια.
d. of Lysimachus, priestess of Cleopatra I, at Ptolemais XVI/4.

Tmtrys Δημητριος.
f. of pr. Hermas XVI/3.

Trwpn Τρυφων.
f. of Nikanor and grdf. of priestess Trophonias XVI/4.

Trwphnys Τροφωνιας (?).
d. of Nikanor the s. of Tryphon, canephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus at Ptolemais XVI/4.

Thrsn Θρασων, v. p. 286, note 7.
f. of Nekhôtf XXIX. v/7.

GREEK WORDS AND ROYAL TITLES ADOPTED INTO THE DEMOTIC LANGUAGE OR TRANSCRIBED

στατήρ = *stlr* (p. 391), στρατηγός = *srtyqs* (p. 429), στρατιωτής = *srtyts* (p. 429), ὕπαιθρος = *h'pytrs* (p. 368), χοῦς = *qws* (p. 397).

Ευπατωρ = *'Wptr*, Σωτηρ = *Swtr*, Σεβαστος = *Sbst*, *Sbsts*, Γερμανικος = *Qrmnqs*. v. royal names, Ptolemy I, VII, XI, Tiberius, Claudius (pp. 431, 432).

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ERRATA

Page 82, omit note 10

229, l. 10 *for* ḫnᶜ *read* ḥnᶜ

233, note 8 *for* of *bṯ read* for *bṯ*

236, l. 25 *for* te-w n-w *read* ṭe-w n-w

242, l. 19 *for* mᵓ-t-f *read* mt-f

244, l. 10 *for* ᵓh-mn *read* ᵓḫ-mn

251, l. 19 *for* n-bᵓn ḫt-w *read* n-bᵓn yr-t-w

257, note 4 *for* Tι[?]ανς *read* Τι[?]μανς

258 *for* [11] *e-s* E. *read* [11] *e-s* (?) (blundered ?) E.

259, l. 8 *for* mte-y ṯy *read* mte-y (A. 6) ṯy

l. 13 *for* s e-y *read* s (A. 7) e-y

262, l. 13 *for* ḥry-qr (?)[8] *read* Hkr[8]

Page 262, note 8 *should read*:—

[8] Ακωρις, Αχωρις ϱⲁϭⲟⲣ (STERN, *ÄZ.*, 23/151, note 1; SPIEG., *Eigenn.*, no. 1), *Pap. Mag. LL.*, *Glossary*, no. 616. An Ethnic (?) name, cf. הגרי, הנרי.

Page 269, note 6 *for* probably some angulated object *read* SPIEG. reads *qnzwt*

Page 270, note 4 *for* 'copper'; here *read* 'copper'. Here

272, l. 15 *for* mr e n-t *read* mr še n-t

273, l. 22 *for* ᵓy n-k e-ṭb *read* ᵓy ar-k e-ṭb

279, l. 31 *for* a] ḥt 100 *read* a] ḥṯ 100

Page 320 (to p. 77, note 5). M. LEGRAIN's discovery of a date of the 8th year of Tandamane at Thebes (*Annales*, vii. 226) can hardly be reconciled with the occupation of the whole country in the 4th year of Psammetichus I, stated in the papyrus. It is to be feared that Peteêsi's references to past history are quite untrustworthy: cf. p. 107 and p. 108, note 9.

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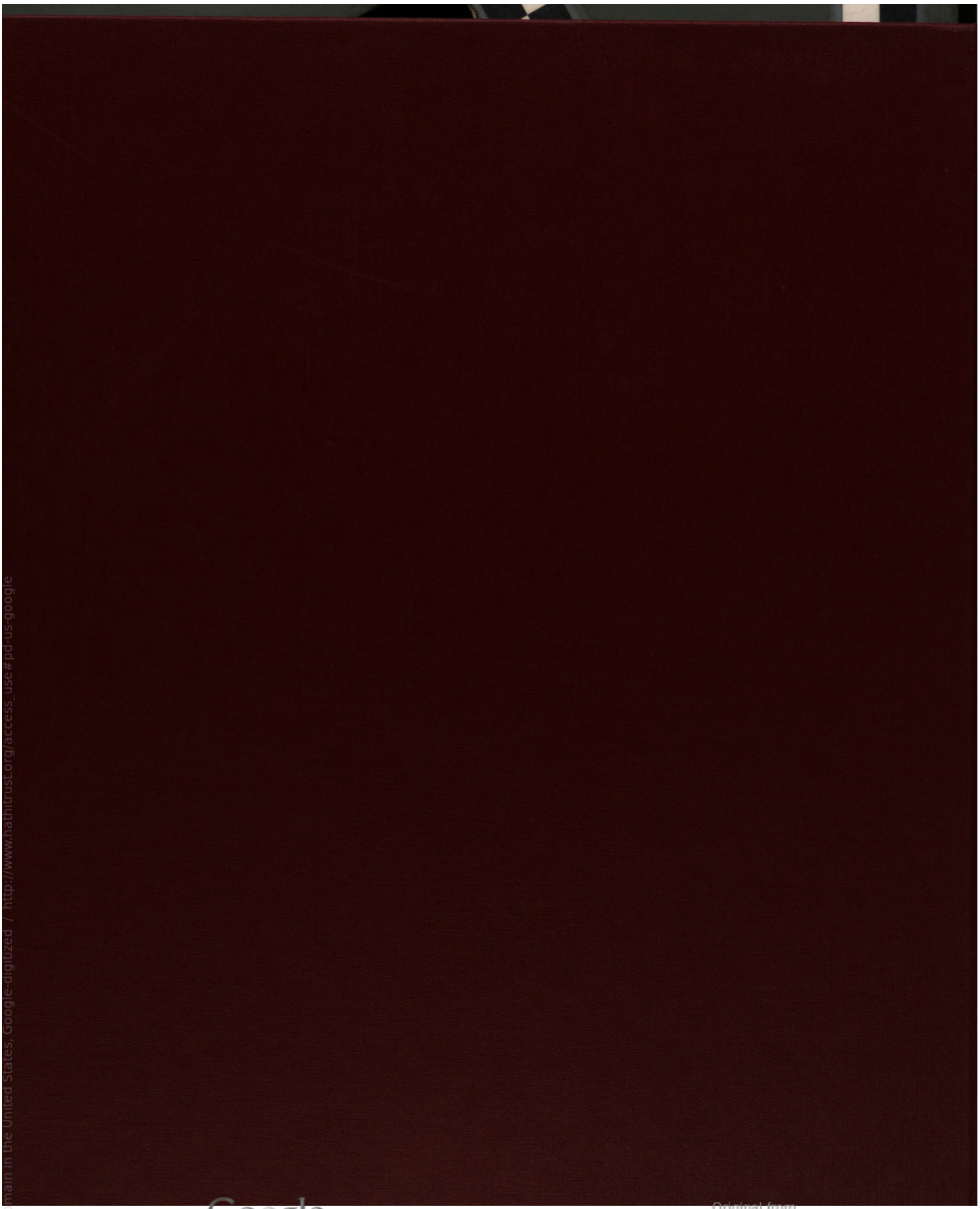

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